



TO THE READER

KINDLY use this book very carefully. If the book is disfigured or marked or written on while in your possession the book will have to be replaced by a new copy or paid for. In case the book be a volume of set of which single volumes are not available the price of the whole set will be realized.

AMARSINGH COLLEGE
Library

Class No. 954.023
Book No. 547 I
Acc. No. 8920 ✓

INDIA SINCE 1526



by

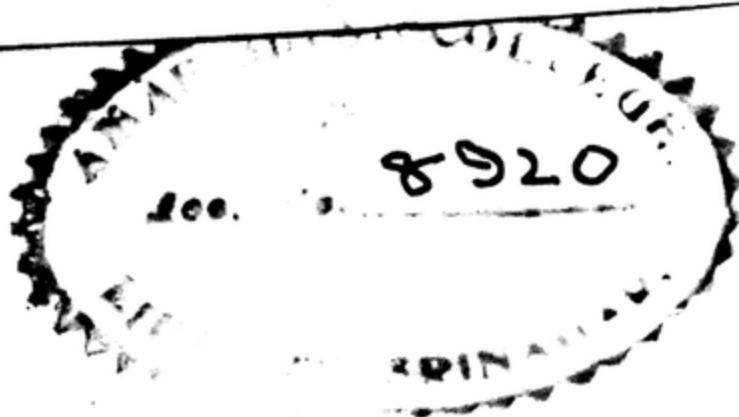
R. R. SETHI, M.A., Ph.D.,

*Head of the Department of History,
Punjab University (Camp) College, New Delhi,*

and

V. D. MAHAJAN, M.A. (Hons.), Ph.D.,

*Professor of History,
Punjab University (Camp) College, New Delhi*



PREFACE

The subject of history is losing its previous popularity and importance and that is partly due to the lack of suitable books for the study of students preparing for various university and competitive examinations in India. The object of this book is to meet that legitimate demand of the students. No efforts have been spared to compress in a short space the whole of the subject. Emphasis has been put more on the utility of the book than on the scholarship of the authors. It is hoped that the students will find all that they want in this book.

However, the authors invite suggestions for the improvement of the book in the next edition.

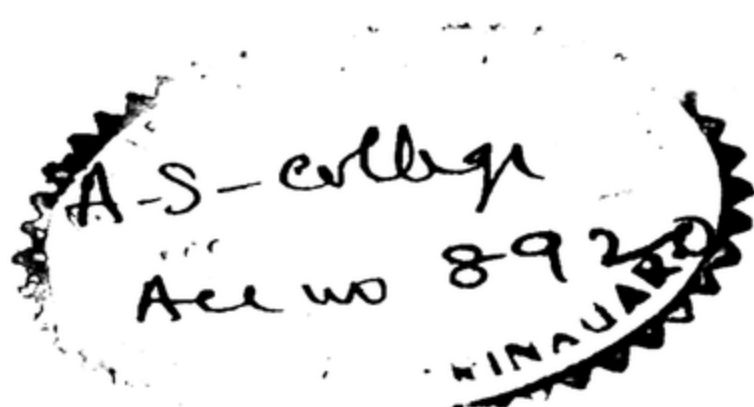
ELHI

.10-53

R.R. Sethi

Vidya Dhar Mahajan





CONTENTS

MUGHAL RULE IN INDIA

	<i>Pages</i>
Chapter I INDIA ON THE EVE OF BABAR'S INVASION	1—8
Condition of India in 1526 (1)—Kingdom of Delhi (1-3)—Mewar (3)—Vijayanagar (3-4)—Khahdesh (4-5)—Kashmir (5)—Orissa (5)—Gujrat (5)—Malwa (5-6)—Bengal (6)—Sindh (6-7)—Babar's description of India (7)—social and religious condition (7-8).	
Chapter II BABAR (1526-1530)	9—15
Early career of Babar (8-9)—Early raids on India (10)—Battle of Panipat (11)—Battle of Kanwaha (11)—Battle of Chanderi (13)—Battle of Gogra (13)—Death of Babar (13)—Babar's Memoirs (14)—Estimate of Babar (14-5).	
Chapter III HUMAYUN (1530-56)	16—26
Early life of Humayun (16)—Difficulties of Humayun (16-18)—Expedition of Kalinjar (18)—Battle of Doureh (19)—Siege of Chunar (19)—War with Bahadur Shah (19-20)—War with Sher Khan (21)—Battle of Chausa (21-2)—Battle of Kanauj (22)—Humayun's efforts to regain his throne (22-4)—Causes of Humayun's failure (24-5)—Estimate of Humayun (25-6).	
Chapter IV SHER SHAH SURI (1540-5)	27—41
Early career of Sher Shah (27-29)—Sher Shah and Humayun (29)—Sher Khan and Bengal (29-31)—Mughal occupation of Bengal (31-2)—Conquest of Malwa (32)—Conquest of Raisen (32)—Conquest of Multan and Sindh (32)—War with Jodhpur (33)—Death of Sher Shah (33-4)—Sher Shah's Administration (34-9)—Sarkar (35)—Parganas (35-6)—Sher Shah's Army (36)—Finance (36)—Revenue Administration (36-7)—Justice (37-8)—Police (38)—Currency (38)—Trade (39)—Means of Communications (39)—Charity (39)—Intelligence Department (39)—Religious Policy (39-40)—Buildings (40)—Estimate of Sher Shah (40-41).	
Chapter V AKBAR, THE GREAT MUGHAL (1556-1605)	42—81
Condition of India at the time of Akbar's accession to the throne (42-4)—Second Battle of Panipat (44)—Submission of Sikandar Sur (45)—Bairam Khan (45-48)—Petti-coat Government (48)—Adam Khan (48-9)—Uzbeg rebellion (49)—Wars and Conquests of Akbar (49-57)—Conquest of Gondwana (50)—Wars with Rajputs (50-4)—Conquest of Gujrat (54)—Conquest of Bengal (54-5)—Annexation of Kabul (55)—Conquest of Kashmir (55)—Conquest of Sindh (55)—Conquest of Qandhar (55-6)—Conquest of Ahmednagar (56)—Conquest of Asirgarh (56-7)—Akbar as founder of Mughal Empire (57-8)—Rajput Policy of Akbar (58-9)—Akbar's policy towards the Hindus (59-61)—Development of Akbar's religious views (61-9)—Infallibility Decree (63-5)—The Din-i-Ilahi (65-69)—Akbar's land-revenue system	

(69-72)—Mansabdari System (72-8)—Character and achievements of Akbar (78-81).

Chapter VI JAHANGIR (1605-1627) 82—96

Early life of Jahangir (82-3)—Early measures of Jahangir (83)—Revolt of Prince Khusrau (84-5)—Nur Jahan (85-9)—War with Mewar (89-90)—Conquest of Kangra (90)—Conquest of Kistwar (90)—War with Ahmednagar (90-1)—Affairs of Kandhar (91-2)—Bubonic plague (92-3)—Revolt of Shah Jahan (93)—Death of Jahangir (93-4)—Visit of Foreigners (94-5)—Estimate of Jahangir (95-6).

Chapter VII SHAH JAHAN 1628-1658 97—115

Early life of Shah Jahan (96)—His accession (97-8)—Rebellion of Bundela chief (98)—Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi (98)—Nauroz (99)—Famine of 1630 (99)—Death of Mumtaz Mahal (99-100)—War with Portuguese (100)—Deccan Policy (100-101)—War with Bijapur (101-3)—Relations with Kandhar (103-5)—Balkh and Badakshan (105-6)—War of Succession (106-111)—Causes of Aurangzeb's success (111-2)—Art and Architecture under Shah Jahan (112-3)—Golden Age of Moghal Period (113-4)—Foreign travellers in the reign of Shah Jahan (114)—Estimate of Shah Jahan (114-5).

Chapter VIII AURANGZEB 1658-1707 116—34

Early measures of Aurangzeb (116)—Wars on the Eastern Frontier (166-7)—Aurangzeb, The Puritan (117-22)—Effects of anti-Hindu policy (122-6)—The Rajput War (122-3)—Revolt of Satnamis (123-4)—Rebellion of Gokal (124)—Revolt of the Bundelas (124-5)—The rise of the Sikhs (125-6)—Deccan Policy of Aurangzeb (126-31)—Conquest of Bijapur (126)—Conquest of Golconda (126-8)—Aurangzeb and the Marathas (128)—Consequences of the Deccan Policy of Aurangzeb (128-31)—Aurangzeb and the English (131-2)—Aurangzeb and his sons (132-3)—Character and estimate of Aurangzeb (133-4).

Chapter IX RISE AND GROWTH OF MARATHA POWER 135—68

Factors responsible for the rise of the Marthas (135-7)—Early life of Shivaji (137-8)—Conquest of Shivaji (138-9)—Struggle with Bijapur (139-41)—Shivaji and Afzal Khan (140-1)—Shivaji and the Mughals (141)—Attack on Surat (141-2)—Jai Singh and Shivaji (142-3)—Shivaji's administrative system (144-48)—Estimate of Shivaji (148-50)—Shivaji and Hindu Empire (150-1)—Weaknesses in Shivaji's system (151)—Shambhuji (151-3)—Raja Ram (153-4)—Tarabai (154-56)—Sahu (156)—The Peshwas—Balaji Vishwanath (156-8)—Baji Rao (158-9)—Balaji Baji Rao (159-61)—Causes of Maratha Defeat in the Battle of Panipat (161-2)—Maratha Administrative System under the Peshwas (162-68).

Chapter X MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION 169—82

Sources of information for Mughal Administration (169)—Nature of Mughal Government (169-170)—Position of Mughal Emperor (170-173)—The Wazir or Diwan (173-174)—Bakhshi (174)—Khan-i-Saman (174)—Sadar-i-Sadur (174-75)—Muhtasib (175)—Qazi-ul-Quzat (175)—Superintendent of Artillery (175)—Darogha-

INDIA ON THE EVE OF BABAR'S INVASION

On the eve of Babar's invasion, India was parcelled out among numerous mutually warring states. There was no paramount power in the country and the struggle for supremacy was going on. India was not in a position to present a united front to any enemy who might possess the audacity and ambition to carve out an Empire for himself. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, India was "a congeries of states at the opening of the 16th century and likely to be the easy prey of an invader who had the strength and will to attempt her conquest."

Kingdom of Delhi: Delhi Sultanate was not strong. The Lodhi dynasty which was founded by Bahlol, had a small territory. It included the Punjab, the Doab, Jaunpur, Oudh, a part of Bihar, Tirhut and the country between the Sutlej and Bundhelkhand. Although King Behlol in his life-time had conquered Jaunpur and Sikandar Lodhi has tried to consolidate his power, the position of Ibrahim Lodhi (1517-26) was not at all strong. Erskine has described the actual position of Ibrahim Lodhi in these words: "These extensive possessions, though under one King, had no very strong principle of cohesion. The monarchy was congeries of nearly independent principalities, Jagirs, and provinces, each ruled by a hereditary chief, or by a Zamindar or delegate from Delhi; and the inhabitants looked more to their immediate governors who had absolute powers in the provinces and in whose hands consequently lay their happiness or misery, than to a distant or little known sovereign. It was the individual, not the law, that reigned. The Lodhi princes, not merely to strengthen their own power, but from necessity, had in general committed the Government of the provinces and the chief offices of trust to their own contrymen, the Afghans; so that men of the Lodhi, Fermuli and Lohani tribes held all the principal jagirs which from the habitual modes of thinking of their race, they considered as their own of right and purchased by their swords rather than as due to any bounty or liberality on the part of the sovereign." (History of India under Babar and Humayun).

According to Lanepoole, a throne depending on the allegiance of "an aristocracy of rapacious and turbulent chiefs demands politic concessions on the part of the monarch. Afghans above most men resent an undue assumption of superiority and tell with delicacy the tedious etiquette and obsequious ceremony of a formal court. The King must be their chief, a bona comrade and admitted leader in arms, but he must not give himself airs or show a want of respect for the free and outspoken clansmen upon whose swords dominion rests." King Bahlol was such a man. He had tried to build his power on the love of his nobles and always tried to act according to their wishes. No wonder, he was able to carry them with himself. We are told that if on any occasion some nobles rebelled against him, he would go to them, hand over his sword to them and ask them to sever his head from his body. On the other hand, Ibrahim Lodhi was a man of a different temperament. In order to strengthen his position, he tried to destroy the feudal Lords. Mian Bhaua fell a victim to his anger. Azam Humayan was assassinated in prison. Even the greatest barons trembled for their safety. Darya Khan, Khane Jahan Lodhi and Hussain Khan broke into open rebellion. Hussain Khan was assassinated in his bed, and his tragic death made the Afghan nobles bitterly hostile to Ibrahim Lodhi. Darya Khan's son assumed the title of Mohammad Shah, struck coins in his own name and resisted the Delhi Sultan. The discontentment of the nobles reached the climax when Ibrahim Lodhi cruelly treated the son of Daulat Khan Lodhi, Governor of the Punjab. Daulat Khan Lodhi was called to the court, but he sent his son Dilawar Khan in his own place. The King was annoyed and with a view to give expression to his own feelings, he took Dilawar to a room where the victims of Royal caprice were suspended from the walls. Addressing Dilawar, King Ibrahim declared: "Have you seen the condition of those who have disobeyed?" Dilawar understood the hint and kept quiet. Having come to Lahore, he communicated all that he had seen to his father. Alarmed for his safety, Daulat Khan sent an invitation to Babar, the ruler of Kabul, to invade India.

It is admitted on all hands that the behaviour of Ibrahim towards the nobles was insulting. He would order the Afghan chiefs to keep standing in his court with folded hands. They were made to observe the rules of etiquette which were certainly irksome. It was the discontentment and hatred among the nobles for the

Sultan that made his position weak. When revolts took place, the Sultan tried to stem the rising conflagration by the blood of some of the leading Amirs. The result was still wider disaffection. This explains as to why the numerical superiority of Ibrahim's forces in the battle of Panipat (1526) did not help him to win victory against Babar.

Mewar: Another important state in India at that time was that of Mewar under Rana Sanga. Its capital was Chittor. The reigning dynasty traced its origin from Guhil. It produced a series of remarkable rulers among whom Rana Kumbha (1433-68) occupied a very prominent position. Rana Sanga was a great warrior and through his valour he had consolidated his position. He had undertaken several successful campaigns against the ruler of Malwa. He had conquered Bhilsa, Sarangpur, Chanderi, and Ranthambore and given them to his own vassals. The princes of Ambar acknowledged him as their over-lord. The Raos of Gwalior, Ajmer, Sikri, Raisin, Kalpi, Boondi, Rampur and Abu paid homage to him as his feudatories. According to Tod, 18,000 horses, 7 Rajas of the highest rank, 9 Raos and 104 chieftains bearing the titles of Rawal and Rawat with 500 war elephant followed him to the battle-field. Rana Sanga had made his power felt in Central India. Even Babar admitted in his Memoirs that Rana Sanga attained his position of eminence by his valour and sword. He had lost one eye, one arm and was crippled in one of his legs and consequently Tod called him as "the fragment of a soldier."

Rana Sanga was the head of the Rajputs. "The Rajputs, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their lives for their own honour." Rana Sanga was not only powerful but also ambitious. He aspired to capture the throne of Delhi and Agra which were next to his own territory. It was with a view to realise his ambition that he invited Babar to attack India. He was under the delusion that Babar who was a descendant of Timur, would come to India, conquer it and after plundering it go back to Kabul, leaving for him an open field for the realisation of his ambition. The strength of Rana Sanga can be judged from the fact that the soldiers of Babar had to fight a more desperate battle at Kanwaha in 1527 than at Panipat in 1526.

Vijayanagar: The Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar which had

been founded in the time of Mohammad Tughlak in the 14th century, was a bulwark against the spread of Islam in the South. The contemporary King on the throne of Vijayanagar was Krishnadeva Raya. He was the greatest ruler of the Vijayanagar Empire. He was a great soldier and general. He was a cultured patron of literature and art. Vijayanagar was at its height politically, economically and culturally. Foreign travellers and diplomats were dazzled by its wealth, prosperity and power.

Peas, the Portuges Chronicler who visited India about 1522, writes thus about Krishnadeva Raya: "He is most learned and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage....He is by rank a greater lord than any by reason of what he possesses in arms and territories, but it seems that he has in fact nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things." "He respects all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishnavism. Krishna Raya's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his genial look and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love of literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people; and above all, the almost fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brahmins mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs, who sheds a lustre on the pages of history."

The rulers of Vijayanagar were always fighting against the Bahmani kingdom. Hardly a reign passed when there was no large-scale fighting. The Bahmani Kingdom began to disintegrate after the execution of Mahmud Gawan, the Prime Minister, in 1481. It broke up into five independent Kingdoms of Ahmednagar (1489-1633), Bijapur (1489-1686), Golkunda (1512-1687), Berar (1484-1527) and Bidar.

Khandesh: The kingdom of Khandesh was situated in the valley of the River Tapti. It was independent from the end of the 14th century. Its founder was Malik Raja Faruqi. As the

rulers of Gujrat were determined to establish their hold over Khandesh, the two kingdoms were almost perpetually at war with each other. After 1508, there was chaos in Khandesh on account of the struggle for succession to the throne. The rival claimants were backed by Gujrat and Ahmednagar. Ultimately, Adil Khan III came on the throne of Khandesh. After his death in 1520, he was succeeded by Mohammad I. However, on account of the long distance between Delhi and Khandesh, the politics of Khandesh did not influence the politics of Delhi.

Kashmir: The independent kingdom of Kashmir was established by Shah Mirza in 1339. The most important ruler of Kashmir was Zainul-Abidin (1420-1470) who followed a policy of religious toleration and patronage of Sanskrit. He has been called the Akbar of Kashmir. After his death in 1470, there was anarchy in the country.

Orissa: Orissa was a Hindu state and was not subjugated by any Muslim ruler. It exercised an effective barrier to the expansion of Bengal towards the South. However, it did not exercise any great influence on the politics of Northern India.

Gujrat: Gujrat got its independence under Zafar Khan in 1396. One of the most famous rulers of Gujrat was Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511). He captured Champanir, Junagadh and Cutch. King Mahmud was jealous of the power of the Portuguese and he tried to crush them by joining the Sultan of Turkey. To begin with, he was successful against the Portuguese and defeated them in 1508. However, later on the Portuguese recovered and Gujrat was defeated. King Mahmud was mild and just to his own servants. Whether for abounding justice or generosity, for successes in religious wars and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Mussalmans, for soundness of judgement, for power, for valour and victory, Mahmud was a pattern of excellence. He was a bigoted person. He was succeeded in 1511 by Muzaffar Shah II who was fighting against his enemies all his life and was defeated by Rana Sanga of Mewar. His son Bahadur Shah ascended the throne in 1526.

Malwa: The kingdom of Malwa became independent in the time of Firoz Tughlak. In 1435, the Ghori dynasty of Malwa was supplanted by the Turki Khilji dynasty under Mahmood Khan. According to Ferishta, "Sultan Mahmood was polite, brave, just and learned and during his reign his subjects, Mohammadans as well as Hindus, were happy and maintained a friendly intercourse with

each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home and his resting place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of different kings of earth read." The next two kings were Ghiyas-un-Din and Nasir-un-Din and the latter died in 1512. In the time of Mahmood II, all power was captured by the Rajput chief known as Medini Rao. Hindus were appointed to important positions of trust and responsibility. This led to bickerings amongst the Muslims. Medini Rai defeated the forces of Malwa and the Sultan fell into the hands of the Rajputs. Rana Sanga restored him to his kingdom. In 1531, Malwa was conquered by Bahadur Shah of Gujrat.

Bengal: Bengal was independent from the time of Firoz Tughlak. The ruling dynasty was called the Hussaini dynasty. Ala-un-Din Hussain (1493-1519) was the first ruler of the Hussini dynasty. He had extended his empire up to Assam. The ruler came into conflict with Sikandar Lodi. He was obliged to make peace and agree to respect the eastern frontier of Bihar. Nusrat Shah was his son. Nusrat Shah was a contemporary of Babar and made peace with him. He was a patron of Bengalee literature. The Mahabharata was translated into Bengalee under his orders. On the whole, the people of the province were prosperous and contented with their lot.

Sind: The province of Sind had become independent towards the end of the reign of Mohammad Tughlak. At the beginning of the 16th century, there was a lot of confusion and lawlessness in the country. The Sumra dynasty was decaying and Shah Beg, Governor of Kandhar, had an eye on Sind. In 1520, Shah Beg defeated the Subras and occupied the province. His son, Shah Hussain annexed Multan. The power of the Afghans was at its height on the eve of Babar's invasion of India.

Babar himself has given an account of India on the eve of his invasion. He referred to five Muslim kings and two Hindu kings. According to him, the greater power of Hindustan was under the Sultan of Delhi, although there were other independent and powerful states. To quote Babar himself, "The five kings who have been mentioned are great princes and are all Musalmans, and possessed of formidable armies and rulers of vast territories. The most powerful of the pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijanagar. Another is the Rana Sanga who has at-

tained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chittor."

Reference may be made to another paragraph from Babar's Memoirs regarding the description of India. To quote him, "Hindustan is a country with few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness of fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture: they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their Bazar, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick. Instead of candle or torch, they have a gang of dirty fellows whom they called Divatis, who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, to the side of one leg of which, it being wooden, they stick a piece of iron-like top of candle-stick; they fasten a pliant-wick of the size of the middle finger by an iron pin to another of the legs. In their right hand, they hold a gourd in which they make a hole for the purpose of pouring out oil in a small stream, and whenever the wick requires oil, supply it from this gourd. Their great men kept a hundred or two hundred of these Divatis."

According to Edwards and Garret, although India was politically divided, yet culturally she was becoming one. The spread of the Bhakti movement was bringing the Muslims and the Hindus near one another. There was a better understanding between the two. The great apostles of the Bhakti movement were Ram-ananda, Vallabhacharya, Chaitanya, Namdeva, Kabir and Nanak. Their teachings set aside the caste-distinctions and thereby brought both the Hindus and the Muslims together.

The Sufis in Islam supplemented the work of the reformers of the Bhakti movement. The result of all this was that the Hindus began to respect the Muslim saints and the Muslims began to respect the Hindu Yogis. The Bhakti movement gave an impetus to the growth of such vernaculars as Hindi, Bengalee, Marathi and Mainthali. Sanskrit flourished at the courts of the Hindu kings. Rup Goswami, a Minister of Hussain Shah of Bengal, composed several works in Sanskrit and Vidagdha Madhava and Lalita Madhava are most important among them. In the field of archi-

ecture, a new contribution was made by the combined efforts of the Hindus and Muslims.

Agriculture was in a flourishing condition. However, on account of the frequent invasions, villages were built and destroyed very often. Ordinarily, there was always a surplus of corn produced in the country. There was a lot of trade with Malaya, China, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Bhutan. The upper and middle classes in India were fond of luxury. However, the common people were poor. On the whole, the country was prosperous.

India was full of good soldiers, but there was not much of discipline and training. The Indians refused to accept the latest inventions in the field of military science. It was difficult for the Indians to fight against the latest weapons of the West. There was also clannishness among the people. No wonder, the Indian army was no match for Babar.



CHAPTER II

BABAR (1526-1530)

✓ Zahir-ud-Din Mohammad, surnamed Babar, was born in 1483. He was connected with both the families of Timur and Chingiz Khan. Thus, he had in him the blood of the two greatest conquerers of Central Asia. At the early age of 12, his father Sultan Umar Shaikh Mirza died and Babar became the king of Farghana. At the time of his accession, Babar was surrounded on all sides by the enemies. His uncles and cousins took advantage of his youth and inexperience and attacked him right and left. Ahmed Mirza attacked Babar in 1494. Fortunately for Babar, his attack failed and he himself died in 1495. It was now the turn of Babar to have his revenge and he took full advantage of the confusion that prevailed in Samarkand after the death of Ahmed Mirza, his uncle. In November 1497, Babar was able to capture Samarkand. Unfortunately, while at Samarkand, Babar fell ill and his Minister gave out that he was dead. He also put on the throne the younger brother of Babar, named Jahangir.

As soon as Babar recovered from his sickness and came to know of the trick played upon him, he marched from Samarkand to recover Farghana. Due to his ill-luck, Babar lost both Samarkand and Farghana. He could not capture Farghana because Jahangir was securely established there and as regards Samarkand, it was occupied in his absence by his cousin Ali. The result was that in February 1498, Babar was not a king of any place. His only possession was Khojend. He had to live a wanderer's life for more than a year. However, in June 1499, he was able to recapture the capital of Farghana.

In 1500, Babar reconquered Samarkand for the second time but he was forced to leave the same by the Uzbeks. After the loss of Samarkand, Babar lost Farghana also in the same year. The result was that after all these ups and downs of life, Babar was left with nothing in 1502 and no wonder he left his native land to try his luck somewhere else.

Babar set out for Kabul to try his luck there. At that time, there was political chaos in that country. The reason was that

Babar's uncle, Ulugh Beg, had died in 1501 and his son Abdur Razzak was deposed by a usurper named Mukin Beg. There was a strong feeling in Kabul that the usurper should be turned out and a prince of the royal blood be put on the throne. Babar managed the whole situation to his own advantage and the ultimate result was that he occupied Kabul in 1504. As the king of Kabul, he ruled from 1504 to 1526 when he led his major offensive against India. In that interval, Babar conquered Kandhar and Herat. In 1513, he again tried his luck to conquer Samarkand after the death of Shaibani. Babar entered into an alliance with the Shah of Persia, and captured both Bokhara and Samarkand. However, he was not destined to sit on the throne of Samarkand for long. Within less than a year, he was driven out of Samarkand.

It is only after his final failure in Samarkand that Babar paid his full attention to the conquest of India. Babar himself wrote thus in 1526: "From the time I conquered the land of Kabul till now, I had always been bent on subduing Hindustan. Sometimes, however, from the misconduct of my Amirs, sometimes from the opposition of my brothers, etc. I was prevented. At length, these obstacles were removed and I gathered an army (1519) and marched on to Bajour and Swat and thence to advance to Bhera on the west of the Jhelum River."

Babar reached as far as the Chenab in 1519. Acting on the advice of his ministers, he sent an ambassador to Ibrahim Lodi demanding the restoration of the country which belonged to the Turks. The ambassador was detained at Lahore and came back empty-handed after many months. After conquering Bhera, Khushab and the country of the Chenab, Babar went back to Kabul.

In 1520, Badakhshan was captured and was put under the charge of Humayun. In 1522, Kandhar was captured and given to Kamran.

At this time, Babar received many invitations and those came particularly from Daulat Khan Lodhi, Governor of the Punjab, Ala-un-Dun, uncle of Ibrahim, and Rana Sanga. There could be no better chance for Babar to fulfil his ambition of conquering India. Babar at once started and reached Lahore. On his arrival at Lahore, he found that Daulat Khan Lodi had already been turned out by an Afghan chief. Babar defeated the Afghan chief, captured Lahore and left for Kabul after appointing Ala-un-Din as the Governor of Lahore. All this happened in 1524. However, Ala-ud-

Din was not allowed to stay long at Lahore and he was driven out by Daulat Khan Lodi. Ala-ud-Din ran away to Kabul.

✓ **Battle of Panipat, 1526:** After making elaborate preparations, Babar set out for the conquest of India. First of all, he had to deal with Daulat Khan who had turned out Ala-ud-Din from Lahore. After defeating him, Babar advanced to Delhi via Sirhind. Ibrahim Lodi came out of Delhi to give battle to Babar. The opposing armies met on the historic plain of Panipat. Babar had certain advantages. His artillery worked wonders. In spite of the superior numerical strength of Ibrahim Lodhi's armies, he was defeated and killed in the battlefield. The result was that the Kingdom of Delhi and Agra fell into the hands of Babar. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The battle of Panipat placed the Empire of Delhi in Babar's hands. The power of the Lodi dynasty was shattered to pieces and the sovereignty of Hindustan passed to the Chaghtai Turks."

Babar had to meet with certain difficulties. The Rajputs were not friendly to him. There were many Afghan chiefs who considered their claims to be superior to that of Babar. Moreover, his own followers began to desert on account of the hot climate of the country. It was the iron will of Babar that saved the situation. He made it clear to his followers that he was determined to stay on in India and those who wanted to return to Kabul might do so happily. The result was that with the exception of a few persons, the rest of his followers decided to sink or swim with their own leader.

3 ✓ **Battle of Kanwahas, 1527:** The victory at Panipat did not make Babar the ruler of India. He met a stronger foe in Rana Sanga of Mewar. The latter had the ambition to occupy the throne of Delhi itself. Such a formidable foe had to be disposed of if Babar was to have an unchallengable position.

In 1527, Rana Sanga advanced with a large army to Biana. Babar also advanced to Fatehpur Sikri. The advance guard of Babar was defeated by the Rajputs and the result was that the followers of Babar got disheartened. At this time, Babar showed his qualities of leadership. He ordered the breaking of the cups. He repented of his past sins and promised to give up wine for the rest of his life. He addressed his soldiers in these words: "Noble men and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of

mortality must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy.

With fame, even if I die, I am contented;

Let fame be mine, since my body is death's.

“The most High God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis that if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then with one accord swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body.”

The appeal of Babar had the required effect and he started the attack with heavy artillery firing. Then, according to Firishta, Babar himself “charged like a lion rushing from his lair.” After an obstinate battle, the Rajputs were defeated and Babar became the Victor of Kanwaha.

Regarding the importance of the battle of Kanwaha, Prof. Rushbrook Williams has remarked thus : “In the first place, the menace of Rajput supremacy which had loomed large before the eyes of Mohammadans in India for the last few years, was removed once for all. The powerful confederacy which depended so largely for its unity upon the strength and reputation of Mewar, was shattered by a single great defeat and ceased henceforth to be a dominant factor in the politics of Hindustan. Secondly, the Mughal Empire of India was soon firmly established. Babar had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultan Ibrahim, and the sign and seal of his achievement had been the annihilation of Sultan Ibrahim's most formidable antagonists. Hitherto, the occupation of Hindustan might have been looked upon as a mere episode in Babar's career of adventure; but from henceforth it became the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life. His days of wandering in search of fortune are now passed away. The fortune is his, and he have to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his career which this battle marks that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a stricken foe. Fighting there is, and fighting in plenty, to be done; but it is fighting for the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his Kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne. And from it is also significant of Babar's grasp of vital issues that from

henceforth the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kabul to Hindustan." (An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century, Pp. 156-57).

✓ **Medni Rao of Chanderi (1528):** After the battle of Kanwaha, the power of the Rajputs was crippled and not completely crushed. The remnants of the Rajput army were gathered together and the lead was taken by Medni Rao of Chanderi. Babar carried the fort of Chanderi by storm. The whole of the garrison of the fort was put to the sword. After this, there was no other Rajput chief to challenge the authority of Babar.

✓ **Battle of Gogra, 1529:** Babar had still to deal with the Afghans. Mahmood Lodi, the brother of Ibrahim Lodi, had captured power in Bihar and many other chiefs had joined him. Babar sent his son Askaru in advance and himself followed him. Many Afghan chiefs made their submission to Babar on the way. When Mahmood was deserted by his supporters, he moved towards Bengal where he was given shelter. Babar went in hot pursuit of him and defeated him in the battle of Gogra in May 1529. Babar's artillery rendered him great service in his action against the Afghans.

✓ **Death of Babar, 1530:** The circumstances leading to the death of Babar in December 1530 are curious. It is stated that his son, Humayun, fell sick and it was declared that there was no possibility of his survival. It was at this time that Babar is said to have walked three times round the bed of Humayun and prayed to God to transfer the disease of his son to him. He uttered the words: "I have borne it away! I have borne it away." It is stated that from that time onwards, Humayun began to recover and the condition of Babar went from bad to worse and ultimately he breathed his last. Before dying, he addressed the following words to Humayun: "I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people; and all of these I confide to you."

According to Erskine, what Babar had left undone was of greater importance than what he had done. Although his military conquests gave him an extensive empire, "there was little unity in the political situation of the different parts of his vast empire. Hardly any law could be regarded as universal but that of the unrestrained power of the prince. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village, was governed, in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs. There were no regular courts of

law spread over the kingdom for the administration of justice. . . . All differences relating to land, where they were not settled by the village officers, were decided by the district authorities, the clerks, the Zamindars or Jagirdars. The higher officers of Government exercised not only civil but also criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form or under little restraint. Babar did not find sufficient time to organise systematically the administrative machinery. There was no sound financial system. The money that came was distributed among his followers. The result was that nothing was done to win over the goodwill of the people. Babar "bequeathed to his son a monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions, which in times of peace was weak, structureless and invertebrate." No wonder, Humayun lost his Empire within 10 years.

Babar's Memoirs: Babar's autobiography called Tuzuki Babri is popularly known as Memoirs of Babar. Babar wrote this book at different times whenever he had any leisure. It was written in Turki. It was twice translated into Persian by Payanda Khan and Abdur Rahim Khan Khana. It has also been translated into many European languages, particularly in English and French. It was translated into English by Leyden and Erskine in 1826. A.S. Beveridge has published a revised English version. The book was translated into French in 1871. It is to be noted that Mrs. Beveridge translated the work from the original Turki and the others had translated from the Persian translation. Consequently, her translation is more authentic and reliable.

Babar was a master of flawless style in Turki. He has given his impressions in a very frank manner. He did not hesitate even while recording his own shortcomings. It appears that the whole story is like a romance. Babar has described not only the political condition of India but also his own opinions and experiences on many other points. Babar's Memoirs are a first rate authority on the history of his age. The only unfortunate thing about them is that they are not complete. There are gaps at certain places.

Estimate of Babar: Babar is one of the most interesting figures in the history of medieval India. He was not only a warrior but a great scholar and poet. All his life he was struggling for glory and ultimately got the same. In his case, adversity was a blessing in dis-

guise. He was possessed of such an idomitable will that no amount of difficulties could shake his faith in himself. He was a lover of nature. He loved poetry and drinking. He was frank and jovial. He retained his qualities up to the very end of his life. He was an orthodox Sunni but was not a fanatic like Mahmood of Ghazni. He wrote about Hindus with contempt and recognised Jihad against them as a sacred duty. (He ordered the construction of a tower of the skulls of the Hindus to be prepared at Fatehpur Sikri and Chanderi.)

According to Rushbrook Williams, "Babar possessed eight fundamental qualities—lofty judgement, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of Government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling mildly the people of God, ability to win the heart of his soldiers and love of justice." According to Havell, "His (Babar's) engaging personality, artistic temperament and romantic career make him one of most attractive figures in the history of Islam." According to Dr. Smith, "Babar was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of India."

Lane Poole has given the following estimate of Babar: "He is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and Imperial government of Asia, Chingiz and Timur, mixed in his veins and to the daring and restlessness of the nomad Tartar, he joined the culture and urbanity of the Persian. He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk, to the listless Hindu; and himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of Empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar achieved. His prominent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line, but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful memoirs in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Babar was not the less a man of fine literary taste, and fastidious critical perception. In Persian, the language of culture, the Latin of Central Asia, as it is of India, he was an accomplished poet, and in his native Turki he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and poetry."

CHAPTER III

HUMAYUN (1530-56)

3

His early life: Humayun was the eldest son of Babar and he had three other brothers, *viz.*, Kamaran, Askari and Hindal. He was born at Kabul in March 1508. The name of his mother was Mahim Begam who was probably a Shia. Young Humayun learnt Turki, Arabic and Persian. On account of his careless habits, he did not acquire the exactness of a scholar. He was interested in mathematics, philosophy, astronomy and astrology. In his early youth, he was associated by his father with the Government of the country. He was appointed the Governor of Badakshan at the age of 20. On the eve of the battle of Panipat, 1526, he was sent against Hamid Khan who was defeated near Hissar Firoza. He participated in the battle of Panipat and the battle of Kanwaha. He was given the district of Hissar Firoza in 1526. He also got the jagir of Sambhal. After 1527, he was once again sent to Badakshan. He returned to Agra in 1529 and was ordered to manage his jagir of Sambhal. He was brought to Agra on account of his illness. His father died and he recovered.

An attempt was made to place on the throne of Agra, Mahdi Khwaja. The reason was that according to the Prime Minister, the interest of the state would be better served if a stronger person was put on the throne. Mahdi Khwaja was the brother-in-law of Babar. He was an experienced and competent administrator. On the other hand, Humayun had not shown any signs of greatness. At the eleventh hour, the conspiracy fell through on account of the following words of Mahdi Khawaja: "God willing, my first act (as king), would be to flay you and the other traitors". Although there was some confusion for four days, Humayun successfully seated himself on the throne of Agra on 30th December 1530.

Difficulties of Humayun: The throne inherited by Humayun was not a bed of roses. Babar had practically got no time to consolidate his position and authority. Before he could put the whole country on a stable basis, he was removed from the scene. According to Erskine, Humayun "had entered the country as a stranger and a spoiler, he had defeated the armies and broken the

power of the reigning dynasty; but the only hold which he, or his race yet had upon the people of India was military force." The Rajputs had not been completely crushed. They had merely submitted before the storm. The result was that the hold of Humayun over the country was not strong.

There was no law of primogeniture among the Muslims. The result was that after the death of a king, there was a war of succession. Every prince asserted his claim to the throne. According to Erskine, "The sword was the grand arbiter of right; and every son was prepared to try his fortune against his brothers."

The army at the disposal of Humayun was not dependable. It was a mixed body of adventurers. Some of them were Uzbeks and Mughals and others were Indians, Afghans, Persians and Chaghatais.

In addition to the claims of his three brothers, Humayun had to deal with many Khans or nobles. They were busy in intrigues against the new Emperor and many of them did not consider the kingdom of Delhi and Agra beyond the scope of their ambitions. The result was that instead of three rivals, Humayun had innumerable rivals.

It is true that the Afghans were defeated in the battle of Panipat (1526) and the battle of Gogra (1529), but they were not completely crushed. Moreover, they had not forgotten the days when they were the rulers of the country and aspired to restore their rule. "Though repeatedly defeated in the field, they were still numerous and powerful, ripe for revolt and ready on the first signal to fly to arms in what was a personal as well as a national cause." The Afghans had in Mahmood Lodi a rallying point. All the Afghan nobles supported the cause of Mahmood Lodi. Not only this, Sher Khan had already started his career of adventure and conquest in Bengal and Bihar and he was trying to organise the Afghans for governing the country.

Humayun had to meet a great rival in Bahadur Shah of Gujrat who had united the provinces of Malwa and Gujrat and was thinking in terms of conquering the whole of Rajputana. As in the case of Sher Khan, Bahadur Shah also aimed at the overlordship of India, "using the relatives of the late Lodi Sultan of Delhi as stalking horses."

Humayun made a mistake in showing kindness to his brothers. In accordance with the wishes of his father, he gave Sambhal to

Askari and Alwar to Hindal. As regards Kamran, he gave him the provinces of Kabul and Kandhar. In spite of this, Kamran was not satisfied. He gave out that he was going to see his brother to congratulate on his succession to the throne. While doing so, he took along with him a big army and with its help he was able to bring the whole of the Punjab under his control. Humayun did not think it prudent to put up a fight with Kamran and consequently agreed to give the province of the Punjab to him. He also gave him the district of Hissar Firoza. The possession of Hissar Firoza gave Kamran control over the high road between Delhi and Punjab. The cession of the Punjab, Kabul and Kandhar to Kamran was a suicidal step. Humayun was deprived of the territory which had been longest under the control of his father and from which revenue was coming regularly. He was deprived of the source from which he could have recruited his new army. He was left only with that empire which was newly-conquered and over which his hold was not secure.

It is true that Humayun was faced with many difficulties but there is no doubt that he could have overcome them if he had possessed tact and strong will-power. Unfortunately, he did not possess such a character. According to a Lane-Poole, "He was incapable of sustained effort and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium-eaters paradise whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate. Naturally kind, he forgave when he should have punished; light-hearted and sociable, he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in the saddle. His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend; his virtues were christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means fortune and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled."

10 **Expedition of Kalinjar (1531):** In 1531, Humayun besieged the fort of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. It was believed that the Rajah was "probably in the interest of the Afghans." The siege of the fort lasted for many months and Humayun was forced to make peace and accept a huge indemnity from the Rajah. It is stated that the Kalinjar expedition was a folly on the part of Humayun. Humayun was not able to defeat the Rajah and consequently failed in his mission. The Rajah could have been won over if Humayun had handled the situation tactfully.

Battle of Dourah (1532): One of the reasons why Humayun had to give up the siege of Kalinjar was that he had to meet the danger from the Afghans. Under the leadership of Mahmood Lodi, the Afghans of Bihar were marching on to the province of Jaunpur. They had advanced as far as the Barabanki District. Humayun defeated the Afghans on the battle of Dourah or Dadrah in August 1532.

Siege of Chunar (1532): After defeating the Afghans, Humayun besieged the fort of Chunar under Sher Khan. The siege lasted from September to December 1532. But instead of conquering it, Humayun "accepted a purely perfunctory submission." It was a mistake on the part of Humayun to do so. He ought to have crushed the power of Sher Khan who was undoubtedly the rising star. He had to pay heavily for his mistake later on.

After his return from Chunar, Humayun wasted a year and a half in feasts and festivities in Agra and Delhi. We are told that he honoured the nobles with robes of honour and Arab horses. 1200 persons received robes and 2,000 were given outer garments of gold, brocade and gilt buttons. Humayun also spent money on building a big citadel at Delhi called Din Panah. This Humayun did in spite of the fact that he was getting very disquieting news from Gujrat where Bahadur Shah was increasing his power every day. According to Rushbrook Williams, "There is a repetition of the old story of the financial breakdown in the time of Humayun, accompanied by revolution, intrigue and dethronement of a dynasty."

War with Bahadur Shah (1535-36): War with Bahadur Shah was inevitable. Bahadur Shah had annexed Malwa in 1531, captured the fort of Raisin in 1532 and defeated the Sisodia chief of Chittor in 1533. He was an ambitious man and aimed at becoming the Emperor of India himself. He had helped Tatar Khan, son of Alam Khan Lodi, in raising a strong army and capturing Bayana which was a Moghul possession. Bahadur Shah offended Humayun by giving shelter to Mohammad Zaman Mirza who had escaped from Humayun. He also refused to hand him over to Humayun even when the latter requested him to do so. No wonder, Humayun made up his mind to proceed personally against Bahadur Shah.

At that time, Bahadur Shah was besieging the fort of Chittor. Rani Karnawati, mother of the Rajah, appealed to Humayun for help. She also sent a Rakhi to him implying thereby that she con-

no 8920

SKINAU

sidered him to be a brother and asking for Humayun's help. It is true that Humayun accepted the Rakhi and proceeded towards Chittor but later on he changed his mind on the way. Bahadur Shah was confident that true to the traditions of Islam, Humayun would not attack him when he was engaged in war with a non-Muslim, and he was right in his belief. So long as the siege of Chittor continued, Humayun did not raise his finger against Bahadur Shah. After the fall of Chittor, Humayun started his operations against Bahadur Shah. The latter was literally besieged in his camp and his supplies ran short. He was faced with the prospect of starvation and he ran away in April 1535 and took shelter in the Fort of Mandu.

Critics point out that it was not statesmanlike on the part of Humayun to have kept quiet when Bahadur Shah was busy against the Rajah of Chittor. He should have attacked Bahadur Shah and crushed him. Had he attacked at once, he would have succeeded in inflicting a decisive blow on Bahadur Shah. Moreover, by doing so, he would have won over the Rajputs to his own side. His chivalry towards a Muslim enemy may be praiseworthy but undoubtedly his policy was wrong.

After the flight of Bahadur Shah, Humayun besieged the fort of Mandu and captured it. Bahadur Shah ran to Champanir which was also besieged and ultimately conquered by Humayun. Ahmedabad and Cambay were also captured by Humayun. Bahadur Shah took refuge in the island of Diu and by August 1535 the conquest of Central Gujrat was completed by Humayun.

It is true that the capture of Mandu and Champanir were great achievements, but unfortunately Humayun made no arrangements to consolidate his position. He wasted a lot of time in merry-making, and squandered away the treasure that had fallen into his hands at Champanir. It was the chaotic state of administrative affairs in Gujrat that helped Bahadur Shah to recover his position. The latter sent Imad-ul-Mulk to Ahmedabad to collect revenues and the latter succeeded in doing so and raising a powerful army. Humayun recaptured Ahmedabad and appointed his brother Askari as Governor of Gujrat. Unfortunately, Askari mismanaged the affairs of Gujrat and Bahadur Shah was again able to get back a large number of towns. The local chiefs also helped Bahadur Shah and the result was that Gujrat was completely lost in 1536. Malwa was also lost to the Mughals. "One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces: the next saw them as quickly lost."

12
War with Sher Khan (1537-39): After the loss of Gujrat in 1536, Humayun stayed in Agra for a year. Although he got information that Sher Khan was strengthening his position in Bengal and Bihar, Humayun did nothing to move against him. Sher Khan had already made himself the master of the whole of Bihar. He had also defeated the King of Bengal in 1534 and 1536. It was only in 1537 that Humayun felt that he should do something against Sher Khan. He besieged the fort of Chunargarh which belonged to Sher Khan. This siege lasted for 6 months and inspite of the the best efforts of Humayun, could not be captured. Ultimately, it was captured by means of a trick. The capture of the fort of Chunargarh was a great military achievement, but it was of no substantial use to Humayun as this fort did not command any land-route. Humayun had wasted many valuable months in Chunargarh for nothing.

After capturing Chunargarh, Humayun proceeded towards Banaras and stayed there for some time. Negotiations were opened with Sher Khan for a compromise. Instead of taking action against Sher Khan at once, Humayun waivered and ultimately decided to conquer Bengal. He reached Teliagarhi in May 1538 and found the road to Gaur blocked by Jalal Khan, the son of Sher Khan. There was fighting and Jalal Khan retired. In August 1538, Humayun reached Gaur. Here again Humayun wasted about 8 months in merry-making. He neglected fighting during this period. During this interval, Sher Khan strengthened his position and cut off the communicaions between Delhi and Bengal. He also captured Kara, Kanauj and Sambhal. By January 1539, the whole of the country between the Kosi and the Ganga was in the hands of Sher Khan. Hindal left Bihar and retired to Agra. When Humayun realised the dangerous position in which he was placed, he decided to return to Agra immediately. He started his return journey in March 1539.

Battle of Chausa, 1539: Sher Khan blocked the road to Agra and only a decisive victory over him could help Hunayun to reach Agra. The armies of Humayun and Sher Khan faced each other for three months from April 1539 to June 1539 and neither of the two started the fighting. Delay was in the interests of Sher Khan and Humayun did not appreciate this point. The result was that after three months, the rains started and the Mughal encampment was flooded. That created confusion in the armies of Humayun. Sher Khan found his opportunity and there was the battle of Chausa

on 26th June 1539. Humayun was defeated and with difficulty saved his life with the help of a water-carrier. He even lost his wives.

Battle of Kanauj, 1540: After his defeat at Chausa, Humayun reached Agra and called all his brothers for consultation. Kamran offered to fight against Sher Khan with 20,000 troops but Humayun rejected the offer because he did not trust his brother. He was prepared to accept the help if Kamran would lend him his troops. The differences between the two brothers could not be composed and consequently Kamran left with his troops for Lahore. Somehow, Humayun managed to raise an army and the effective fighting strength of the Mughal soldiers was about 40,000. In May 1540 was fought the battle of Kanauj. In this battle, the Mughal artillery did not play any part as it could not be taken to the front when Sher Khan started the attack. In the case of Kanauj also, Humayun did not start the attack for full one month. The battle of Kanauj was fought and lost. Humayun became a fugitive and Sher Khan became the master of Agra and Delhi.

Humayun's efforts to regain throne. (6)

After his defeat, Humayun came to Agra but left soon after. He tried to go to Kashmir but Kamran blocked his way. Ultimately, he decided to go to Sind.

Humayun was invited by Maldev of Marwar and he accepted the invitation. On the way, he came to know that Maldev had changed his mind and really wanted to arrest him with a view to please Sher Khan. Under the circumstances, he had to retrace his steps to Sind.

He got shelter from the Rana of Amarkot. In 1542, Akbar was born at Amarkot.

Finding his position difficult and no prospects of success in the future, Humayun left India. He tried to get help from his brother Kamran but failed. The latter tried to arrest him. Ultimately, Humayun went to Persia where Shah Tahmasp gave him a great reception. The Shah insisted that Humayun must become a Shia and ultimately Humayun accepted the condition. The Shah agreed to give 14,000 men to Humayun on the condition that Kandhar was to be given to him. With the help of the Persian troops, Humayun captured Kandhar and handed over the same to the Persians. However, Humayun occupied the same after the death of Shah Tahmasp. Humayun also captured Kabul in November 1544 and Kamran ran away to Sind.

Although Humayun had got Kabul and Kandhar, his difficulties were not over. Humayun fell ill and Kamran took advantage of the situation and recaptured Kabul in 1546. The followers of Humayun deserted him. But when he himself recovered from his illness, he was able to recapture Kabul after a siege in 1547. Kamran managed to slip away. He appeared on the scene once again in 1548, but was defeated. Once again, Humayun forgave Kamran, but the latter managed to occupy Kandhar, again in 1549. Humayun had to struggle very hard this time to recapture Kabul. As a matter of fact, he was himself severely wounded. Kamran ran away but was captured. Humayun ordered his eyes to be taken out. Kamran went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and he died there in 1557. Askari was also sent to Mecca and he never returned. Hindal was killed.

After securing his position, Humayun continued to follow a policy of waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack India and recover his previous territory.

Sher Shah Sur, the victor of Kanauj, died in 1545. He was succeeded by his son, Islam Shah, who ruled up to 1553. He was succeeded by Mohd. Adil Shah. He was very fond of pleasures and left the affairs of his Government into the hands of Hemu, his Minister. His authority was challenged by Ibrahim Shah and Sikandar Shah. There were a large number of bloody battles among the various rivals. The net result of all this was that the Sur Empire was broken up.

Humayun made preparations for his attack on India. He reached Peshawar in December 1544. He occupied Lahore in February 1555. Dipalpur was occupied in March 1555. The battle of Machhiwara was fought in May 1555 between the Mughals and the Afghans and ended in the victory for the Mughals. In June 1555 was fought the battle of Sirhind in which Sikandar Sur was defeated. After his defeat, Sikandar Sur ran away to Mankot and from there to the hills of the North-Western Punjab. Humayun entered Delhi in July 1555 after an interval of about 15 years. He deputed his son, Akbar, to pursue Sikandar Sur.

Although Humayun had recovered his kingdom, he was not destined to rule the same for long. In January 1556, he met his tragic end by slipping from the famous building known as Din Panah.

According to Lane-Poole, "Humayun tumbled through life

and he tumbled out of it." What Lane Poone wanted to convey was that first of all Humayun lost everything and later on regained what he had lost. It can be pointed out that Humayun had to meet many difficulties at the time of his succession to the throne. He could not overcome those difficulties and became a fugitive after the battle of Kanauj in 1540. Later on, with the help of the King of Persia, he recaptured Kabul and Kandhar and ultimately was able to ascend the throne of Delhi and Agra after defeating Sikandar Sur.

(1) **Causes of Humayun's failure:** A reference may be made to some of the important causes which were responsible for the failure of Humayun. It has already been pointed out that Humayun divided his Empire among his various brothers. He should not have given Kabul, Kandhar and the Punjab to Kamran. By doing so, he weakened his own hands. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "It was a mistake on Humayun's part to make these concessions, because they created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the Afghan hills. Kamran could henceforward, as Prof. Rushbrook Williams observes, cut the root of his military power by merely stopping where he was. Besides, the cession of Hissar Firoza was a blunder, for it gave Kamran command of the new military road which ran from Delhi to Kandhar."

(2) It was the height of folly on the part of Humayun not to have done anything for the welfare of his own people during the 10 years he was on the throne (1530-40). On the other hand, he spent all these years in wars. The result was that the treasury was empty and the people were discontented. There was none to fight for Humayun.

(3) Humayun failed to make a right estimate of the growing power of Sher Khan. To begin with, he treated him with contempt. He ought to have appreciated the dangers ahead and taken a stiff action against Sher Khan from the very outset. He ought to have nipped the evil in the bud. His delay in taking action against Sher Khan resulted in his own failure.

(4) The same can be said about Humayun's treatment of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat. Humayun should have attacked and finished Bahadur Shah when the latter was busy against Chittor. He foolishly gave Bahadur Shah time. Humayun should not have spent so many months in dealing with Gujrat. He should have completely crushed the power of Bahadur Shah in Gujrat once for

all and thereby avoided the possibility of any future trouble. He ought not to have wasted time in festivities and merry-making at Mandu. Moreover, during the Mughal occupation of Gujrat, Humayun ought to have carried out such administrative reforms in that territory as would have won over the people to his side. Unfortunately, the military occupation of Gujrat created resentment against the Mughals.

(5) After his defeat at Chausa in 1539, Humayun did nothing to recapture the territory from Kanauj to Banaras. On the other hand, he always remained on the defensive. Such a policy was not conducive to the maintenance of his prestige.

(6) Humayun committed many mistakes in the battle of Kanauj. He foolishly chose a low land for his encampment. For two months, he remained inactive and did not raise his finger against the enemy. As Sher Khan attacked all of a sudden, Humayun could not make use of his artillery and the result was his failure.

(7) Humayun did not behave like a statesman. He pardoned again and again those who revolted against him. This he did not only in the case of Kamran but also in the case of Mahmūd Zaman Mirza. Such a treatment could not create an atmosphere of loyalty towards the Emperor. Everybody knew that in spite of his faithlessness, he would be pardoned by the Emperor.

(8) Another cause of Humayun's failure was his own character. He could not stick to a job. He always worked by fits and starts. The result was that before anything was done completely, his mind passed on to something else leaving the first one half-complete. Such a method is not conducive to success.

Estimate of Humayun: It is admitted on all hands that Humayun was a thorough gentleman. He was an ideal son, an ideal husband, an ideal father and an ideal brother. In spite of the acts of treachery on the part of his brothers and others, he forgave them again and again. But this virtue was the undoing of his career.

Humayun was a thoroughly cultured man. He was very polite in his conversation. According to Ferishta, Humayun was "of elegant stature and of a bronze complexion. The mildness and benevolence of Humayun's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities." He "possessed the virtues of charity and munificence in a very high degree."

Humayun was a true Muslim, but he was not a fanatic. His

chief Queen, Hamida Banu Begam, was a Shia. Bairam Khan was also a Shia. He knew how to treat with people who differed with him in religion.

Undoubtedly, Humayun was a good fighter. It is true that he failed at many places but everywhere he showed that he was a great fighter. He was not afraid of the battlefield and fought very many battles. However, he lacked the quality of concentration and that proved to be his undoing.

Humayun was not a great administrator. During the period of 10 years when he was the king, he did nothing to improve the administrative system of the country. There is no exaggeration in saying that Humayun had no administrative aptitude and that is why he shirked from this work. He made absolutely no solid reforms which can stand to his credit. His over-generosity and leniency towards his relatives ruined his administration.

The indecisive temperament of Humayun was partly due to his habit of eating opium. He took delight in merry-making and wasted the precious time which he ought to have utilised in crushing the power of such rivals as Bahadur Shah and Sher Khan.

CHAPTER IV

SHER SHAH SUR (1540-45)

The original name of Sher Shah Sur was Farid. He was the grandson of Ibrahim Sur and the son of Hassan. His grandfather had come to India in search of employment in the time of Bahlol Lodi and joined service in the Punjab. Farid is said to have been born in the Punjab in 1472. After Farid's birth, both his grandfather and father entered the service of Jamal Khan in the Punjab. When Jamal Khan was transferred to Jaunpur in the time of Sikandar Lodi, he granted the Jagir of Sahsaram, Khawaspur and Tanda to Hassan in Bihar.

Hassan married four wives and had 8 sons. He loved his youngest wife and not the eldest, whose son Farid was. Under the circumstances, Farid and his mother had a very unhappy time. Things came to such a crisis that in 1494, Farid left Sahsaram and went to Jaunpur. He worked so hard that at Jaunpur he mastered many Arabic and Persian books such as Gulistan, Bostan and Sikandar Nama. As Farid was a brilliant boy, he caught the eye of Jamal Khan, the patron of his father.

As a result of the intervention of Jamal Khan, Farid was appointed by Hassan to manage his Jagir and this he did successfully for full 21 years. During this period, Farid acquired so much of knowledge of land and its management that he was able later on to utilise all this as Emperor of India. Farid's successful management aroused the jealousy of his step-mother and consequently he was driven away once again in 1518. Farid went straight to Ibrahim Lodi and requested him to grant the Jagir of his father to him. The Sultan refused to do so. However, as Hassan died soon after, Ibrahim Lodi gave the Jagir of Sahsaram, Khawaspur and Tanda to Farid. Farid settled down at Sahsaram.

This did not end the difficulties of Farid. His step-brother challenged his right to the whole of the Jagir and sought the intervention of Mohammad Khan Sur of Chaund in Bihar. Farid refused to share the jagir with his brother and took up service under Bahar Khan Lohani, ruler of South Bihar, with a view to strengthen his hands. He endeared himself so much to Bahar Khan that the latter

gave him the title of Sher Khan. Sher Khan was appointed the tutor of Jalal Khan, the son of Bahar Khan. Later, he was made the Deputy Governor of South Bihar.

The rise of Sher Khan was not liked by the Lohani nobles and other Afghan chiefs and consequently they all started poisoning the ears of Bahar Khan. It was given out that Sher Khan was planning to join Mahmood Lodi who was trying to revive the Afghan Empire in India. Bahar Khan asked Sher Khan to divide his jagir and at his refusal, took forcible possession of the same and turned out Sher Khan.

When he was in this helpless condition, Sher Khan joined the Mughal service in April 1527. When Babar attacked Bihar, Sher Khan rendered him very useful service. As a reward of his services, his jagir was restored to him. Sher Khan spent his time in Mughal service usefully. He studied the defects in Mughal administration and Mughal military organisation. He also particularly noted the vanity of the Mughals. He left their service towards the end of 1528 as he found it difficult to pull on.

Sher Khan once again went to South Bihar and was re-appointed tutor and guardian of Jalal Khan. The ruler of South Bihar died in 1528 and Sher Khan was appointed the Deputy Governor or Vakil. In his new capacity, Sher Khan tried to overhaul the whole of the system of administration of South Bihar. He was also able to gather together a large number of followers who were prepared to risk their all for Sher Khan.

Another difficulty faced Sher Khan in 1529. Mahmood Lodi came to Bihar in 1529 on the invitation of some Afghan nobles. All the Afghans came under his banner and he took in his own hands the government of South Bihar. Sher Khan did not show enthusiasm for Mahmood Lodi. He was not willing to annoy Babar. On the insistence and persuasion of Mahmood Lodi, Sher Khan also joined after some hesitation at the beginning. To begin with, the Afghans were successful, but as the fighting became bitter, Mahmood Lodi ran away from the battle-field. South Bihar was restored to Jalal Khan, and he was to pay an annual tribute as a Mughal vassal. Sher Khan was invited once again and made the Deputy Governor of Bihar under Jalal Khan. The mother of Jalal Khan died and Jalal was still a minor at that time. The result was that all the power in South Bihar fell into Sher Khan's hands.

The relations between Bengal and South Bihar were never

good on account of their conflicting interests. Nasrat Shah, ruler of Bengal had an eye on South Bihar. Sher Khan cultivated friendly relations with the brother-in-law of Nasrat Shah and tried to use him against Nasrat Shah. Nasrat Shah had invaded South Bihar but was defeated by Sher Khan in 1529. This victory raised the prestige of Sher Khan and also aroused the jealousy of many others.

Although Sher Khan was the virtual ruler of that part of the country, he did not make any formal declaration to that effect. He took up the title of Hazrat-i-Ala. Sher Khan also got the fort of Chunar by means of a marriage with a widow.

Sher Khan and Humayun: After his defeat in the battle of Gogra in 1529, Mahmood Lodi wanted to try his luck once again in 1530. He felt that time was opportune for a trial of strength. Humayun was seriously ill and later on when his life was saved, Babar died. Soon after his succession to the throne, the hands of Humayun were full and consequently he could not be expected to deal effectively with the affairs of a distant place like Bihar. Mahmood Lodi got the help of all the Afghan chiefs. He had to take special pains to enlist the support of Sher Khan. Many months were spent in preparations and the Afghans occupied the territory up to Banaras. When they marched towards Jaunpur, Humayun got upset. At that time he was busy with his siege of Kalinjar. He hastily made peace with the Rajah of that place and advanced against the Afghans. In the battle of Dourah in U.P. in August 1532, the Afghans were defeated and Mahmood Lodi ran away and died in 1542. Sher Khan was throughout an unwilling worker and soon after the failure of the Afghan attempt, he recovered South Bihar.

After his success against the Afghans, Humayun besieged the fort of Chunargarh which belonged to Sher Khan. The siege lasted for 4 months and during all this period Sher Khan was able to defy the might of Humayun. However, Humayun made peace with Sher Khan as he got news of trouble in Gujrat by Bahadur Shah. Sher Khan was allowed to continue in possession of Chunargarh on the condition that he was to send a contingent of 500 troops for service in the Mughal army. These terms were accepted by both the parties in January 1533.

Sher Khan and Bengal: When Sher Khan had his difficulties with Humayun, the ruler of Bengal had tried to create all kinds of handicaps for him. The result was that after making peace with

Humayun, Sher Khan made up his mind to deal with the ruler of Bengal. In the battle of Surajgarh in 1534, the ruler of Bengal was defeated. This victory was a turning point in the life of Sher Khan. According to Dr. Qanungo, "Great as it was as a military achievement, it was greater in its far reaching political result. But for the victory at Surajgarh, the Jagirdar at Sahsaram would never have emerged from his obscurity into the arena of Hindustan politics to reign, inspite of himself, a race for the empire with hereditary crowned heads like Bahadur Shah and Humayun Padshah." Moreover, the whole of the treasures, elephants and a train of artillery of the Bengal army fell into the hands of Sher Khan and he became the master of the kingdom of Bihar and other territory."

The victory of Surajgarh added to the hunger of Sher Khan and he repeated his attack of Bengal many a time. Every time, the ruler of Bengal was defeated and he had to pay money. At one time, the ruler of Bengal got the help of the Portuguese, but even that did not help matters as Sher Khan was all clever for both of them. As a matter of fact, Sher Khan ruled Gaur and threatened the same in ~~1536~~ when the ruler of Bengal was forced to make peace.

Although peace was made in 1536, Sher Khan was determined to capture the whole of Bengal. After making adequate preparations, Sher Khan attacked Bengal once again in 1537. Finding himself absolutely unequal to the task, the ruler of Bengal appealed to Humayun for help.

Humayun too was alarmed at the activities and achievements of Sher Khan and no wonder he at once moved towards Chunar after making the necessary preparations. He reached Chunar in November 1537 and besieged it. He took 6 long months to capture it. It was a folly on the part of Humayun to have wasted so much of energy, time and money at Chunar. He should have proceeded straight to Bengal to help its ruler. The result was that when Humayun was busy with his conquest of Chunar, Sher Khan conquered the Bengal territory between Monghir and Gaur and besieged Gaur itself. Sher Khan also acquired the fort of Rohtasgarh in Bihar by cleverness. This fort was in the possession of a Hindu Rajah. There are two views regarding the method by which this fort was captured. According to one view, Sher Khan requested the Hindu Rajah of Rohtasgarh to give shelter to his women. Out of generosity, the Hindu Rajah agreed. Sher Khan smuggled into the fort a large number of armed Afghan troops in covered litters. They were

disguised as women. When the Afghan soldiers entered the fort, they captured the same and turned out the Hindu troops. Another story is that Sher Khan gave a bribe to the Minister of the Hindu Rajah and got from him a promise of shelter in the fort. The Rajah protested but in spite of that the Minister allowed the Afghans to enter the fort. As soon as they entered it, they took possession of the fort. This happened in 1538.

While Humayun was busy in the siege of Chunar, Sher Khan was doing all that he could to capture Gaur as quickly as possible. After hard efforts, Gaur was captured and occupied. The authority of Sher Khan was established in Bengal but this was going to be short-lived.

Mughal occupation of Bengal: To begin with, Humayun had negotiations with Sher Khan to arrive at some amicable settlement. He asked Sher Khan to surrender all his territory and accept a small jagir for himself. When this offer was rejected by Sher Khan, Humayun asked him to surrender Bihar and keep Bengal and pay an annual tribute of Rs. 10 lacs for the same. Sher Khan accepted the proposal and there seemed to be an end of the matter, but later on Humayun made up his mind to conquer Bengal. Sher Khan condemned Humayun for the breach of a promise. As Humayun advanced to capture Gaur, Sher Khan hurried to transfer his treasure from Gaur to Rohtasgarh. When that was done, Sher Khan allowed Humayun to go into Bengal without any let or hindrance. Humayun occupied Gaur and busied himself for many months in merry-making.

During this interval, Sher Khan was able to establish his control over the territory between Bihar and Delhi. He was also able to cut all the lines of communication between Delhi and Bengal. Humayun had foolishly wasted 8 months at Gaur in frivolities. He ought to have withdrawn from Bengal as early as possible and gone back to Agra. His long stay in Bengal and the nearing of the rainy season were in the interest of Sher Khan.

In June 1539 was fought the battle of Chausa in which Humayun was defeated and he managed to escape with his life with difficulty. Before this battle was fought, Humayun had wasted a lot of time in futile negotiations and kept his troops idle for a pretty long time. Sher Khan won this battle by leading a surprise attack on the Mughals who were sleeping in their camps at midnight. The victory of Chausa was of very great importance. It brought a radical change in the life of Sher Khan. The scope of his "ambition was immensely

widened." According to Dr. Qanungo, in 1538, Sher Khan would have contented himself with the position of a Mughal vassal. "Now he won, by this single stroke, Jaunpur in addition to Bengal and Bihar in independent sovereignty and could legitimately claim equality with the Emperor." After the battle of Chausa, Sher Khan began to dream of sitting on the throne of Delhi. The victory of Chausa made Sher Khan the *de facto* ruler of Bengal and Bihar. Sher Khan declared himself as the king of Bengal and Bihar in 1539.

After his coronation, Sher Khan sent an army to Gaur with a view to turn out the Mughal garrison. This was carried out. Humayun was pursued, but allowed to escape to Delhi.

In May 1540 was fought the battle of Kanauj, between Humayun and Sher Khan. Here also, Humayun repeated the same folly which was responsible for his defeat in the battle of Chausa. For full one month, the Mughal armies did nothing. It is Sher Shah who chose his time to attack the Mughals. The Mughal artillery could not be used at all. The armies of Sher Shah pursued Humayun. Humayun had some rest at Lahore but was made to vacate the same. Kamran was not prepared to risk a conflict with Sher Khan. He felt that he might be able to keep his possessions by being considerate towards Sher Shah.

Sher Shah received the submission of the Baloch chiefs. He also undertook an expedition for the conquest of the Gakkhar country lying between the upper courses of the Jhelum and the Indus.

Conquest of Malwa (1542): Sher Shah attacked Malwa in 1542. Its conquest was necessary for the integrity and safety of the Kingdom. Sher Shah sent an expedition to Malwa. The Governor of the fort of Gwalior submitted.

Conquest of Raisin (1543): Raisin was in Central India. In 1542, Pooran Mal waited on Sher Shah and he was given many gifts by the king. Sher Shah wanted to have for himself the whole of Raisin. He also came to know that Pooran Mal was trying to subjugate the Muslims and enslave their women. Sher Shah would like to teach a lesson to Pooran Mal. He went to Raisin *via* Mandu and besieged the same. The fort was captured by a clever device. A large number of Hindu men and women were killed. Pooran Mal and his followers fought "like hogs at bay."

Conquest of Multan and Sind: Sher Shah conquered Multan and Sind and occupied the Punjab which was vacated by Kamran.

War with Jodhpur: Maldeo, the ruler of Jodhpur, invited Humayun in June 1541 to recover the throne of Delhi. Sher Shah wrote to Maldeo asking him not to give shelter to Humayun and arrest him and hand him over to him. Under the circumstances, Maldeo remained neutral for fear of offending Sher Shah or Humayun. In spite of all this, Sher Shah was not satisfied with the behaviour of Maldeo and wanted him to capture Humayun and hand him over to hands. Moreover, Sher Shah could not tolerate the existence of a powerful state like that of Maldeo. Preparations were made for an attack on Maldeo. Towards the end of 1543, Sher Shah marched against Marwar. Sher Shah did not get an easy victory. He had to resort to a clever device to defeat Maldeo. Dissensions were created between Maldeo and his followers and it was then that Maldeo was defeated. The forged letters were to the following effect: "Let not the king permit any anxiety or doubt to find its way to his heart. During the battle, we will seize Maldeo and bring him to you." So bitter was the fighting and so difficult was the victory that Sher Shah declared thus: "I had nearly lost the Empire of Hindustan for a handful of Bajra (Millet)."

Marwar was got in 1544 but soon after the death of Sher Shah, Maldeo reoccupied the lost territory in July 1555.

As regards the policy of Sher Shah towards the Rajput princes, Dr. Qanungo remarks thus: "In Rajasthan, Sher Shah made no attempt to uproot the local chiefs or to reduce them to thorough subjection as he had done in other parts of Hindustan. He found the task dangerous as well as fruitless. He did not aim at the complete subversion of their independence, but their political and geographical isolation from one another so as to make any general upheaval against the Empire impossible. In short, it was something like a British occupation in the North-Western Frontier tribal territories which is meant less for gain than for the safety of the Indian Empire." Sher Shah established garrisons of his troops at important places and maintained strict control over the means of communication. Ajmer, Chittor, Jodhpur and Mount Abu were fortified and held by the Afghan troops.

Sher Shah led his last expedition against the Rajah of Kalinjar. It was felt that it was difficult to capture the fort even after a siege lasting for a year. Ultimately, Sher Shah decided to blow up the walls of the fort. Mines were dug. Sher Shah was injured by the

explosion of gunpowder. It is true that the fort was taken but Sher Shah himself died in May 1545.

Sher Shah's administration: There has been a lot of controversy with regard to the real nature of the system of administration of Sher Shah Sur. To begin with, it was maintained that Sher Shah was merely a soldier who possessed an average administrative capacity. Dr. K.R. Qanungo put forward a new thesis. According to him, Sher Shah was a greater constructive genius than Akbar himself. According to Dr. Tripathi and Dr. Saran, Sher Shah was merely a reformer and not an innovator. According to them, too much importance has been given to his achievements than is really due to them. It is pointed out that in many ways, he merely revived the system of Ala-ud-Din Khilji. Otherwise, there was nothing original in what he did.

Sher Shah's administration was not only autocratic but also enlightened and vigorous. He did not listen to the advice of the Ulema. He aimed at the betterment of administration and looked into the smallest details of administration.

Sher Shah was a benevolent despot. He had both civil and military powers in his hands and he exercised them in the interests of the people rather than for himself.

Sher Shah was helped by four ministries and those were the Diwan-i-Wizarat, Diwan-i-Ariz, Diwan-i-Rasalt and Diwan-i-Insha. The wazir was the head of the Diwan-i-Wizarat. He was in charge of both the income and expenditure of the country. He also exercised a general supervision over other ministers. The Diwan-i-Ariz was under Ariz-i-Mamalik. The latter was in charge of the recruitment, organisation and discipline of the army. He was responsible for the payment of salaries of the army. On account of his personal interest in the military affairs, Sher Shah interfered a lot in this department. The Diwan-i-Rasalat was under a foreign minister. His duty was to keep himself in touch with the ambassadors and envoys. He also dealt with diplomatic correspondence. The work of charity and endowment was also in his hands. The Minister-in-charge of Diwan-i-Insha had to draft royal proclamations and dispatches. He was in charge of Government records. His duty was also to correspond with the Governors and other local officers.

In addition to the four Departments or Ministries, there were also the Diwan-i-Qazi and Diwan-i-Barid. The first was under the Chief Qazi. The duty of the Chief Qazi was to supervise the

administration of justice. Diwan-i-Barid was the intelligence Department of the Government. It had a large number of news-writers and spies who were scattered all over the country. There was also a high official in charge of the royal household. He enjoyed a lot of prestige on account of his nearness to the royal family. He may be called the Lord High Steward.

There are two theories with regard to provincial administration under Sher Shah. According to Dr. Qanungo, the highest division of the country was Sarkar and the provinces were the creation of Akbar, the Great. According to Dr. Saran, provinces existed even before Akbar and it is wrong to say that Sarkar was the highest division for purposes of administration. However, both the views do not seem to be quite correct. It cannot be denied that there were administrative divisions which corresponded to provinces. There was no uniformity with regard to their income and size. They were known as Iqtas and were assigned to chiefs. Sher Shah established a new type of provincial administration in Bengal. The latter was divided into a number of Sarkars. A civilian was to be at the head of the entire province and he was given a small army for his help. His duty was to keep supervision over the various officials of the Sarkar and also settle the disputes. The details of provincial administration are not clear and it is not possible to say as to how its officers were appointed and what their names were.

Sarkar: In the time of Sher Shah, provinces were divided into Sarkars. The two important officials of a Sarkar were Munsif-i-Munsifan or Munsif-in-Chief and Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran or Shiqdar-in-Chief. The Chief Munsif was primarily a judge and tried civil cases. He also supervised the work of Amins. As regards the Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran, his duty was to maintain law and order within the Sarkar or district and also to put down those who dared to revolt. He was also to supervise the work of the Shiqdars of the Parganas.

Parganas: If there were many Sarkars in a province, there were many Parganas in a Sarkar. The important officials in a Pargana were a Shiqdar, an Amin, a treasurer, a Munsif, a Hindi writer and a Persian writer for accounts. In addition to these, there were the Patwari, Chaudhari and the Muqaddam who acted as intermediaries between the people and the Government. It is to be noted that the Shiqdar was a soldier. The Amin was a civilian whose duty was the assessment and collection of land-revenue. The

Amin was given military help by the Shiqadar. Sher Shah did not interfere with the work of the Pargana officials. He merely tried to maintain contact with them through the Patwari and the Chowkidar. Villages were allowed to work with the help of their Panchayats.

Sher Shah's army: The importance of the army to Sher Shah cannot be over-emphasized. It was only with the help of the army that he was able to drive out Humayun and subdue practically the whole of Northern India. He invited Afghan soldiers from every part of the country and gave them highest posts in the army. Sher Shah took great personal interest in the recruitment of the troops. In many cases, he himself fixed the emoluments of the soldiers. Troops were permitted on the basis of merit and no wonder Sher Shah's armies became very strong.

Sher Shah re-introduced the system of Dagh or branding of horses and Chera or the preparation of the descriptive rolls of the soldiers. In this way, fraudulent musters were checked.

Sher Shah put a lot of emphasis on the cavalry. His infantry was armed with muskets and the troops were very skilful in their use.

Sher Shah also divided his army into many divisions and each division was to be under a commander. Strict supervision was maintained on the discipline of the soldiers. Transport and commissariat arrangements were to be made by the soldiers themselves. Provisions were provided to the soldiers by the Banjaras who moved about along with the army and supplied whatever was necessary.

Finance: Sher Shah did all that he could to add to his resources. Some of the money came from the Central revenues and the other from the local revenues. Heirless property came to the Government. Jizya also brought a lot of money. Commerce, mint, presents, salt, customs, Khams and land revenues were other sources of income. All nobles were required to make presents to the king. However, the main source of income was the land revenue.

Revenue Administration: Before the time of Sher Shah, land was not measured and the share of the Government was a rough estimate. It goes to the credit of Sher Shah that he ordered an accurate survey of all the land in the empire. The share of the Government was fixed at one-third of the expected produce. The payment could be made to the Government either in cash or in kind. The money was realised with the help of Muqaddams and they got

a percentage for their services. In certain cases, the peasants were allowed to make the payment directly to the treasury. It is possible that three systems of assessment prevailed in the time of Sher Shah. Those were (1) Ghalla-Bakshi or Batai, (2) Nasq or Muktai or Kankut, (3) Naqdi or Zabti or Jamai. Batai was of three kinds, viz., Khet-Batai, Lank-Batai and Rasi-Batai.

Sher Shah gave instructions that leniency was to be shown at the time of assessment, but not at the time of collection of revenue. The obvious object of this order was to check corruption among the officials. Sher Shah had also passed orders that while the army was on the move, it was not to destroy the crops of the peasants. However, if any damage was done to the crops, the Government was to pay the compensation.

Reference may be made to some of the defects of the revenue system. The share of the Government was fixed at one-third of the average produce of the three kinds of land, viz., good, middling and bad. The result was that the bad land was over-charged and the good land was under-charged. It is possible that this inequality might have adjusted itself "by variations in the crops grown." Moreover, the share of the Government was rather high. As the settlement was made for one year only, a lot of inconvenience must have been caused to the cultivators. The corruption among the officials of the Revenue Department must have added to the troubles of the people. The Jagirdari system was also another defect in the system.

Justice: Sher Shah is very famous for his giving justice to all concerned. No person could escape punishment on account of his status. The courts presided over by the Qazi and Mir Adl tried civil cases. The Hindus settled their disputes in their Panchayats. However, in criminal cases, everybody was subject to the law of the state. The criminal law of that time was very hard and punishments were severe. The object of punishment was not to reform the criminal but to set an example so that the others may not do the same. Sher Shah gave severer punishments in the case of Government officials and other persons of high status. There is a story regarding the high standard of justice given by Sher Shah. One of his nephews threw a betel leaf at the wife of a goldsmith who was taking her bath at the enclosure of her house. The matter was brought to the notice of Sher Shah and he ordered that the wife of the nephew should be asked to start her bath in the same way and the goldsmith be allowed

to throw a betel leaf at her. In another case, the Governor of Malwa, Shujaat Khan, withheld a part of the Jagirs of 2,000 soldiers. Although Shujaat Khan restored the Jagirs, he was punished by the Emperor. So great was the reputation of Sher Shah as a just ruler that a merchant could travel and sleep in the desert without any fear of being robbed.

Police : The functions of the police were performed by the soldiers in the time of Sher Shah. It was the duty of the Shiqdar-in-Chief to maintain peace and order in the Sarkar. A similar position was occupied by the Shiqdar in a Pargana. It was the duty of these officials to keep a strict watch over the thieves and robbers. Sher Shah also introduced the system of local responsibility. The result was that it was the duty of the officials in-charge of the various areas to find out the culprit in every case. If there was a murder and the murderers could not be traced, the official concerned was to be hanged. The work may not have been very difficult because the officials were fully acquainted with the bad characters of the locality. The police system of Sher Shah has been praised by many historians. According to Abbas Sarwani, "Travellers and way-farers during the time of Sher Shah's reign, were relieved from the trouble of keeping watch, nor did they fear to be halt in the midst of a desert. They encamped at night at every place, desert or inhabited without any fear; they placed their goods and property on the plain and turned out their mules to graze and they slept with minds at ease and free from care as if in their own houses, and the Zamindars for fear any mischief should occur to the travellers, and that they should suffer to be arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time of Sher Shah's rule a decrepit old woman might place a basket full of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of punishment which Sher Shah inflicted."

Currency : The currency system at the time of his accession to the throne was in a hopeless condition. Debasing of the coins was common. There was no fixed ratio between the coins of various metals. Coins of various Governments were allowed to circulate at the same time and they created a lot of confusion. Sher Shah introduced a new coin called Dam. He also abolished the old and mixed metal currency. The names on the coins were given in Devanagri script. Gold coins were also introduced. The ratio of the exchange between the Dam and the rupee was fixed at 64 to 1.

Trade: Sher Shah abolished the various duties which were levied at the frontiers of every province. The object was to facilitate trade in the country. Only two duties were allowed. The first duty was levied when the goods were brought into the country and the second was levied when they were sold. All internal customs were abolished.

Means of Communications: Sher Shah Sur was a great road-maker. He built four big roads. The first road was from Sonargaon in Bengal to the Indus. This road was known as the Sarak-i-Azam and was 1500 *cos* in length. It can be identified with the present Grant Trunk Road. The second road ran from Agra to Burhanpur. The third road ran from Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor. The fourth road was from Lahore to Multan. Trees were also planted on both sides of the roads. Sarais were built at a distance of every Krosh. Separate provision was made for Hindus and Muslims in these Sarais. There was also a well, a mosque and officials such as an Imam, a Muazzin, etc. According to Dr. Qanungo, the Sarais became "the veritable arteries of the Empire, diffusing a new life among its hitherto benumbed limbs." Market-towns developed near these Sarais and trade improved.

Charity: Sher Shah was very liberal in the matter of making grants. He gave grants to Imams and holy men. He also patronized art and letters. Under the orders of Sher Shah, the old grants were scrutinized. He ordered Munshies to prepare the Firmans. He examined them and sealed them himself and sent them to the Shiqdars for distribution. Every effort was made to give grants to those who deserved it. Special grants were given to Madarsas and mosques. Stipends were given to teachers and students. Free kitchens were established by the Government. It is to be noted that in the matter of making grants, Sher Shah was very liberal towards the Afghans.

Intelligence Department: The Sarais were also used as Dak Chaukis. A Daroga-i-Dak Chauki was appointed by Sher Shah. A large number of news-writers and news-carriers were employed and the king got daily reports regarding what was happening in various parts of the country. The system worked so efficiently that Sher Shah was able to get information from all parts of his dominion.

Religious policy: There is a difference of opinion regarding the religious policy followed by Sher Shah. According to Dr.

Qanungo, Sher Shah followed a policy of religious tôleration towards the Hindus. His attitude was "not contemptuous sufferance but respectful deference." Principal Shri Ram Sharma differs from Qanungo. Sher Shah was very much devoted to his own faith. He did his prayers five times a day. On more than one occasion, Sher Shah resorted to Jihad or holy war against the Rajputs. War against Pooranmal of Raisin was officially called a Jihad. His treatment of Maldeo of Jodhpur is a symbol of his intolerance. The same could be said about the siege of Kalinjar. Generally, Sher Shah was tolerant in matters of religious belief. He separated politics from ethics. He did not carry on any organised propaganda against the Hindus. On the whole, he was tolerant towards the Hindus.

Buildings: As regards the buildings of Sher Shah, he was responsible for the construction of Rohtasgarh on the Jhelum. The Purana Qila of New Delhi is said to have been constructed by him. According to Fergusson, the Purana Qila is the most perfect of Sher Shah's buildings. According to Smith, "The short-lived and unstable Sur dynasty of which Sher Shah was the most distinguished member, had such a hard fight for existence that it could not have been expected to pay much attention to architecture. Nevertheless, several meritorious buildings are due to the Sur dynasty and the Mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sahsram built on a lofty plinth in the midst of a lake, is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India, un-equalled among the early buildings in the Northern Provinces for grandeur and dignity. Cunningham was half inclined to prefer it to even the Taj—the style may be described as intermediate between the austerity of the Tuglaq buildings and the feminine grace of Shah Jahan's masterpiece."

Estimate of Sher Shah: Sher Shah was a great empire-builder. By sheer dint of hard work, he rose to the position of the Emperor of Northern India. He possessed an iron determination. He was shrewd and diplomatic in his actions. He could at once grasp the situation and take full advantage of the same. He was pious in his life and was responsible for restoring the wives of Humayun after their capture at Chausa. He was not a very cultured man but he possessed enough of knowledge of Arabic and Persian. Sher Shah was not a soldier by profession but certainly he understood how to plan campaigns to a successful conclusion. He took full advantage of the follies of Humayun and drove him out of the country.

He was a successful statesman. He kept the good of the people in his heart and tried to do all that he could for the welfare of the people. He tried to give peace and justice to the people. He laid down the foundations of an administrative system which was developed by Akbar later on. He has been rightly called a fore-runner of Akbar. He anticipated him in many ways. His revenue reforms were on the same lines as those of Akbar later on. He tried to improve the military system. However, Akbar's Mansabdari system was something new.

Sometimes an effort has been made to give too much of praise to Sher Shah. It is stated that "Sher Shah may justly dispute with Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation by reconciling the followers of the rival creeds." Unfortunately, there is nothing to substantiate such a view. As a matter of fact, Sher Shah had no clear idea of what a nation was. He never dreamt of founding an Indian nation. There was no such thing as national patriotism which guided his actions. His reforms were guided by expediency. Sir Wolseley Haige was not right when he said that Sher Shah was the greatest of the Muslim rulers of India. As a matter of fact, that place is occupied by Akbar and none else. Even Dr. Qanungo admits that Akbar "is justly entitled to a higher place in history than Sher Shah."

It may be remarked that the work of Sher Shah was not permanent. His life was cut short after a reign of five years. He was succeeded by Islam Shah who ruled from 1545 to 1553. There was not much of peace in his reign. He was succeeded by his son Firoz Shah. After three days' of his accession, he was put to death by Mubariz Khan who became king with a title of Mohammad Adil Shah. This king ruled from 1553 to 1557. In 1555, Humayun was able to get back Delhi and Agra. It is obvious that the Sur dynasty did not find time to take root into the Indian soil and consequently the work of Sher Shah was short-lived.

CHAPTER V

AKBAR, THE GREAT MOGUL (1556-1605)

Akbar, the Great Mogul, was one of the greatest rulers of Indian History. He has become a hero whose memory is immortalized as a great king in the hearts of the people of India. The lapse of three hundred years has not diminished it in any way. It has been rightly stated that "he possessed that broad-minded sympathy, that capacity to trust and to evoke trust, that generous confidence in a loyal people, which enabled him to weld together a great and durable empire out of the poor fragments of military conquests left to him by his father."

Condition of India in 1556: Akbar came to the throne in 1556 after the death of his father, Humayun. At that time, he was a child of hardly 14. The throne he inherited was not a bed of roses. As a matter of fact, there was no throne at all. When Akbar got the news of the death of his father, he was at that time at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur District of the Punjab. It was at that place that Akbar was enthroned. An ordinary brick platform was prepared and the ceremony was performed. However, the ceremony did not strengthen the hands of Akbar. According to Dr. Smith, "It merely registered the claim of Humayun's son to succeed to the throne of Hindustan." It is well-known that Humayun had secured Delhi in June 1555 and he had not found enough time to consolidate his power in India. Everything was still unsettled. The position of Akbar was so very shaky that he was advised by all except Bairam Khan to leave India and retire to Kabul.

It is true that Sikandar Sur had been defeated by Humayun, but it is also true that his power had not been crushed. He was still at large in the Punjab. He retained his pretensions to be the King of Delhi and the Punjab. In the Eastern Provinces, the Afghans were strong under their King Mohammad Shah Abdali. Abdali's minister, Hemu, possessed a large Army and was determined to prevent Akbar from taking possession of the dominion of his father.

The Rajput princes also possessed considerable strength and sitting in their forts, they were formidable enemies of Akbar. The important Rajputs princes were those of Mewar, Jesalmir, Bundi

and Jodhpur. These Rajput princes had increased their strength in the time of Humayun. They had increased their military strength to such an extent that they were thinking in terms of fighting against the Mughal Empire.

The States of Gujrat and Malwa had become independent. Their rulers acted in an independent manner and entered into diplomatic relations with other countries. Kabul at that time was under the control of Mirza Hakim, the brother of Akbar. He was acting as an independent ruler and was ambitious enough to entertain dreams of acquiring the empire of India. Both Sindh and Multan were independent and did not owe any allegiance to the rulers of Delhi. Likewise, Kashmir was being ruled by an independent Muslim ruler. Gondwana at that time was being ruled by Rani Durgawati in the name of her minor son. The States of Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar, Berar and Khandesh were absolutely independent and their rulers did not owe any allegiance to the Sultans of Delhi. However, they were involved in continuous wars with the empire of Vijayanagar. At that time, the Portuguese were powerful both in the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. They had established their hold on the Western Coast of India and possessed such important places as Goa, Daman and Diu.

The Kings were absolute and there was practically no check on their authority. The King was assisted by a Wazier or Prime Minister whose position varied with the personal equation. In some cases, he was an uncontrollable vicegerent and in others only the Chief among the Ministers. The various provinces were ruled by the nobles and the King or the Sultan was simply their overlord. They were absolute within their jurisdiction and exercised all executive powers of the State. The King did not interfere in the internal affairs of the provinces. Each province had an army of its own under its own governor. The King depended partly on the soldiers of his nobles and partly on the troops recruited by himself.

As regards the social life of the people, the Hindus were looked down upon. They had to pay such discriminatory taxes as Jizya and pilgrim tax. The people in general were steeped in superstitions and attached great importance to witchcraft, omens and dreams.

The economic condition of the people was simply deplorable. A famine was raging in full fury and was bringing havoc to the people. This was particularly so in the case of Delhi and Agra where thousands died of starvation. "The capital was devastated

and nothing remained, but a few houses. An epidemic plague ensued and spread through most of the cities of Hindustan. Multitudes died and men were driven to feed on human flesh, parties being formed to seize and eat solitary victims."

Second Battle of Panipat (1556): The immediate problem facing Akbar was to deal with the rising power of Hemu, the Prime Minister of Mohammad Shah Abdali of Bengal. On hearing the news of the death of Humayun, Hemu marched towards Agra and captured the same. Then he moved on to Delhi. Tardi Beg, the Mughal Governor, retired from that place and the city fell into the hands of Hemu who entered as King Vikramajit. Hemu was a man of extraordinary personality. He was a Baniya by birth and started his career as a shopkeeper. By sheer dint of hard work and honesty of purpose, Hemu became a Chaudhry in his own circle. This brought him into contact with the Government officials who introduced him into the Court of the Sultan. Within a short period, Hemu won the confidence of his master who employed him in different capacities. He proved himself to be a great administrator and general. No wonder, he became the right hand man of Muhammad Shah Adali. He won for him battles and conquered territories. Akbar had to deal with such a shrewd and ambitious man.

Undoubtedly, Akbar was in a desperate position. The expulsion of Tardi Beg added to the fears of the followers of Akbar. In spite of that, he accepted the advice of Bairam Khan and decided to give battle to Hemu. In order to create an impression on his followers, Tardi Beg was executed. The armies of Hemu and Akbar met on the historic battlefield of Panipat in November 1556. At that time, a severe famine was going on at Delhi and in the neighbouring territory. To begin with, Hemu seemed to carry the day. However, he was struck in the eye by an arrow and he became unconscious. This was a turning point in the battle. The leaderless Afghan army fled away and 1500 war-elephants and other booty fell into the hands of Akbar and Bairam Khan. Hemu was captured and brought before Akbar and Bairam Khan. According to Smith, Akbar "smote the prisoner on the neck."

The second battle of Panipat was of far-reaching importance. The Mughals got a decisive victory over the Afghans. The Afghan pretensions to the sovereignty of India were gone once for all. Delhi and Agra were occupied.

Submission of Sikander Sur (1557): Sikander Sur had retired to the Siwalik Hills and Bairam Khan sent his forces there. The former shut himself in the hill-fortress of Mankot, The fort was besieged and the siege continued for six months. Sikander Sur sued for peace. He surrendered the fort. He was given a Jagir and his son was otherwise provided.

In 1557, Muhammad Shah Abdali died as a result of his conflict with the ruler of Bengal. Thus, another antagonist of Akbar was disposed of without any effort on his part.

Bairam Khan: Bairam Khan was a native of Badakshan and professed the Shia religion. He served faithfully both Humayun and Akbar. He fought in the battle of Kanauj in 1540 and was taken a prisoner. However, he managed to escape and joined Humayun in his wanderings. He accompanied him to Persia and there exercised his own influence to get for Humayun the support of the ruler of that country. He was with Humayun when the latter conquered Kabul, Qandhar and later on the Punjab, Delhi and Agra.

It has already been pointed out that when Humayun died, Bairam Khan and Akbar were in the Punjab pursuing Sikandar Sur who was still not crushed. Akbar, a young man of 14, was in a very difficult situation. His followers advised him to retire to Kabul and from there attempt once again the conquest of India. However, it was Bairam Khan who opposed the idea and insisted upon giving battle to Hemu who had already occupied Agra and Delhi. The credit of winning the second Battle of Panipat goes in a large measure to Bairam Khan. He may be accused of the execution of Tardi Beg but expediency required such an action to strike terror into the hearts of the traitors and cowards amongst the Mughal officials. He was also responsible for the execution of Hemu and his father.

After the Battle of Panipat, Bairam Khan, by virtue of his wisdom, age and experience, was able to acquire considerable influence over Akbar and became virtually the ruler of the country (1556—1560). In this position, he continued the work of conquest. He conquered Gwalior and Jaunpur but failed in the case of Ranthambore. He also did not succeed in his designs on Malwa.

However, Bairam Khan did not remain in power for long. He fell in 1560 and his fall was due to many causes. He appointed Sheikh Gadai as Sadr-i-Sadur. As the Sheikh was a Shia, his appointment was resented by the Sunni Muslims who were in a

majority in India. The Sheikh was exempted from the ceremony of homage. He was given precedence over the Ulama and the Sayyids. He was given the authority to endorse the decrees with his seal. All this created a lot of heart-burning. Sheikh Gadai became the target of attack.

Bairam Khan showered favours on his friends and followers. The titles of Sultan and Khan were given by him to his own menial servants and this was resented by the Muslim nobility. The title of Panchhazari was given by him to his own favourites and the claims of others were not considered. He adopted a discriminatory attitude in the punishment of the offenders. He severely dealt with the servants of the royal household but let off the servants of his own household. He ordered the execution of the elephant-driver of Akbar without any cause.

There was also a suspicion that Bairam Khan was plotting to place on the throne Abdul Qasim, a son of Kamran. This was considered to be the height of disloyalty which could not be ignored.

Bairam Khan was a Shia and his authority was resented by the Mughal nobles who were all Sunnis. They would like to pull him down from his high position. The execution of Tardi Beg created the feeling that Bairam Khan would not mind disposing of any noble, howsoever high he may be. This created a feeling of awe and terror in their minds and their personal safety demanded the removal of Bairam Khan.

Bairam Khan did not try to win over the nobles of the court. On the other hand, he was thoroughly unpopular. "His disposition was arbitrary, haughty and jealous and he could not easily tolerate the presence of possible rivals near his young master."

As Akbar began to grow in years, he made up his mind to take over the administration into his own hands. Bairam Khan did not seem to like the idea and did not behave in a happy way. This made Akbar impatient. There were also palace intrigues. Hamida Banu, the mother of Akbar, Maham Anaga, Adham Khan and Shahab-ud-Din, Governor of Delhi, hated Bairam Khan and plotted to remove him. A conspiracy was hatched. Akbar went to Delhi to see his mother who was reported to be ill. It was at Delhi that Akbar wrote to Bairam Khan that he had decided to take into his own hands the reins of the government and therefore the latter should retire to Mecca. He also offered him a Jagir for his maintenance. Although Bairam Khan was advised by his

followers to revolt, he refused to do so and submitted. Unfortunately, Pir Muhammad, a person whom Bairam Khan detested, was sent to hasten the departure of Bairam Khan from India to Mecca. This was not liked by Bairam Khan and he revolted. However, he was defeated and begged forgiveness. That was generously given by Akbar who received Bairam Khan "with the most princely grace and presented him with a splendid robe of honour." Bairam Khan was allowed to proceed to Mecca with dignity. Unfortunately, he was murdered by an Afghan in Gujrat. His camp was plundered but his young son, Abdur Rahim, was saved. Later on, he rose to the position of Khani-Khanan and married a daughter of Prince Daniyal.

Dr. Smith has made the following observations on Bairam Khan: "The story of the transactions leading up to the fall and death of Bairam Khan leaves an unpleasant taste. It seems to be clear that the intriguers who surrounded and controlled the young Padshah were resolved to get rid of the Protector at any cost, and that they deliberately forced him into rebellion in order to ensure his destruction. For a long time he steadily resisted the advice of Shaikh Gadai and others who counselled open opposition, and if his enemies had abstained from the outrage of deputing Pir Muhammad to pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca, he would apparently have submitted to his Sovereign's will, as his modern representative, Bismarck, submitted to William II, that is to say, reluctantly, but as a matter of both necessity and duty. Bairam Khan obviously was only a half-hearted rebel, and was glad to be captured. Even Abu-l-Fazl, who made the most of the Protector's faults, and could hardly find language emphatic enough to express his sense of the alleged merits of Maham Anaga and Pir Muhammad, was constrained to admit that "Bairam Khan was in reality a good man, and of excellent qualities." The courtly chronicler ascribes his deviations from the narrow path of rectitude to his association with evil advisers and his inordinate appetite for flattery. As a matter of fact, Bairam Khan, although misled sometimes by his partiality for Shia co-religionists, chose his instruments far better than Maham Anaga chose hers during her brief tenure of power. He had the nerve needed to punish the traitor Tardi Beg, and so to save his master's cause. It is true that he made a mistake in giving his confidence at first to Pir Muhammad, but when he discovered the man's ingratitude and baseness he had no hesitation in dismissing him.

“Both Humayun and Akbar owed their recovery of the throne to Bairam Khan, and the obligations of gratitude required that when the time came for Akbar to take the reins into his own hands the demission of his faithful charioteer should be effected as gently as possible. But the many enemies of Bairam Khan were not in a humour to make his exit easy. If they could have had their way unobstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. The generosity of his reception after the failure of his rebellion may be fairly attributed to young Akbar himself, who had had little to do with the previous transactions, for which Maham Anaga was responsible, as her panegyrist Abul Fazl expressly affirms” (Akbar, The Great Mogul, PP. 47-48).

Petticoat Government (1561-4): After the fall of Bairam Khan in 1560, Akbar came under the influence of Maham Anga, his foster-mother. According to Dr. Smith, Akbar threw off the yoke of Bairam Khan only to be brought under the “monstrous regime of unscrupulous women.” Maham Anga proved to be unworthy of the trust reposed in her. She did not care for the interests of the country but merely favoured for worthless favourites. This point of view is not accepted by Indian historians. It is pointed out that if Maham Anaga had been all powerful, she would certainly have helped her own son, Adham Khan, who had distinguished himself as a great general. Not only Adham Khan was not favoured, even the great influence of his mother could not save his life.

Adham Khan: In 1561, Adham Khan was sent to subdue Baz Bahadur, an Afghan, who had captured Malwa. Adham Khan was assisted by Pir Mohammad. He was able to defeat Baz Bahadur near Sarangpur. Unfortunately, he did not send the spoils of the conquest to the Emperor. Adham Khan tried to take possession of Baz Bahadur's Hindu mistress named Rupmati. She killed herself by taking poison. Akbar did not approve of the attitude of Adham Khan in retaining the spoils. He left Agra and reached Malwa by forced marches. He took Adham Khan by surprise. He seized the spoils and removed Adham Khan from his office. Pir Mohammad was appointed in his place. However, Baz Bahadur took advantage of the weak Government of Pir Mohammad and reconquered Malwa. Abdulla Khan Uzbeg defeated him and Baz Bahadur entered the Mughal service.

Adham Khan was the victim of a miscalculation. He wrongly counted upon the influence of his mother over Akbar. Adham

Khan stabbed Shams-ud-Din, the Minister of Akbar in the Royal palace. This was too much for Akbar. It is stated that he rushed to the spot and gave a blow to Adham Khan with his fist and knocked him down to the ground. Adham Khan was seized and thrown headlong from the terrace of the palace where the murder had taken place. This happened in May 1562.

Uzbeg rebellion (1564-7): Abdulla Khan Uzbeg was one of the trusted officers of Akbar. It was he who was responsible for the conquest of Malwa from Baz Bahadur. However, he revolted against Akbar in July 1564. He was joined by other Uzbeg nobles. The rebellion became formidable. Akbar marched against him and Abdulla Khan Uzbeg was forced to retire to Gujrat. Ultimately, he went to Jaunpur where he joined hands with another Uzbeg chief named Khan Zaman. According to Dr. Smith, "Akbar was considered to favour the Persian officers between whom and the Uzbeg chiefs intense jealousy existed." The Uzbegs suspected that Akbar hated their entire race and was bent upon reducing them to a subordinate position. The result was that many of them joined the movement against Akbar. Khan Zaman or Ali Quli Khan who had rendered meritorious service in the second battle of Panipat also revolted in 1565. Asaf Khan who had distinguished himself in the campaigns against Bundelkhand and Gondwana, also threw in his lot with the rebels. The trouble continued for a long time. The Mughal forces which were sent against Khan Zaman were defeated in 1565. Thereupon, Akbar himself took the field in person. Although the rebels made a show of submission, the matter did not end there. Akbar had to suspend his operations against the Uzbegs on account of the activities of Hakim Mirza, his brother. After dealing with his brother, Akbar crossed the swollen Ganges in May 1567 at night and attacked the rebels early in the morning. There was bitter fighting. Khan Zaman was killed. Bahadur Khan, his brother, was taken prisoner and executed. It is evident that the rebellion was crushed through the bravery and promptitude of Akbar.

Wars and conquests of Akbar: Akbar was a great general and conqueror. No wonder, he spent practically the whole of his life in making wars and adding to his territories. It has already been pointed out that he defeated Hemu in the second battle of Panipat in 1556. In 1561, Adham Khan was sent to Malwa to subdue Baz Bahadur, an Afghan, who had taken possession of that territory.

After defeating Baz Bahadur, Adham Khan adopted a defiant attitude. The result was that Akbar himself went to Malwa and took Adham Khan by surprise. ^{Adham} ~~Abdulla~~ Khan was removed from his office and Pir Mohammad was appointed in his place as the Governor of Malwa. Baz Bahadur took advantage of the weak Government of Pir Mohammad and reconquered Malwa. Akbar sent Abdulla Khan Uzbek who recovered Malwa from Baz Bahadur. X

Conquest of Gondwana: Gondwana was conquered in 1564. Gondwana was being ruled by Rani Durgawati who was a very spirited lady. According to Abul Fazl, Durgawati ruled her country with wisdom and ability. She delighted in hunting and bringing down wild animals with her own gun. She was acting as regent of her minor son. Without any cause or justification, Asaf Khan, Governor of Kara, marched against Durgawati. She defended her territory bravely. She was outnumbered and defeated in a battle between Garh and Mandal in the modern Jubbulpore District. She died fighting in the battlefield. Her country was devastated and a lot of booty fell into the hands of the Mughals. Bir Narayan, the young son of Durgawati, also died fighting in the defence of his country.

Wars against Rajputs: Akbar followed a policy of reconciliation with the Rajputs. Some of the Rajput princes entered into matrimonial alliances with him. Akbar married in 1562 the eldest daughter of Raja Bihar Mal of Jaipur. In 1570, he married princesses from Bikaner and Jaisalmer. In 1584, Prince Salim was married to the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. However, Mewar defied the might of Akbar. Consequently, Akbar made up his mind to march against Chitor, and this he did in October 1567. Rana Udai Singh was the head of the Mewar state at that time. He was the posthumous child of Rana Sanga. Udai Singh was an unworthy descendant of the house of Bapa Rawal. According to Todd, "He had not one quality of a sovereign and wanting martial valour, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all. Well had it been for Mewar had the poniard fulfilled its intentions; and had the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of her princes."

Udai Singh had not the guts to face Akbar and he retired from Chitor to the mountains leaving the defence of the country into the hands of Jaimal. The siege of Chitor was a long one. The Rajputs put up a stiff resistance. All the attacks of the Mughals were repulsed. Consequently, Akbar decided to proceed by a regular sap and mine method. Two Sabats or covered approaches

to the wall were built. The intention was to blow up a part of the fort by means of gunpowder. However, one of the mines exploded earlier and was responsible for great destruction. A new work was started under the joint supervision of Kasim Khan and Todar Mal. A breach was made in the walls of the fort. In February 1568, Jaimal was supervising the repair of one of those breaches. Akbar saw and shot him dead with his own gun. "As usual in India, the fall of the commander decided the fate of the garrison." The Rajputs performed the Jauhar ceremony and after killing their women and children, they fell upon the enemy. About 8,000 Rajput warriors perished. Chitor fell into the hands of the Mughals in February 1568.

After Chitor came the turn of Ranthambore which was the stronghold of the Hara section of Chauhans. It was considered to be impregnable in Rajasthan. Akbar started against Ranthambore in December 1568 and reached the scene of action in February 1569. The Mughals were able to fix their guns at the top of another hill near the fort of Ranthambore. The fire of the Mughal guns was too much for the fort of Ranthambore. Surjana Hara, the ruler of Ranthambore, felt that it was impossible to hold the fort any longer. Through the good offices of Bhagwan Das and Man Singh, Surjana Hara sent his two sons, Duda and Bhoja to Akbar. The latter accepted the surrender and treated the young princes with great courtesy. Surjana Hara waited upon Akbar and handed over the keys of the fort of Ranthambore to Akbar. He also entered the Mughal service and was appointed a Qiladar of Garhkantak. Later on, he was appointed the Governor of Banaras.

In 1569, Kalinjar was captured. Akbar sent Manjanu Khan Qaqshal to capture the fort of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. When the ruler of Kalinjar got the news of the surrender of Ranthambore and Chittor, he himself surrendered in August 1569. The capture of Kalinjar was of great military importance to Akbar on account of its position in Northern India.

Chandra Sen, the son of Raja Mal Deo of Jodhpur, waited upon Akbar at Nagor. However, this friendship did not last long. Chandra Sen afterwards defied the authority of Akbar and retired to the hill fort of Siwana. Jodhpur was attacked and given over to Rai Singh of Bikaner. Kalyan Mal, the father of Rai Singh also paid homage to Akbar. Akbar married Kalyan Mal's daughter.

Udai Singh died in 1572 and he was succeeded by Maharana

Pratap. Soon after his accession to the throne, Maharana Pratap made up his mind to get back Chitor from the Mughals and vindicate the honour of the Rajputs. Many a time, he remarked in sorrow that if Udai Singh had not intervened between him and Rana Sanga, no Turk would have given laws to Rajputana. He followed the tradition of his family that "the son of Bapa Rawal should bow the head to no mortal man." No wonder, he set aside all the offers on the part of Akbar and his associates. This bravest of the brave among the Rajputs carried on an unequal struggle for a quarter of a century. It is true that there was no comparison between his resources and those of the Mughals, but when a fight is for the sake of principles, nobody cares to think of the chances of success or failure.

According to Abul Fazl, Maharana Pratap was arrogant, presumptuous, deceitful, and disobedient. Evidently, Abul Fazl could not be expected to speak highly of a man who carried on war against Akbar all his life. However, according to Dr. Smith, Maharana Pratap's "patriotism was his offence." Akbar had won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his astute policy and could not endure the independent attitude assumed by the Rana who must be broken if he would not bend like his fellows."

There is a story given in Rajput chronicles regarding the quarrel between Man Singh and Maharana Pratap. It is stated that once upon a time Raja Man Singh desired to have an interview with Maharana Pratap on the banks of the Udai Sagar Lake. A feast was arranged in his honour but Maharana Pratap did not attend it. Understanding the cause of Pratap's absence, Man Singh remarked thus "If the Rana refuses to put a plate before me who will?" Maharana Pratap expressed his inability to do so on the ground that he was not prepared to eat with a person who had married his sister to a Muslim. This was too much for Raja Man Singh and he left the table with the following remark: "It was for the preservation of your honour that we sacrificed our own and gave our sisters and daughters to the Turk; but abide in peril, if such be your resolve, for this country shall not hold you." When Raja Man Singh was leaving, Maharana Pratap appeared on the scene, and Raja Man Singh addressed the following words to him: "If I do not humble your pride my name is not Man." The only reply of Maharana Pratap was that he would be happy to meet him on all occasions.

Akbar could not put up with the attitude of Maharana Pratap and decided to crush him. The first battle between Pratap and the

Mughals was fought near the Pass of Haldi Ghat in 1576 and Maharana Pratap was defeated. The Mughal troops were commanded by Raj Man Singh and he was assisted by Asaf Khan. The Maharana guarded the Pass of Haldi Ghat with his 3,000 horsemen. The battle of Haldighat was a ferocious one. It was a hand to hand fight from morning till mid-day. Maharana Pratap was at his best. However, he got a serious wound and retired into the hills. The victors were too exhausted to pursue him. Next day, the Mughals reached Gogunda. Thus the Mughals got a complete victory.

According to Badaoni, Akbar was not pleased with Man Singh on the ground that the latter did not pursue the Rana and also did not allow the troops to plunder the territory of Maharana Pratap. Akbar recalled Man Singh, Asaf Khan and Qazi Khan and excluded them from the court for some time. According to Abul Fazl, "Tricksters and time-servers suggested to the Royal ear that there has been slackness in extirpating the wretch, and the officers were ready incurring the king's displeasure. But His Majesty understood the truth and attached little value to what the back-biters told him." According to Nizam-ud-Din, Akbar was displeased on account of the fact that Pratap's territory was not allowed to be plundered by the troops.

Inspite of his defeat in the battle of Haldighat, Maharana Pratap persevered in his determination to win back his territory from the Mughals. Inspite of the heavy odds, Pratap was able to recover all Mewar except Chitor, Ajmer and Mandalgarh. Maharana Pratap had to suffer innumerable difficulties but he did not give up heart. The whole of Rajasthan resounded with the fame of Pratap. It is stated that even Akbar himself talked highly of Pratap.

However, this great Rajput general died in 1597. He was worn out both in body and mind. It is stated that Maharana Pratap was unhappy at the time of his death. When he was asked the cause of his sorrow at that time, Maharana Pratap remarked thus: "It (my soul) lingered for some consolatory pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turk." Maharana Pratap feared that his sheds will give way to sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of ease. Luxury with all its concomitants will ensue and the independence of Mewar will be sacrificed. It is stated that Amar Singh and his nobles gave a promise to Pratap that they will carry on his mission after his death. It was then that Pratap got some satisfaction and died in peace.

After the death of his father in 1597, Amar Singh carried on the war against the Mughals. The latter took the offensive once again in 1599 and Raja Man Singh and Prince Salim were sent to invade Mewar. Amar Singh was defeated and his country was devastated by the Mughal troops. The war had to be stopped because Man Singh had to leave for Bengal where Usman Khan had revolted. The bad health of Akbar did not allow him to invade Mewar once again.

Conquest of Gujrat: According to Smith, "The conquest of Gujrat marks an important epoch in Akbar's history." There were many reasons which actuated Akbar to conquer Gujrat. Humayun had occupied it in 1536 and Akbar could claim Gujrat as a lost province of the Mughal Empire. However, the wealth and maritime commerce of Gujrat were enough temptations for Akbar to annex that province. Muzzafar Shah III, the ruler of Gujrat, had practically no authority over his powerful vassals. One of his nobles called Itimad Khan invited Akbar to interfere into the affairs of Gujrat. Akbar reached Ahmedabad in November 1572. Muzaffar Shah did not offer any resistance and submitted before Akbar. After making the necessary arrangements for administrative purposes, Akbar retired to Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar had hardly reached his destination when he heard of the trouble in Gujrat once again. Akbar rushed back to Gujrat and it is stated that he completed a journey of 600 miles in 9 days. It was a marvellous feat of endurance. Akbar won a decisive victory in September 1573. A few more expeditions had to be undertaken before Gujrat was completely subdued and annexed in 1584.

The annexation of Gujrat was of great advantage. The Mughals got free access to the sea. The conquest of Gujrat brought the Mughals into touch with the Portuguese. Raja Todar Mal made his first revenue settlement in Gujrat. According to Kennedy, "Gujrat was used as a jumping off point for invasions of the Deccan."

Conquest of Bengal: Daud Khan was the Afghan ruler of Bengal. He was the son of Sulaiman who had founded a new dynasty in Bengal in 1564. Sulaiman recognised the supremacy of Akbar and continued to live on terms of friendship. Daud succeeded his father in 1572. He was a rash and headstrong youth who had great confidence in the military resources of Bengal. Daud annoyed Akbar by capturing the fort of Zaanania. Akbar sent orders to the Governor of Jaunpur to teach a lesson to Daud. As the Governor was

not successful against Daud, Akbar deputed Todar Mal to do the needful in the matter. It was due to the ceaseless efforts of Raja Todar Mal that Bengal was added to the Mughal Empire between 1576 and 1580. When the Afghans revolted once again in favour of Hakim Mirza, brother of Akbar, Man Singh reconquered the country in 1592.

Annexation of Kabul (1585): So long as Hakim Mirza lived, Kabul remained in his possession. Akbar did nothing to deprive him of that territory. In 1579-80, Hakim Mirza tried to capture the Punjab. Akbar himself rushed from Bengal to meet the danger. However, Hakim Mirza ran away to Kabul at the approach of the Mughal troops. Hakim Mirza was pursued by Prince Murad but all the same he was allowed to retain Kabul for the rest of his life. When Hakim Mirza died in 1585, the province of Kabul was annexed to the Mughal Empire and Man Singh was appointed as its Governor. It was a difficult task to control the Afghans. In 1586, Raja Birbal was killed. The Mughal troops suffered heavy losses and retreated with great difficulty.

Conquest of Kashmir (1586-7): Yusuf Shah was the ruler of Kashmir. He committed great cruelties on his Hindu subjects. This gave Akbar an excuse for interfering into the affairs of Kashmir. Raja Bhagwas Das was sent with 5,000 men to conquer Kashmir. In spite of the difficulties on the way, Raja Bhagwan Das persevered in his task and forced the ruler of Kashmir to surrender. The son of Yusuf Shah escaped and he continued the struggle for some time. However, he too was defeated and forced to surrender. Kashmir was annexed and made a part of the province of Kabul. Akbar visited Kashmir in 1589. Yusuf Shah and his son got Jagirs and were made Mansabdars.

Conquest of Sind (1591): It is true that Akbar subdued Bhakkar in 1574 but a large part of Southern Sind was still to be conquered. Akbar attached great importance to the conquest of Sind because its possession was expected to help Akbar in the conquest of Qandhar. In 1590, Mirza Abdur Rahim was appointed the Governor of Multan and was instructed to take over the work of the conquest of Sind. Mirza Jani Beg was the ruler. After two battles, Mirza Jani Beg surrendered. On account of the recommendation of Abdur Rahim, Jani Beg was given a very good treatment.

Conquest of Qandhar (1595): Akbar was desirous of capturing Qandhar. At this time, the Shah of Persia was in a great

difficulty on account of the activities of the Turks and the Uzbegs. Akbar took advantage of the other pre-occupations of the Shah of Persia and sent an expedition to conquer Qandhar. The work started in 1590 but it was accomplished in 1595 when Qandhar was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Undoubtedly, the conquest of Qandhar was a master-stroke of diplomacy on the part of Akbar. Without spoiling his relations with the Shah of Persia, Akbar was able to acquire Qandhar.

Conquest of Ahmednagar.—After completing the conquest of Northern India, Akbar diverted his attention toward the Deccan. To begin with, he sent political missions to induce the rulers of the Deccan States to accept his suzerainty. However, he was unsuccessful in that mission. This forced Akbar to follow the path of war. Ahmednagar was the first to be attacked. Abdur Rahim and Prince Murad were sent in 1595. At that time, Chand Sultana was acting as the regent on behalf of her nephew. She boldly defended the city of Ahmednagar and behaved like a great general. It is stated that she appeared on the ramparts of the city in full armour and with drawn sword to encourage her troops. Moreover, Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim did not see eye to eye with each other and consequently their campaign was not a success. The Mughals made peace and contented themselves with the acquisition of Berar alone. Thus the first campaign against Ahmednagar ended in 1596. However, peace did not last long. There arose internal dissensions in Ahmednagar and the result was that Chand Sultana was murdered. Moreover, the Government of Ahmednagar did not keep its word with the Mughal Government and tried to recover Berar. A battle was fought in February 1596 at Ashti and both the parties claimed victory for themselves. Occasional fights continued. Akbar decided to take the command in person. In 1600, he occupied Burhanpur and sent Prince Danyial with Abdur Rahim, Khani Khanan, to conquer Ahmednagar. The Mughal troops did not find much difficulty in their way. About 15,000 of the garrison were put to the sword and Ahmednagar was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

Asirgarh: Akbar decided to capture the fort of Asirgarh. Asirgarh was well defended. It was considered to be "one of the strongest fortresses in the world at that time." The siege of Asirgarh continued for about 6 months and the Mughals did not make much headway. At that time, the news of Salim's rebellion arrived. Thus, Akbar was forced to have recourse to treachery. Bahadur was per-

suaded to come to the camp of Akbar for the purpose of negotiations, and was detained there. The siege was pushed up with great vigour but inspite of that the garrison held out. It was in January 1601 that "the gates were opened by golden keys, or in other words Akbar corrupted the Khandesh officers by heavy payments." Thus it was that the fort of Asirgarh fell into the hands of the Mughals in 1601.

Akbar as founder of Mughal Empire : A question has sometimes been raised as to who was the real founder of the Mughal Empire in India. It goes without saying that Babar laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire in India by defeating Ibrahim Lodi in 1526 at the first battle of Panipat. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The battle of Panipat placed the Empire of Delhi in Babar's hands. The powers of the Lodi dynasty were shattered to pieces and the sovereignty of Hindustan passed to the Chughtai Turks." Babar may be called the founder of the Mughal Empire because he destroyed the Lodi dynasty and laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire on its ruins. In 1527, he defeated the Rajput confederacy under Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwaha. According to Rushbrooke Williams, the battle of Kanwaha put the Mughal Empire of India on a firm footing. In 1528, Babar subdued Medni Rao and captured the fort of Chanderi. In 1529, Babar defeated Mohammad Lodi, brother of Ibrahim Lodi, in the battle of Ghogra. If Babar had lived longer, he would certainly have consolidated his Empire and there would have been no scope for the revival of the Afghans. The early death of Babar left the work incomplete and consequently the spade—work done by him came to nothing.

Humayun succeeded to the throne in 1530 but he was defeated in the battle of Kanauj in 1540 by Sher Shah Sur and driven from Agra and Delhi. Thus, the Empire founded by Babar was destroyed. However, Humayun won back Kandhar, Kabul, the Punjab and Delhi and Agra before his death in 1556. In this case also, the sudden death of Humayun left the Mughal position in India insecure. No wonder, Akbar succeeded to a shaky throne. Soon after his succession to the throne in 1556, he heard the news that Tardi Beg, the Mughal Governor of Agra and Delhi, was turned out by Hemu. Akbar's position in the Punjab where he was at the time of his father's death, was very insecure. Sikandar Sur was still at large in the Punjab. He was a potential foe. Thus it is evident that Akbar inherited nothing of the Mughal Empire founded by Babar. It has already been pointed out at the beginning of this Chapter that in 1556, India was a congeries of independent

states and there was no paramount power in the country. Akbar had to begin from a scratch. He won back Delhi and Agra after the second battle of Panipat. Sikandar Sur was pursued and he ultimately surrendered and Akbar's control was thereby established in the Punjab. Gwalior and Jaunpur were conquered in 1557. Malwa was conquered in 1560. Gondwana was conquered in 1564. Chitor was captured in 1568. Maharana Pratap was defeated in the battle of Haldighat in 1576. Gujrat was finally annexed in 1584. Bengal gave trouble for some time but was finally conquered in 1592. Kabul was annexed in 1585. Kashmir was conquered in 1586. Sind was conquered in 1591. Kandhar was annexed in 1595. Ahmednagar was conquered in 1600 and Asirgarh was conquered in 1601. It was this Empire created by the valour and statesmanship of Akbar that is the envy of the historians. No wonder, Akbar is called the real founder of the Mughal Empire in India.

Rajput policy of Akbar: Akbar is famous for his Rajput policy. He opened a new chapter in this direction. The Rajputs were the leaders of the Hindus in the military field and they were well-known for their bravery. No wonder, Akbar, who wanted to found his Empire on the willing cooperation of the Hindus, decided to win over the Rajputs. Many Rajputs were taken into the Mughal service. Many were created Mansabdars. The Jizya was abolished. Pilgrimage tax was also abolished. Everything was done to remove the feeling among the Rajputs that they were being discriminated against. It was this policy of reconciliation towards the Hindus in general, and the Rajputs in particular which enabled Akbar to conquer the whole of Northern India and a part of the Deccan.

In 1562, Akbar married the eldest daughter of Raja Bihar Mal of Jaipur. As a result of this marriage, Akbar took Raja Bhagwan Singh and Man Singh into the Mughal service. Both of them occupied offices of trust and responsibility. They helped Akbar in many wars. They were entrusted with the most difficult jobs by Akbar. In 1584, Akbar married Prince Salim to the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. In 1570, Akbar married Rajput princesses from Bikaner and Jaisalmer.

In this way, Akbar was able to win over most of the Rajput states in Rajputana. However, the state of Mewar defied the might of Akbar. Consequently, Akbar had to march against Chitor. Rana Udai Singh left the defence of Chitor into the hands of Jaimal. There was a lengthy siege and in 1568, Chitor was captured. After

the death of Udai Singh in 1572, Maharana Pratap became the ruler of Mewar. He continued an unequal struggle for a quarter of a century. In 1576, he was defeated in the battle of Haldighat. In spite of this defeat, he continued the struggle and was ultimately successful in recovering the whole of Mewar except Chitor, Ajmer and Mandalgarh. Maharana Pratap died in 1597. He was succeeded by Amar Singh, who continued the struggle against the Mughals even in the reign of Jahangir. It is to be noted that in his fight against Mewar, Akbar was helped by Man Singh and other Rajput princes and generals. Thus, by a policy of conciliation, Akbar was able to win over the affection of the Rajputs and thereby solidify the foundations of the Mughal Empire in the country. It was the reversal of this policy in the time of Aurangzeb that proved to be undoing of his Empire.

Akbar's policy towards the Hindus : Akbar must be given credit for initiating a new policy towards the Hindus. It is true that there were certain factors which could have influenced his views but the fact remains that Akbar had already embarked upon a policy of reconciling the Hindus before he came in contact with other influences. The remarkable fact about his policy towards the Hindus was that he initiated the policy at a time when there was too much of intolerance all-around. The Muslim tradition in India was one of persecuting the Hindus and this had happened for centuries.

As regards the factors that could have influenced Akbar in his policy towards the Hindus, his Hindu wives must have played an important part. These Hindu wives were allowed to worship openly in their palaces and consequently similar toleration could be shown to the Hindus all over the country. Akbar himself listened to the teachings of the Hindu saints and philosophers. It is true that on previous occasions also Muslim rulers had married Hindu wives, but in those cases marriages had resulted in intolerance and fanaticism. However, in the case of Akbar, these marriages revolutionized the whole atmosphere.

Sheikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl and Faizi played an important part in the life of Akbar. They were Sufis and they encouraged Akbar to follow a liberal policy in matters of religion.

Akbar possessed an unusual amount of imagination and initiative. He possessed an adventurous mind and was prepared to make experiments in every field. It was his inquisitive mind that was responsible for the religious discussions at the Ibadat Khana at

Fatehpur Sikri. As the discussions progressed, he was struck by the spirit of intolerance shown by the leaders of the various faiths. "They, the Mullas, would call one another fool and heretic." Again, "one pronounced a thing lawful, another would pronounce the very same thing unlawful." It was this intolerance that was responsible for Akbar's desire to find out the truth.

It is sometimes pointed out that Akbar followed a policy of reconciliation towards the Hindus on account of political reasons. Even if this fact is conceded, that does not take away from the greatness of Akbar. His great achievement was that he was able to liberate the Mughal state from the domination of the Mullas. It can be substantiated by chapter and verse that Akbar's policy towards the Hindus was intimately connected with his own religious views.

In 1564, Akbar abolished Jizya which was levied from the Hindus. This was hated by the Hindus because it was a symbol of their inferiority and involved a lot of humiliation. When Jizya was levied, the Muslims alone were the true citizens of the state, but after its abolition, both Hindus and Muslims became equal citizens of the state.

In 1563, Akbar abolished the pilgrimage tax. He was opposed to the policy of taxing people while they were performing their religious duties. All restrictions on the building of places of worship were removed. The result was that a large number of temples were built all over the country. Akbar set up a Translation Department for translating the religious books of the Hindus into Persian. Its object was to set up cultural contacts between the Hindus and the Muslims. The knowledge of Hinduism was expected to bring about a better understanding between the two religions. In 1603, a Firman was issued by which the Christians were allowed to make converts in India. Even before this, Akbar had stopped the practice of forcible conversion of the people to Islam. As early as 1562, Akbar had stopped the practice of converting the prisoners of war to Islam.

Up to the time of Akbar, the non-Muslims were excluded from all jobs of responsibility and prestige. The Muslims alone formed the governing classes and all high officials were drawn from the Muslim community. Akbar threw open doors of office to Hindus and Muslims alike. Merit alone was made the test. Todar Mal was appointed Finance Minister and for some time he worked as Prime Minister also. Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Todar Mal and Rai Singh were appointed the Governors of various provinces. They were also put in charge of

many military expeditions. The Aina Akbari mentions 137 Mansabdars of 1,000 and above and out of them 14 were Hindus. A large number of Hindus were employed in the Mughal army. Out of the 12 provincial Diwans or Finance Ministers appointed in 1594-5, 8 were Hindus. Formerly, cases among the Hindus were decided by the Muslim Qazis. Akbar appointed Brahman judges to decide the cases of the Hindus. A very large number of Hindus were employed in the Revenue Department of the Mughal Government.

Akbar showed great respect for Hindu sentiments. As the Hindus had great sanctity for cows, the use of beef was forbidden. However, it is wrong to say that the killers of cows were given capital punishment. In 1583, Akbar forbade the killing of animals on certain days. It is stated that in 1590-1, Akbar prohibited the eating of the flesh of oxen, buffaloes, goats or sheep, horses and camels. In 1592, fishing was prohibited for some time. According to Badaoni, Akbar avoided garlic, onion, beef, and association with people with beards. Akbar took part in the festivals of the Hindus. Some of those festivals were the Rakhi, Dipawali and Shivratri. Their object was merely to conciliate the Hindus without offending the Muslims.

Akbar discouraged child marriages and encouraged widow remarriages among the Hindus. He prohibited the custom of Suttee or the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. It is clear from above that Akbar deliberately followed a policy of conciliating the Hindus and thereby winning over their alligance to his state. It is a matter of history that the reversal of this policy by Aurangzeb was one of the important causes of the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

Development of Akbar's religious views: Akbar was not an orthodox Muslim of the rigid type. His religious views changed with the lapse of years. His Hindu wives and their relatives exercised a tremendous influence on Akbar. His associations with Hindu sages acted in a similar manner. In 1567, Shaikh Mubarak presented his son, Faizi, to Akbar. In 1574, Mubarak presented his younger son, Abul Fazl, to Akbar. The father and the sons who were Sufis exercised great influence on Akbar in liberalizing his religious views. With their help Akbar collected a big library of books on history, religion, philosophy and sciences. These books were read out and explained to Akbar by Faizi who acted as the librarian. The result of these studies was that Akbar became a sceptic in religious matters. He started finding some good in every religion. In 1575, a building

known as The Ibadat-khana or the House of Worship was specially constructed for discussions on religious matters. Akbar took great interest in those religious discussions. Not only the exponents of Islam were invited, but those of Brahmanism, Jainism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism were invited. Akbar addressed the following words to those assembled at the debates at the Ibadat-khana: "My sole object, Oh Wise Mullas! is to ascertain truth, to find out and disclose the principles of genuine religion, and to trace it to the divine origin: Take care, therefore, that through the influence of your human passions you are not induced to conceal the truth: and say nothing contrary to the Almighty decrees. If you do, you are responsible before God for the consequences of your impiety."

Shaikh Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdunnabi were the leaders of the orthodox party and Shaikh Mubarak, Faizi and Abul-Fazl represented the party of the free-thinkers. In spite of the best efforts of Akbar, the Mullahs quarrelled among themselves and they used abusive language against one another. Badaoni refers to this fact in these words: "The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battlefield of mutual contradiction and opposition, and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools or heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the differences of Sunni and Shia, of Hanafi and Shafi, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very basis of belief."

Reference may be made to the exponents of other religions invited by Akbar. The important Brahmans invited by him were Purshottam and Debi. Hira Vijaya Suri, Vijayasen Suri, Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya and Jinachandra expounded the Jain faith to Akbar. Dastur Meherjee Rana expounded the Zoroastrian faith. Christian Fathers were invited from Goa to explain Christianity. Akbar also showed great regard for the Sikh Gurus and admired the Guru Granth Sahib.

Akbar was in favour of weakening the position of the Ulema. He would like to combine in himself both political and spiritual powers. He read the Khutba from the pulpit of a Fatehpur Mosque. The Khutba was prepared by Faizi and runs thus:—

"In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity:
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts,
Exalted be His Majesty—Allah-u-Akbar!"

At the suggestion of Shaikh Mubarak, Akbar decided to become Mujtahid. He was to act as the supreme arbiter in religious matters. In September, 1579, Shaikh Mubarak produced a document in his own handwriting which was drafted in such a way that Akbar became the supreme arbiter in civil and ecclesiastical matters. Akbar was to act as the Imam-i-Adil or the final interpreter of Muslim Law. This document was signed by Makhdum-ul-Mulk, Shaikh Abdulnabi, Shaikh Mubarak and others. Dr. Smith calls it the "infallibility decree". The following is the translation of a document which is preserved in the text of Badaoni and Nizam-ud-Din:—

"Whereas Hindostan is now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home.

"Now we, the principal Ulama, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the Koran:—

"Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you"; and secondly, of the genuine tradition:—

"Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgement is the Imam-i-Adil; whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Thee; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee."

"And thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony: and we have agreed that the rank of Sultan-i-adil is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid.

"Further, we declare that the King of the Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, Abdul-Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, Padshah Ghazi (whose kingdom God perpetuate), is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king.

"Should, therefore, in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and should issue a decree to that effect—

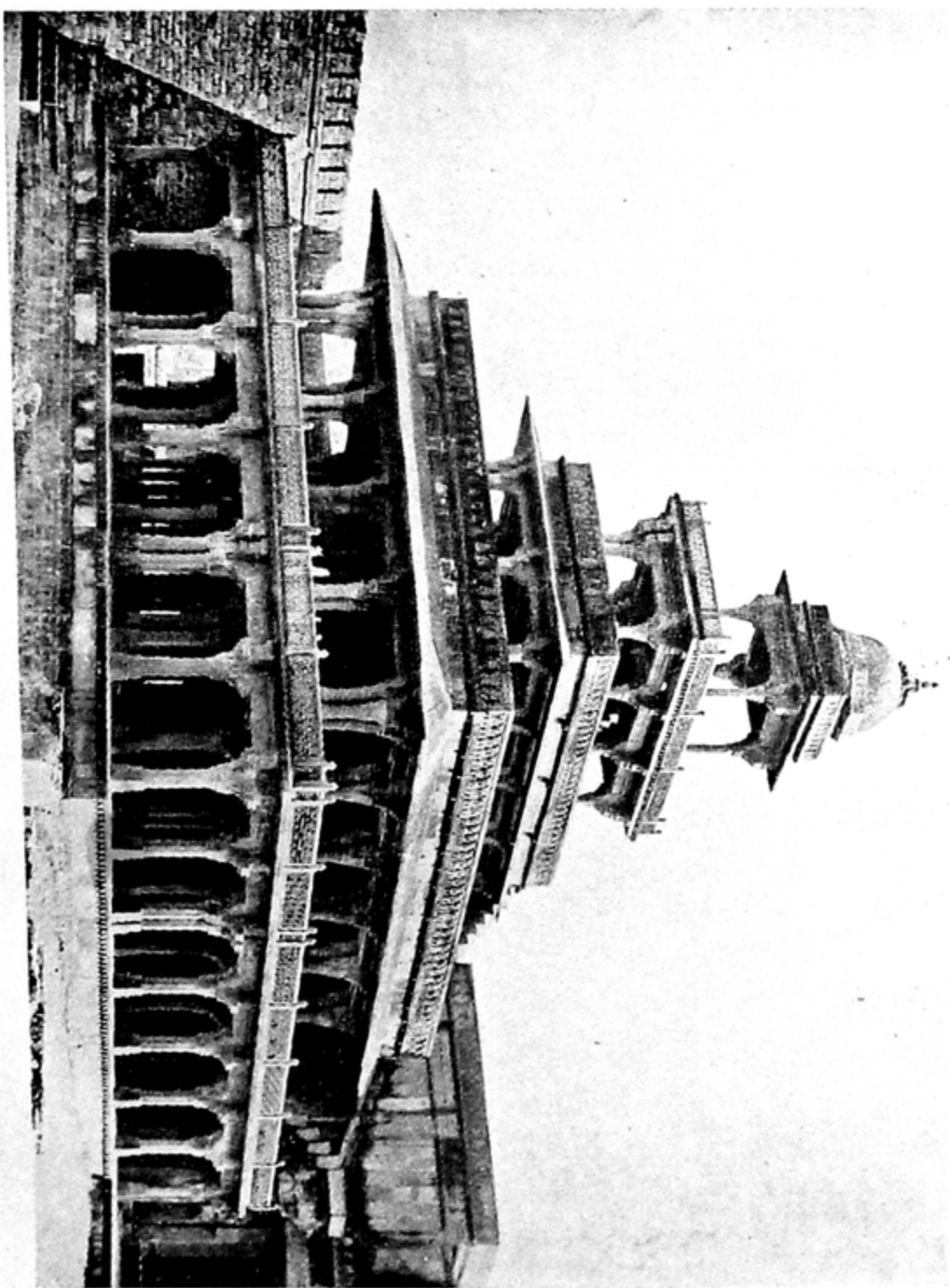
"We do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation, •

“Further, we declare that should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it ; Provided always, that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Koran, but also of real benefit to the nation ; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

“This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God and the propagation of the Islam, and is signed by us, the principal Ulama and lawyers, in the month of Rajab in the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987)”.

According to Dr. Smith, the above document “assured to Akbar, so far as any written instrument could have such effect, the utmost power that any man could claim to exercise within the limits of Islam. The decree had no concern with any other religion. Although it purported to have been devised for the propagation of the Muslim faith, and to recognize the authority not only of the Koran, but of the genuine traditions of the Prophet, yet, as Badaoni truly observes, ‘the superiority of the intellect of the Imam was established, and opposition was rendered impossible.’”

However, according to Principal Sri Ram Sharma, the nature of the document had been mis-understood. “It gave Akbar no power until and unless the divines failed to agree. Even then he had the power to interpret the Muslim law and not to make it. It is necessary to remember that Akbar only gathered into his own hands powers and functions which had been so far exercised by a subordinate functionary, the Sadr. He did not create a new office, he brought an older one under imperial control. Even here Akbar differed from Aurangzeb. He assumed the right to be his own judge rather than dismiss a Sadr who criticized him—as Aurangzeb did—and appoint a successor who would give a convenient opinion. Akbar claimed to be infallible no more than the Privy Council or the House of Lords does. His interpretation of the laws was to be final, just as a ruling of the Privy Council is. Thus Akbar made no claim to the infallibility in any metaphysical sense. Still further his decision could not, and in fact did not, silence opposition to his views. As an instrument for suppressing opposition it was valueless. Decision given under its authority would not convince those who did not recognize it as valid. It could be used effectively only by Akbar himself for justifying his own personal practices. The main planks of his policy of



Fatehpur Sikri—Panch Mahal

(By Courtesy, Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of India)

toleration had already been laid. The Jizya had been abolished, the pilgrimage tax remitted, the Hindus admitted to public services, and public religious worship by other faiths tolerated long before the issue of this so-called 'Infallibility Decree'. These departures from the accepted orthodox policy had not necessitated any artificial support. The decree was only a manifestation of Akbar's anxiety to be considered a good Muslim. Badayuni's statement that after the Fatwa the distinction as hitherto understood between the lawful and the unlawful was obliterated, can have reference to Akbar's personal actions alone. No orders of his could force his people to adopt as lawful modes of action which they considered unlawful. It was thus not a decree, much less an infallibility decree. All that it really effected was to take away from the theologians the right to persecute others for their opinions. Akbar did not claim to define the religious beliefs of his subjects and force his definition on them as the Tudor 'Governor of the Church' was claiming to do, at this time in England. No one was persecuted for belief in his own faith. Akbar issued no 'Thirty-nine' Articles, nor did he enforce an 'Act of Uniformity'.

As was to be expected, the orthodox Muslims detested the issuing of the so-called infallibility decree. Akbar was misunderstood and it was believed that he had rejected Islam, Prophet, Quran, tradition and all. Abul Fazi explained the situation in these words: "An impure faction reproached the caravan-leader of God-knowers with being of the Hindus (Brahman) religion. The ground for this improper notion was that the prince out of his wide tolerance received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and increased for administrative reasons the rank of Hindus, and for the good of the country showed them kindness. Three things supported the evil-minded gossips. First,—the sages of different religions assembled at court, and as every religion had some good in it, each received some praise. From a spirit of justice, the badness of any sect could not weave a veil over its merits. Second,—the reason of 'Peace with all (Sulh Kul) was honoured at the court of the Caliphate and various tribes of mankind of various natures obtained spiritual and material success. Third,—the evil nature and crooked ways of the base ones of the age."

The next stage in the development of the religious views of Akbar came in 1581 when he promulgated the Din-i-Ilahi, or Tauhidi Ilahi. The object of the Din-i-Ilahi was to establish a national religion which would be acceptable to the Muslims and the Hindus. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar became the spiritual guide of the nation and saw in

the performance of that duty, a means of pleasing God. He tried to satisfy the thirst of the people for truth. A ceremony for initiation into the new faith was prescribed. That ceremony is described by Abul Fazl in these words: "When a novice bears on his forehead the sign of earnestness of purpose, and he be daily inquiring more and more, His Majesty accepts him, and admits him on a Sunday, when the world-illuminating sun is in its highest splendour. Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shown by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing.

"At the above-mentioned time of everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands, puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical, and expresses that the novice, guided by good fortune and the assistance of his good star, has cast from his head conceit and selfishness, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to inquire as to the means of obtaining everlasting life. His Majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions who from seeming existence has not entered into real life. His Majesty then gives the novice the Shast, upon which is engraved "the Great Name" and His Majesty's symbolical motto, "Allahu Akbar". This teaches the novice the truth that

"the pure Shast and the pure sight never err".

Some of the ceremonials of the Din-i-Ilahi are mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari. To quote Abul Fazl, "The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "Allahu Akbar", and the other responds, "Jalla Jalaluhu". The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

"It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during this lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

"Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

“ His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves ; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain, nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and bird-catchers.

“ Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women ; nor with girls under the age of puberty”. Again, “ If any of the Darsaniyyah disciples died, whether man or woman, they should have some uncooked grains and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and throw it into the river, and then they should take out the corpse, and burn it at a place where no water was.

“ But this order is based upon a fundamental rule which His Majesty indicated, but which I cannot here mention.

“ People should be buried with their heads towards the east, and their feet towards the west. His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position.”

There were four grades of the followers of the Din-i-Ilahi. These four grades consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor, property, life, honour and religion. Whoever sacrificed those four things possessed the four degrees and whoever sacrificed one of the four possessed only one degree.

The number of the followers of the Din-i-Ilahi was not large. That was partly due to the fact that Akbar was not a missionary. He was not prepared to use force or pressure to convert people to the new faith. Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh refused to join and Akbar did not press them. Birbal was the only Hindu who joined the new faith. The number of the followers of the Din-i-Ilahi was not large even in the time of Akbar and after his death the new faith disappeared completely.

Badaoni tells us that after the promulgation of the Din-i-Ilahi, Akbar issued many ordinances against Islam. He forbade Islamic prayers. He disallowed the call to prayer or Azan. He stopped Muslim fasts. Sijdah was to be offered to kings. The use of beef was prohibited. The wearing of beards was discouraged. The use of the flesh of the tiger and wild boar was allowed. Boys were not to be married before the age of 16 and the girls before the age of 14. Circumcision before the age of 12 was disallowed. The wearing of silk dresses and ornaments was made compulsory at the time of prayers. Pilgrimages to Mecca were disallowed. Muslim festivals were disconti-

nued. The names containing the name of the Prophet were disallowed. Mosques and prayer rooms were converted into stables and given to Hindu Chowkidars. Akbar plundered mosques when he was in need of money. Shaving of beards was allowed. Akbar razed to the ground towers built for Muslim call to prayer. The mosques were not repaired and thus allowed to fall. Mullahs and Shaikhs were exiled. The study of Arabic was discouraged.

Much reliance cannot be placed on the views of Badaoni. Most of his information was based on hearsay. He wrote against Akbar because he himself was dissatisfied with his promotion. He was jealous of the rise of Abul Fazl and wrote all that he could against Akbar. It was the sense of frustration that made him the bitter enemy of Akbar and his friends. He was that type of an orthodox Muslim who believed that all non-Muslims were condemned to internal hell. When he mentioned the name of Hindu, he boiled with anger. He called Birbal a bastard and the Shias as heretics, fools, worshippers of the devils, fit only to be cast out. No value can be attached to the testimony of such a person.

According to Dr. Smith, the organization of the adherents of the Din-i-Ilahi was that of an Order rather than of a church. The creed, so far as there was one, inculcated monotheism with a tinge of pantheism; the practical deification of the emperor as the viceregent of God, filled with special grace; and the adoration of the sun, with subsidiary veneration of fire and artificial lights. "The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy. Its ignominious failure illustrated the wisdom of the protest addressed by the Kotwal to the Sultan of Delhi some three centuries earlier, and the folly of kings who seek to assume the role of prophets.

"The Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom. His actions throughout his reign exhibited many illustrations of both qualities."

According to Dr. Ishwari Prashad, the Dini--Ilahi "was an eclectic pantheism, containing the good points of all religions—a combination of mysticism, philosophy and nature-worship. Its basis was rational; it upheld no dogma, recognised no gods or prophets, and emperor was its the chief exponent."

According to Principal Sri Ram Sharma, it is a gross exaggeration to give the Din-i-Ilahi "the rank of a religion. It had no book, no priests, no ceremonies, and practically no religious beliefs. It was

an order rather than a religion and more akin to free masonry than any religious movement."

According to Von Noer, "Badaoni certainly takes every opportunity to raking up the notion of Akbar's apotheosis for the purpose of renewing attacks upon the great emperor. He however was never in intimate relation to the Din-i-Ilahi; he repeats the misconceptions current among the populace marred and alloyed by popular modes of preception. Akbar might justly have contemplated the acts of his reign with legitimate pride, but many incidents of his life prove him to have been among the most modest of men. It was the people who made a God of the man who was the founder and head of an order at once political, philosophic and religious. One of his creations will assure to him for all time a pre-eminent place among the benefactors of humanity—greatness and universal tolerance in matters of religious belief."

Akbar's land-revenue system: It goes without saying that Sher Shah Suri was the fore-runner of Akbar in the field of land revenue system. He laid down the main principles which were followed later on in the time of Akbar. Sher Shah had fixed the state demand at one-third of the produce and made regulations for the equitable collection of land revenue. Sher Shah's system was adopted by Akbar with the necessary alterations. Sher Shah's regime was too short to stabilize the system. Akbar's long reign gave him ample opportunity to plan out, develop and perfect his system.

Early efforts were made under Khawaja Abdul Majid Khan and Muzaffar Turbati to reform the revenue system. Turbati appointed 10 Qanungoes to collect the data about land revenue matters. The Qanungoes made certain recommendations. However, those could not be adopted on account of the Uzbeg rebellion. In 1575, the jagirs were abolished. The whole of the Empire at that time was divided into 182 Parganas and each Pargana was put under a Karori whose function was to collect revenue. These Karories turned out to be greedy and corrupt officers.

In 1582, Raja Todar Mal became the Diwan-i-Ashraf or Diwan-in-Chief. The whole of the land-revenue system was thoroughly overhauled. The prevailing system at that time was to fix assessments every year on the basis of the yield and prices. The result was that the demand of the state varied from year to year. The collectors could not proceed with their work of collection of revenue until the officers fixed the rates to be charged. Todar Mal made a change in the existing

system. He got an aggregate of the rates of collection for 10 years from 1570 to 1580 and one-third of them was taken as the basis of assessment. The survey or Paimaish of the whole land was undertaken. Formerly, hempen-ropes were used to measure land. The difficulty with them was that they were liable to contract and expand and that resulted in faulty measurement. Todar Mal used a Jarib of bamboos which was joined together with iron-rings.

Land was divided into 4 classes. Polaj land was that land which was regularly cultivated and yielded revenue from year to year. Parauti land was that land which was occasionally left uncultivated so that it may regain its productive capacity during the interval. Chachhar land was that land which was left uncultivated for 3 or 4 years. Banjar land was that land which was left uncultivated for 5 or more years.

The Polaj and Parauti lands were divided into three grades, viz., good, middling and bad. The average of the three was taken as the basis of the assessment. One-third of it was fixed as the share of the state. The system can be illustrated in this way. Suppose, the yield from land is as follows:—

1. Good land	..	..	50 mds. per Bigha
2. Middling land	..	..	40 „ „ „
3. Bad land	..	..	30 „ „ „
<hr/>			
Total	..	..	120
Average	..	..	40

The share of the state was $13\frac{1}{3}$ mds.

It is to be noted that a different system was followed in the case of Banjar and Chachhar lands. The share of the state was not fixed at one-third. The share increased by progressive stages.

Todar Mal fixed rates of converting revenue in kind into revenue in cash by taking an average of the actual prices for 10 years. The share of the state was fixed at one-third. It was not to fluctuate from year to year. The farmer was given the choice to pay either in cash or in kind. Cash rates were fixed by the state officers and they were different in the case of different crops. Rates of sugarcane and indigo were different from the rates for barley and wheat.

When the harvest season arrived, a staff of officers toured the villages to ascertain the exact area of land under cultivation with a view to prepare the crop-statement. The area of each crop in each holding was measured and the Bitikchi applied the prescribed

rates and calculated the revenue due from the cultivators.

The system described above was known as the Zabti system. It was prevalent in Bihar, Allahabad, Lahore, Multan, Delhi, Agra, Oudh, Malwa, and parts of Gujrat. Although the ideal administrative system was to be found in the Zabti system, there were other system of assessment prevalent in various parts of the Mughal Empire. The Ghalla Baksha system was the old Indian system of assessment by the division of crops. It prevailed in Thatta and in parts of Kabul and Kashmir. In the case of the Nasaq system, there was no intermediary between the farmer and the state.

✓ According to Jadunath Sarkar, "The collection of revenue was always the result of a struggle between the Ryot and the Sarkar and the arrears were seldom, if ever cleared." There were conflicts between the farmers and the collectors of revenue. That was partly due to the fact that the Indian peasants were required to pay to a remote urban state from which they derived practically no benefit and about whose continuity they were sceptical. According to J.N. Sarkar, the collectors of revenue got from the peasants under the name of never-to-be-extinguished arrears everything except their bare subsistence. ✓

Reference may be made to the revenue-officers of the Government. The Mughal Government did not give the right of collecting land-revenue to the highest bidders. It employed agencies for revenue collection. The Amil was assisted by Bitikchi, Potdar, Qanungo, Muqaddam and Patwari. The Amil had to perform many kinds of duties. He severely dealt with those who were rebellious even if that involved the land remaining uncultivated. He was required to ascertain the quality of the land actually under cultivation and to reclaim the waste lands. He was to take security from the surveyors of land, assessors and other officials. He was to see that in measuring land, not even a Bigha was canceled or overlooked. The revenue was to be collected in such a way that the peasants were least troubled. The treasurer was required not to demand an extra coin from the peasant. The Amil was required to examine the registers maintained by the Patwaris, Maqaddams and Karkoons. He was required to report if anything exceptional affecting agriculture happened within his jurisdiction.

The Bitikchi occupied a status similar to that of the Amil. His duty was to supervise the work of the Qanungoes. He was required to be an efficient accountant and a good writer. He was to

be well-acquainted with the customary laws of the area within his jurisdiction. He was to maintain a register of all the engagements entered into by the peasants with the Government. He prepared detailed statements of arable and waste land and also of income and expenditure. He had to prepare every season abstracts of land revenue and also submit an annual report to the Central Government.

The Potdar or Khizandar received money from cultivators and issued receipts for all payments. The Qunungo was a Pargana officer. He was acquainted with all rural customs and rites of the peasantry. His salary varied from Rs. 20 to 25. According to Moreland, one rupee of the Mughal period brought as much as seven rupees of today.

Each Pargana was divided into many villages and each village had a Muqaddam or headman and a Patwari. The function of the Muqaddam was to help in the collection of revenue.

The revenue system of Akbar worked successfully and was responsible for improving the lot of the peasants. As the share of the state was fixed, the chances of fraud on the part of the Government servants were lessened. As the demand of the state was fixed, the Government became sure of a fixed revenue. Peasants got a security of tenure and were saved from all types of exactions. Agriculture improved and the necessities of life became cheap. Akbar's system with minor alterations continued to exist in the time of his successors.

The Mansabdari system: The Mansabdari system of the Mughals was the basis of civil and military administration of the country. The system was introduced by Akbar who borrowed it from Persia. It differed fundamentally from the feudal system of Europe in the sense that it had nothing to do with land and was also not hereditary. The Mansabdari system provided the Mughals with a civil service.

The literal meaning of the word Mansab or Manseb is office, rank or dignity. According to Irvine, the object of the Mansabdari system was to settle precedence and fix gradation of pay. Mansabdars belonged both to the civil and military departments. As a matter of fact, there was no distinction between the two departments in the Mughal period. Officials were transferred from the civil side to the military Department and *vice versa*. The word Mansabdar was generally restricted to those who were high officials and the title of Rouzindar was given to the inferior Government servants.

There were many grades of the Mansabdars, but their main

division was into two parts. The one part was known as the Omrahs and the other ordinary Mansabdars. Those Mansabdars who held the rank of one Hazari or two Hazari or any higher rank up to 12,000, were known as the Omrahs. Those who held a rank lower than that of 1,000 but not below 20, were called Mansabdars. That is why Bernier stated that Mansabdars were inferior Omrahs.

There is a difference of opinion among the various writers with regard to the distinction between Omrahs and Mansabdars. According to Bernier, there was distinction between Omrahs and Mansabdars and no Omrah was less than one Hazari. Sir Thomas Roe does not refer to any distinction between the two. Manucci seems to make a distinction between the two. The reason is that when he discusses the smaller Mansabdars up to 900 horses, he simply uses the words "Do Bisti", "Ce Bisti", "Chahar Bisti", etc. However, when he refers to Mansabdars of 1,000 or more, he also uses the word "Omrahs" along with them. Thus, the holder of 1,000 horse is called by him by the name of "Yak Hazari Omrah." Manucci also tells us that offices up to 900 were given to Mansabdars, but it was difficult to get the rank of a Hazari. The king granted that rank very sparingly and that also to those who worked hard for it. However, those who got the rank of a Hazari, also got the title of "Omrah."

According to Hawkins, the rank of the captain varied from 12,000 to 20,000 horse. The rank of 12,000 was given to the king, his mother, eldest and one more member of the royal blood. Other Mansabdars were known as Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen and Yeomen. According to Tavernier, the least of these Omrahs commanded 2,000 horse. There is every possibility of Tavernier being confused as he wrote his account much later.

The number of the Mansabdars was greater than that of the Omrahs. Although their pay was less, they belonged to the same class as Omrahs and performed duties similar to those of the Omrahs. The Mansabdars were to be found not only at the court but also in the army and in the provinces.

According to Bernier, the number of the Mansabdars was not fixed, but according to Hawkins, those who held the rank from 2,000 to 20,000 horse, numbered 2950. At the time of the writing of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, there were 148 Umrao of 500 and above. Their number rose to 439 under Jahangir. The number was 405 in 1637 and 446 in 1647. The total number of Mansabdars was 1658 in 1590, 2069 under Jahangir, 8000 in 1637 and 11456 in 1690.

Zat and Sawar: A distinction has to be made between Zat and Sawar ranks of the Mansabdars. However, scholars are not unanimous on this point. The view of Blochmann was that the Zat rank indicated the number of soldiers a Mansabdar was expected to keep and the Sawar rank indicated the number actually maintained by him. The Sawar rank was introduced by Akbar later on about 1603-4 at the time of the Deccan wars. This view is not accepted. It is pointed out that Zat was the personal rank of the Mansabdar. To this rank was added the Sawar rank and for that the Mansabdar was given extra allowance. The Sawar rank was high in the case of those Mansabdars who were in the good books of the king. It was a royal favour.

There were three classes of the Mansabdars. A Mansabdar belonged to the first class if his Zat and Sawar ranks were equal. He belonged to the second class if the Sawar rank was the half of his Zat rank. He belonged to the third class if his Sawar rank was less than half the Zat rank or there was no Sawar rank at all.

According to Bernier, the Omrahs were "the pillars of the Empire." They enjoyed the highest honours and occupied the most prominent positions in the army, provinces and at the court. Their salary was proportionate to the number of horses assigned to each. They maintained a lot of outward pomp and show. They were never out of doors but in the most superb dresses. Sometimes, they mounted an elephant, sometimes on horseback and very often in their palanquins. They were usually attended by many horsemen and servants on foot who went in front of them. They presented themselves before the King thrice a day. When the king went on an excursion in the palanquin, they were bound to accompany him on horse-back. They were forced to make presents to the king on the occasion of certain annual festivals.

According to Pelsaert, "Their (Mansabdars) Mahals are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride and an ornamental daintiness.

"I shall speak of the houses which are built here. They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper storey except a flat roof on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water drawn by oxen from wells. The water is drawn or sometimes

raised by a wheel in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a recreation unknown in our cold country. These houses last for a few years only because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar, but the white plaster of the walls is very noteworthy and far superior to anything in our country. They used unslaked lime which is mixed with milk, gum and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard and shines like alabaster or can even be used as a looking glass.

“They have no furniture of the kind we delight in, such as tables, stocks, benches, cupboards, bedsteads, etc; but their cots or sleeping places and other furniture of kinds unknown in our country, are lavishly ornamented with gold or silver, and they use more gold and silver in serving food than we do, though nearly all of it is used in the Mahal, and is seen scarcely by anybody except women. Outside the Mahal, there is only the Diwan Khana or sitting place which is spread with handsome carpets and kept very clean and neat. Here the Lord takes his seat in the morning to attend to his business, whatsoever it is and here all his subordinates come to Salam him.”

✓ According to Mandelslo, “There is no king in Europe that has so noble a court as the Governor of Gujrat nor any that appears in public with greater magnificence.” According to Manucci, Daud Khan spent Rs. 25,000 a year on his pet birds alone. Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal in the time of Jahangir, spent Rs. one lac on dancing girls alone.

It is pointed out that the Mughal Mansabdars were paid very high salaries if we take into account the fact that living was very cheap in those days. Thus, Mansabdars spent their money on their own luxuries and patronising all sorts of studies and arts. Some of the nobles received a pension on retirement. It is stated that Mohammad Yar Khan, Governor of Delhi, resigned in 1702 and was given a pension of Rs. 3,000 a year. Arz Khan, the Fajdar, was given a pension of 4,000 a year.

According to Bernier, the Omrahs were not expected to maintain the number of horses which was fixed by their titles. It was the duty of the king to fix the effective number of horsemen which any Omrah was to maintain. It did not matter much whether a Mansabdar was one of 2,000 or 7,000. Bernier's master, Danishmand Khan, was an Omrah of 5,000 horse, but as a matter of fact, he maintained only 500

horses. According to Manucci, the king allowed the Omrahs to keep not more than one-quarter of the number indicated by their title. Thus, if the title was that of 1,000 and the Mansabdar got pay for 1,000, he was to maintain only 250 horses. According to Irvine, Lutfullah Khan held the rank of 7,000, but he did not maintain even 7 asses, much less horses or riders on horses. If the King wanted to show favour to a Mansabdar, he could give him a high title and allow him to maintain a smaller number of horsemen. If he wanted to punish him, he would give him a smaller title and ask him to maintain a large number of horsemen. This was done by Aurangzeb in the case of nobles of Bijapur and Golconda whom he wanted to punish.

Sir Thomas Roe also agrees with the view that the number of horses kept by Omrahs was less than what their title indicated. Mir Jamal-ud-Din Hussain, Governor of Patna, was a Puncha-Hazari Mansabdar but he maintained only 1500 horses.

There were two methods of making payments to the nobles. One was of giving them jagirs wherefrom they got their salaries. The second method was that of cash payment. In this case, the Mansabdar got his salary from the royal treasury. The jagir from which the Mansabdar was to get his salary may be in the neighbourhood of the place where a Mansabdar was posted. It was never to be at the place where he was employed. The object of this regulation was to lessen the chances of corruption and extortion.

Nobles were paid at the rate of Rs. 25 for every horse per month. Sir Thomas Roe fixes the amount at £ 25 annually. According to Hawkins, the Mansabdars were allowed Rs. 20/- for every horse every month. They were paid Rs. 2/- per horse for the maintenance of their table.

There was no hereditary nobility among the Mughals. Everything depended upon the will of the king who had absolute control over the whole Mansabdari system. The appointment and advancement of a Mansabdar depended entirely on the will of the Emperor. To quote Bernier, "The Mughal raises them to dignities or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice." It was not necessary for a Mansabdar to pass through all the stages in order to become a high Mansabdar. A person could be appointed directly a Mansabdar of 5,000 if the king so wished. He could be given a lift of 2,000 at once if the Emperor so pleased. The same person could have been appointed a Mansabdar of 200 and allowed to progress by slow degrees.

All the Mansabdars did not necessarily come from the nobility as such. Such a class could not come into existence. Most of the Omrahs were adventurers from different countries and were generally persons of low descent. If any one wanted to rise, he was to go up by degrees and that also as a result of hard efforts. No person could claim a particular Mansab on account of his birth. The son of a Mansabdar of 5,000 did not succeed to his father as a Mansabdar of 5,000/-.

A reference may be made to what is known as the law of escheat. According to this law, when a Mansabdar died, all his property was confiscated by the King. Sir Thomas Roe puts this in the form of a metaphor. According to him, all the property of a Mansabdar came "to the king like rivers to the sea."

It is difficult to say as to what exactly was left by the King for the dependents of the deceased Mansabdars. According to Manucci, the king "seized everything left by his generals, officers and other officials at their death." Only a trifle was given to their widows for their maintenance. According to Bernier, the king usually gave a small pension to the widow and also some allowance to the family. According to Tavernier, the king inherited the property of the Mansabdar and his wife got jewels. According to Hawkins, the King got possession of the property of the Mansabdars after their death and gave to their children whatever he pleased. "Commonly, he dealt well with them." The children were given certain favours, especially the eldest son. However, this remark does not tally with the statement of Bernier that after the death of an Omrah, his sons and grandsons were generally reduced to beggary and were compelled to enlist themselves as mere troopers in the cavalry of some Omrah. According to Sir Thomas Roe, the king left to the sons of the Mansabdars their "horses, stuff and some other stock." He gave them a small lift for advancement. It was upto the children of a Mansabdar to secure their advancement by any means they could.

It cannot be denied that the working of the law of escheat must have enriched the king because he came to have a lot of money from this source. The law of escheat must have created a good affect on the conduct of the Mansabdars while in office. Since they knew that whatever money was extorted from the innocent people, will not pass to their children and thereby make their lives comfortable, they desisted from temptations of bribery and other acts of high-handedness. However, there is every reason to believe that

this law must have resulted in extravagance on the part of Mansabdars. As the Mansabdars knew that they could not leave anything to their children and whatever was left behind them, would be confiscated by the king, there was a tendency to become reckless in expenditure. The result was that in certain cases, nothing was found after the death of a Mansabdar. According to Manucci, when a Mansabdar died and his belongings were collected, nothing was found but boxes full of horns and old shoes. This gives an inkling into the working of the minds of the Mansabdars.

The Mansabdari system worked with great efficiency in the time of Akbar. Every effort was made to make the system as efficient as possible. The number of the Mansabdars was small. However, as time passed on, the number of Mansabdars rose and great care was not taken at the time of appointment of Mansabdars. A large number of Mansabdars were created in the time of Jahangir when he was busy in his wars in the Deccan. The system completely deteriorated during the Deccan wars of Aurangzeb which lasted for a quarter of a century. The system collapsed after the death of Aurangzeb.

Character and achievements of Akbar: A study of the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl and Tuzki Jahangiri of Jahangir and the accounts of the foreigners give us an idea of the personality of Akbar. According to Jahangir, "In his august personal appearance, he (Akbar) was of middle height but inclining to be tall; he was of the hue of the wheat; his eyes and eyebrows were black and his complexion rather dark than fair; he was lion-bodied with a broad chest and hands and arms long. On the left side of his nose, he had a fleshy mole, very agreeable in appearance, of the size of a half a pea. Those skilled in the science of physiognomy considered the mole a sign of great prosperity and exceedingly good fortune. His august voice was very loud and in speaking and explaining had a peculiar richness. In his actions and movements, he was not like the people of the world, and the glory of God manifested itself in him

"The good qualities of my revered father are beyond limit of approval and the bounds of praise. If books were composed with his commendable dispositions without suspicion of extravagance, and he be not looked at as a father would be by his son, even then but a little out of much could be said"

According to Father Monserrate who knew Akbar closely,

conquer Central Asia and annex it to his Indian Empire. It would have been impossible for him to rule over such a vast area inhabited by different races and peoples, without subscribing to the ideal of universal kingship. However, this point of view is not accepted by other historians. It is pointed out that Akbar was truly a national king and he identified himself completely with India. His ideal was to have the whole of India under one Government. Akbar not only conquered the whole of northern India and a part of the Deccan, but also gave to all the provinces the same system of administration. He gave the Mughal Empire both political and administrative unity. He tried to bring about a unity of language by making the use of Persian compulsory in everything. A separate Translation Department was set up for translation of Sanskrit books into Persian. He tried to remove some of the social customs among the Hindus such as Sati, child marriage and old-age marriage. Akbar was a great constructive genius.

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar was a perfect man. Such a view is not acceptable because every person is bound to have certain shortcomings. Critics point out to the presence of beautiful women in the weekly Mina Bazars held in the palace, but these stories can be set aside as later inventions of fertile imagination. However, it cannot be denied that in his early days, Akbar was very fond of women and his harem contained as many as 5,000 women.

According to Principal Shri Ram Sharma, "The greatest of monarchs in his time, Akbar is sure of a high place among the rulers of mankind for his brilliant success in the great adventure of governing men. Among the rulers of India, he occupies a very high place for—among other things—his having attempted to bring Hindus and Muslims together with some success. If he did not succeed in creating a nation, it was because he could not hurry the march of events. It is worth remembering that at a time when Europe was plunged into strife of warring sects, when Roman Catholics were burning Protestants at the stake, and Protestants were executing Roman Catholics, Akbar guaranteed peace not only to warring sects, but to differing religions. In the modern age, he was the first and almost the greatest experimenter in the field of religious toleration if the scope of his toleration, the races to which it was applied, and the contemporary conditions, be taken into account."

According to Dr. Smith, Akbar "was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to rank as one of the greatest sovereigns known to history."

CHAPTER VI

JAHANGIR (1605-27)

His early life: It has rightly been stated that Jahangir was a child of many prayers. Akbar wanted a heir to succeed him and he not only prayed to God but also begged of the blessings of saints to have such a son. He waited on Chisti at Ajmer for the same purpose. Ultimately, a son was born in August 1569 and he was named Mohammad Salim. Akbar used to call him Shaikhu Baba.

As the child was got after many efforts, Akbar left no stone unturned to make him as much accomplished as he could be. He started his studies at the age of 4 and many capable tutors were employed to teach him Persian, Arabic, Turki, Hindi, Arithmetic, History, Geography and other sciences. The most important tutor was Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana who was a versatile genius.

Prince Salim was betrothed to the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber at the age of 15 and he was married in February 1585. Khusrav was the offspring of this union. In addition to this marriage, Jahangir married many other women. The total number of wives in his harem was more than 800.

Inspite of all the care which his father took, Prince Salim acquired all the evils of his age. He was a young man of very loose morals and was too much addicted to wine. Akbar did all that he could to mend him but failed.

In 1600, when Akbar was away in the Deccan engaged in capturing the fort of Asirgarh, Prince Salim who was probably "weary of waiting for the long deferred and ardently desired succession" broke into open rebellion, and declared himself as Emperor at Allahabad. Akbar had to return to Agra and he sent many threats and remonstrances to Prince Salim but all that had no effect on him. In 1602, Prince Salim offended his father by bringing about the death of Abul Fazl. Akbar was so very angry that he ordered that Bir Singh Dev, the murderer, should be put to death. However, Bir Singh escaped and thus saved his life. By these occurrences, the end of Akbar was hastened. There was a time when Akbar thought of superseding Salim by putting Prince Khusrav on the throne. This prince was the son of the sister of Man Singh of Amber

and also the son-in-law of Mirza Aziz Koka. This Prince was handsome in appearance and blameless in private life. However, Akbar gave up the idea. Prince Salim came back to Agra and surrendered himself before his father. After some trouble, he was received well by his father. Particularly after the death of Prince Daniyal in April 1604, Prince Salim was left the only surviving son and heir.

When Akbar fell ill in October 1605 and there was no chance of his life being spared, two parties were formed at the court. The one party headed by Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka was in favour of the accession of Khusrav and the other party was in favour of the accession of Prince Salim. As the party of Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka was in a minority, Prince Salim was chosen the successor. Akbar himself, before his death, placed the Imperial turban on the head of Salim, thereby recognising him as the successor. Thus it was that Prince Salim came to the throne in November 1605.

Early measures: Prince Salim assumed the title of Jahangir or "World Grasper." He released many prisoners and struck coins in his name. He proclaimed his policy in 12 famous regulations. He prohibited the levy of many cesses called Tamga, Mir Bahri, etc. He prohibited the opening of merchants' bales without their knowledge and permission. He prohibited the manufacture and sale of wine and intoxicating drugs. Government officers were ordered not to take possession of the house of any one. No Government Collector or Jagirdar was to inter-marry with the people of his Pargana without the royal permission. Government hospitals were to be established for the poor. He abolished the punishment of cutting of nose and ears. He forbade the officials to take possession of the land of the cultivator by force. He prohibited the slaughter of animals on certain days in the year. He ordered the building of Sarais, Mosques and wells on the roads. The property of the deceased person was to be given to his heirs. In case there were no heirs, the property of the deceased was to be used for the erection and repair of public buildings. Jahangir also confirmed all officers and Jagirdars in the posts which were occupied by them in the time of Akbar.

Jahangir ordered the setting up of the chain of justice between the Shah Burji in the fort of Agra and a stone-pillar fixed on the banks of the Jumna, for enabling the aggrieved persons to place their complaints before the Emperor. To quote Jahangir himself, "I

ordered that the chain should be of pure gold, and be thirty gaz long with 60 bells upon it. The weight of it was four Hindustani Mans, equal to thirty two Mans of Iraq." It must have cost the Emperor about three lacs.

Revolt of Prince Khusrav (1606): Five months after the succession of Jahangir to the throne, Prince Khusrav whose relations with his father were not cordial at all, left Agra with 350 horsemen on the pretext of visiting the tomb of Akbar, the Great. He was joined at Mathura by Hussain Beg with about 3,000 horsemen. Further on, he was joined by Abdur Rahim, Diwan of Lahore who was coming to Agra. When Prince Khusrav reached Taran Taran, he got the blessings of Guru Arjun and probably also got some money. After that, he marched towards Lahore and besieged the same. Lahore was defended by Dilawar Khan and hence could not be taken. Jahangir himself reached Lahore with a big army. The rebels were defeated in the battle of Bhairawal. After defeat, Prince Khusrav and his followers proceeded towards Kabul. However, they were captured while crossing the Chenab River. Prince Khusrav and his friends and followers were brought before Jahangir. The Prince was chained and handcuffed and was weeping very bitterly. Everybody was moved by the sight but not Jahangir who ordered the Prince to be thrown into prison. Cruel punishments were inflicted on the followers of Prince Khusrav. To quote Jahangir himself, "I gave Khusrav into custody and I ordered these two villains to be enclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass and had to be placed on asses, faced to the tail and so to be paraded round the city." Guru Arjan who had blessed the Prince was not excused. He was ordered to be put to death and his property was confiscated.

In 1607, Jahangir came to know of a plot which aimed at murdering him and putting Prince Khusrav on the throne. The ring-leaders were ordered to be executed. Prince Khusrav was ordered to be blinded, although his eyesight was not completely lost.

Upto 1616, Prince Khusrav was kept in the capital as a prisoner. Then he was made over too Asaf Khan. In 1620, he was handed over to Prince Khurram who was not well-disposed towards him. In March 1622, the prince was murdered. Long afterwards, Aurangzeb is said to have accused Shah Jahan of the murder of Khusrav and Parvez.

Prince Khusrav was very popular with the people and the

nobility. It is stated that long after his death, his last resting place in Allahabad was visited by people in a spirit of veneration and he was considered to be a "martyred saint."

Noor Jahan: The story of Noor Jahan must occupy a very important place in the history of Jahangir. She was the daughter of Mirza Ghiyas Beg who himself was the son of Khawaja Mohammad Sharif who was the native of Tehran and was the Wazir of the Tartar Sultan, Beglar Begi of Khorasan. On account of unfavourable circumstances, Mirza Ghiyas Beg decided to try his luck in India. He took his journey under the protection of a wealthy merchant named Malik Masud. While Mirza Ghiyas Beg was on his way to India, a daughter was born at Qandhar. Mirza Ghiyas Beg was introduced to Akbar by Malik Masud and on account of his hard work and honesty, he rose to the high position of Diwan of Kabul. When his daughter named Mahirunnisa reached the age of 17, she was married to Ali Quli Beg Istaglu who was a Persian adventurer. He was given a Jagir in Bengal and also the title of Sher Afghan. Jahangir learnt that Sher Afghan was insubordinate and disposed to be rebellious. Consequently, Qutb-ud-Din, the new Governor of Bengal, was directed to chastise Sher Afghan. When Qutb-ud-Din went to carry out the orders, he was killed by Sher Afghan and the latter himself was put to death by the attendants of Qutb-ud-Din. Sher Afghan's widow, Mahrunnisa, was brought to Agra and was placed under Sultana Salima Begum in 1607. In 1611, she married Jahangir who gave her the title of Nur Mahal or "Light of the Palace." The title was changed later on to Nur Jahan or "Light of the World."

There has been a lot of controversy regarding the circumstances of the death of Sher Afghan and the marriage of his widow with Jahangir. Dr. Beni Prasad, the author of his monumental work on Jahangir, was of the opinion that Prince Salim had never seen Mahrunnisa. Akbar had also not forbidden the marriage between Prince Salim and Mahrunnisa and Jahangir saw her for the first time in 1611. He maintained that no contemporary Persian source supported the view that Jahangir as a prince had desired to marry Mahrunnisa and Akbar had refused permission. No contemporary Persian writer has held Jahangir responsible for the murder of Sher Afghan. Likewise, the contemporary European travellers and missionaries are also silent on this point. If it is accepted that Akbar had opposed the marriage of Mahrunnisa with Salim, he would

not have placed Sher Afghan on the staff of Prince Salim in 1599. Moreover, if Salim had considered Sher Afghan as his rival, he would not have given him promotions after his accession to the throne and even before. Qutab-ud-Din was appointed the Governor of Bengal not for the purpose of bringing about the murder of Sher Afghan but because Jahangir wanted to remove Man Singh from that important province. Moreover, a woman like Noor Jahan would never have agreed to marry the murderer of her husband.

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, there is every possibility that Jahangir as a Prince loved Mahrunnissa and wanted to marry her. There is every possibility of his complicity in the murder of Sher Afghan. According to him, the arguments given by Dr. Beni Prasad in favour of the innocence of Jahangir are of a negative nature. There is nothing to contradict the positive assertions of the later Indian historians who were "in a better position to state the truth in a matter like this than their predecessors." Moreover, there were no definite charges against Sher Afghan and Governor, Qutab-ud-Din was instructed to punish him only if he "showed any futile seditious ideas." To quote Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "Our suspicions are confirmed by the suddenness with which the arrest was attempted." Jahangir himself was very fond of mentioning even the most trivial affairs of his life in his Memoirs. He has omitted altogether the circumstances of his marriage with Noor Jahan. That creates the suspicion. He mentioned the name of Noor Jahan but for the first time in 1614. It is also pointed out that after the death of Sher Afghan, Mahrunnissa should have been sent to her father or brother who were both living. There was absolutely no justification for her being brought to the royal palace and kept under the control of the step-mother of Jahangir. It is worthy of note that such a thing was never done in the case of the widows of other nobles and officers. De Laet, a Dutch contemporary, says that Jahangir loved Mahrunnissa when he was a Prince. Jahangir intentionally did not marry Mahrunnissa for four long years with a view to remove the suspicion from the minds of the people regarding the death of Sher Afghan. Moreover, some time was required for reconciling Mahrunnissa, who must have been unhappy over the death of her husband. The conclusion of Dr. Ishwari Prasad is that "the circumstances of Sher Afghan's death are of a highly suspicious nature. Altogether there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the Emperor was guilty of the crime."

The character of Nur Jahan provides a fascinating study. There is much in her which deserves praise. She had "a piercing intelligence, a versatile temper, sound commonsense." She could understand the most intricate problems of the state without any difficulty. No political or diplomatic problem was beyond her comprehension. The greatest statesmen and ministers bowed to her decisions. She was fond of poetry and wrote verses. She not only possessed a superb beauty but was also a lover of beauty. She did a lot to add to the splendour and glory of the Mughal court. She set the fashions of the age. She designed new varieties of silk and cotton fabrics. She suggested models of jewellery. ✓

Nur Jahan was possessed of great physical strength and courage. She went out on hunting tours with her husband. On more than one occasion, she shot ferocious tigers. Her presence of mind was remarkable. This is clear from the rebuke she gave to her brother, Asaf Khan when Jahangir was imprisoned by Mahabat Khan on the river Jhelum. Nur Jahan was at her best at the time of difficulty. Even generals and soldiers were amazed at the manner in which she behaved at the time of an emergency. When her husband was imprisoned by Mahabat Khan, she seated herself on an elephant and tried to rescue him even by endangering her own life.

She worked very hard and no detail of administration escaped her notice. She was generous and was the refuge of the poor and the destitute. She provided money for the marriages of orphan Muslim girls. She was the "asylum of all sufferers." According to Jahangir himself, "Whosoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression, and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphans were married and portioned."

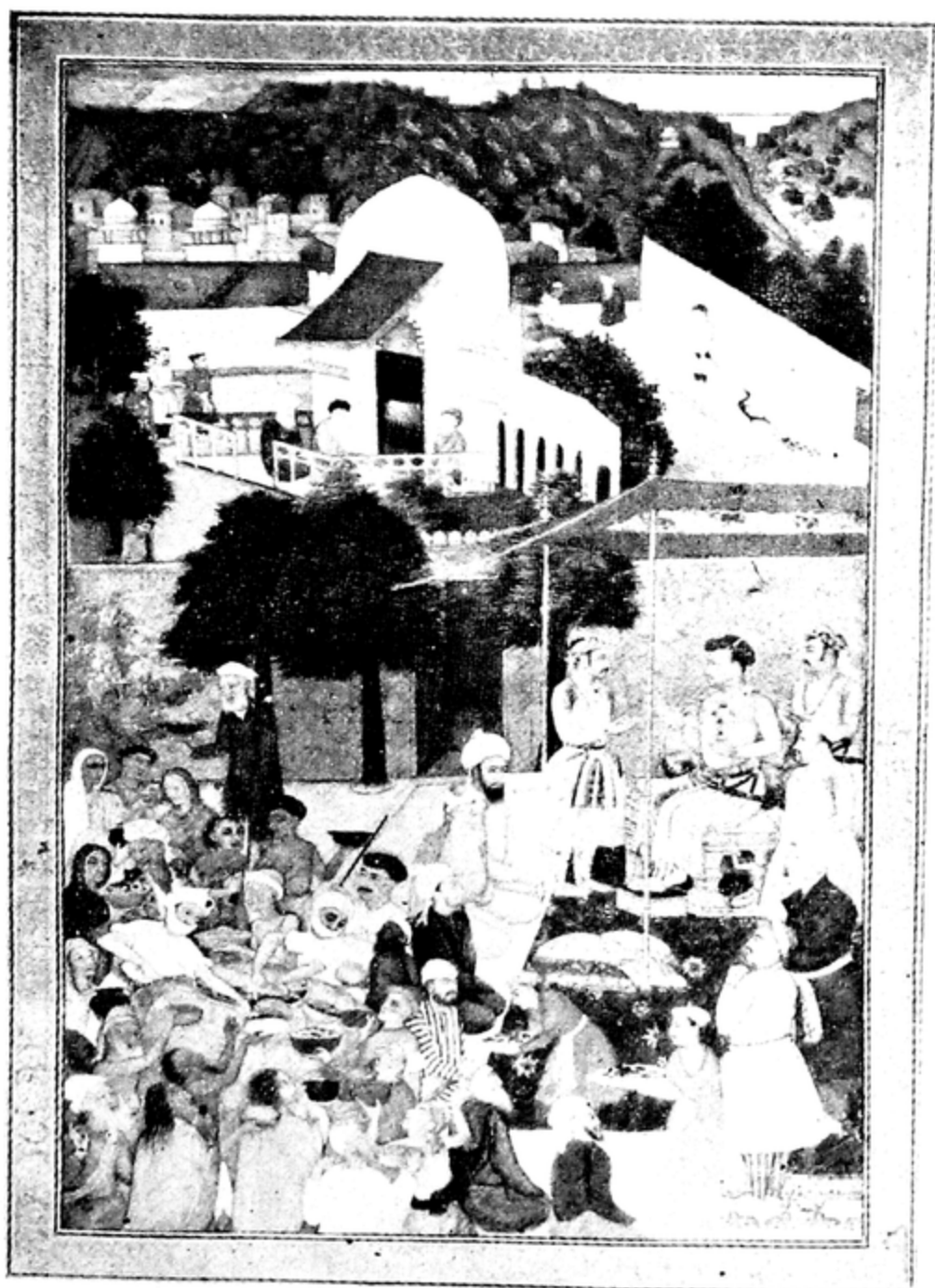
Nur Jahan raised her own kiths and kins to high positions. Asaf Khan, her brother, was made the first minister of the state. She also gave a high position to her father. Likewise, when she married her daughter to Shahriyar, many favours were showered on him.

Her devotion to Jahangir was unmatched. She loved him so much that he forgot all about the world. No wonder, he entrusted the work of the whole of the Government to her. Jahangir used to remark that "I have sold my kingdom to my beloved queen for a cup of wine and a dish of soup."

Nur Jahan was the King herself. The highest dignitaries of the state came to her for favours. A word from her could make or mar the career of any one. Rebels against the state requested her to interfere on their behalf. It was because of her that Jagat Singh, the hill chief of the Punjab, was forgiven and "the pen of pardon was drawn through record of his faults."

If Nur Jahan had virtues, she had her faults also. She was extremely jealous and could not tolerate the rise of others. She was afraid lest their rise may weaken her position. This is clear from the treatment meted out by her to Mahabat Khan who had been sent to pursue Prince Khurram in the Deccan. Mahabat Khan had done his job so nicely that he had succeeded in turning out the Prince from the Deccan and also from Bengal where he had retired. This made him the idol of his soldiers. It was his popularity which created jealousy in the mind of Nur Jahan. She recalled him from his mission and ordered him to send to the court the elephants he had obtained in Bihar and Bengal and also render an account of the money alleged to have been received by him from the dispossessed jagirdars. Mahabat Khan proceeded towards the Punjab where the Emperor was with a view to present his case personally. He had with him four to five thousand Rajput soldiers. Jahangir had come back from Kashmir and was going to Kabul and he was to cross the river Jhelum next morning. News of the approach of Mahabat Khan upset the Royal Commission. Jahangir ordered Mahabat Khan to remain where he was and Nur Jahan asked him to explain as to why he had married his daughter to a nobleman's son named Barkhurdar without the previous permission of the court. Barkhurdar was summoned to the court. He was publicly disgraced and was sent to prison with his hands tied to the neck. The dowry given by Mahabat Khan was forfeited. All this was too much for Mahabat Khan. He got Jahangir arrested and Nur Jahan had also to submit for the time being. However, when the control of Mahabat Khan over the Emperor ended, he ran away to the Deccan and joined hands with Prince Khurram who was already in revolt. It cannot be denied that Nur Jahan was responsible for turning Mahabat Khan into an enemy rather than a friend. The man who could have been used against the enemies of the Empire, was himself turned into an enemy.

Nur Jahan was responsible for the loss of Kandhar in 1622. The Persians besieged Kandhar and the Mughal garrison appealed



**Mughal Painting—Showing Jahangir's Visit to the Dargah
of Khwaja Sahib of Ajmer**

(By Courtesy, Deptt. of Archaeology, Govt. of India)

for help to Jahangir. Nur Jahan who was at the helm of affairs ordered Prince Khurram to proceed to Kandhar but the latter refused to do so. There is no denying the fact that the refusal of Khurram was due to her behaviour towards him. She had done things which could not be tolerated by Khurram. She was favouring her son-in-law at the cost of Khurram. The latter had requested again and again for the grant of the Jagir of Hissar Firoza, but that was given to Shariyar, who has been rightly nicknamed "Nashudani," or "good for nothing" by his contemporaries. Khurram was right in suspecting that in his absence to Kandhar, Shahriyar might be given further promotion and he himself might be disposed of in the battlefield. Even Dr. Beni Prasad admits that in the absence of Prince Khurram, Nur Jahan was sure to push her creature Shariyar to the front and undermine the position of Prince Khurram. It was this fear which forced Khurram to rebel against his father rather than fight against the Persians and thereby Kandhar was lost to the Mughals. It was Nur Jahan who was primarily responsible for this. It cannot be denied that the system of Government degenerated under control. Everything became rotten. There were plots, intrigues and conspiracies. Sir Thomas Roe tells us that the things had come to such a pass that even he himself had to offer a very costly present to Asaf Khan to get his own work done.

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, it was under the influence of Nur Jahan that Jahangir became a thorough-bread pleasure-seeker and completely forgot the duties of his office. "If Jahangir's reign forms an inglorious period in the annals of the Mughal dynasty, she must share the responsibility in no small measure. The new fashions and tastes which she fostered, are a poor compensation for the lack of military achievement or administrative reform which must remain the supreme test of the greatness of rulers and statesmen. The dominating Begum made her husband travel fast on the path of ease till he ceased to take all interest in public business and began to look upon alcohol as a prudent friend."

War with Mewar: It is well-known that Maharana Pratap carried on his struggle against Akbar for the whole of his life. When he died in 1597, he was succeeded by Amar Singh. He was not disturbed by Akbar for the rest of his reign. However, when Jahangir came to the throne, he re-started the war with Amar Singh and sent a force under Mahabat Khan. The Rajputs put up a stiff resistance and Mahabat Khan failed to achieve anything. Abdulla

Khan was sent against Amar Singh, but he also did not achieve anything substantial. In 1614, Prince Khurram was sent against Amar Singh and he pushed on the campaign so vigorously that the Rajputs were made to come to terms. Amar Singh acknowledged Jahangir as his over-lord. Jahangir also treated Amar Singh generously and tried to soften the humiliation of his defeats. All the country conquered by him since the invasion of Akbar was restored to him. He was also given the assurance that he would not be compelled to attend the court in person. Karan Singh, the son of Amar Singh, was raised to the Mansab of 5,000. After some time, Jahangir is said to have done special honour to Amar Singh and Karan Singh by directing the artists at Ajmer to fashion their full-sized statues in marble. Those statues were removed to Agra and erected in the garden of the palace below the audience window.

Conquest of Kangra (1620): Jahangir also thought of capturing the fort of Kangra which Akbar had failed to do. Murtaza Khan, Governor of the Punjab, was directed to conquer Kangra, but he failed on account of the jealousy and opposition of the Rajput chiefs who were associated with him. Then Prince Khurram was put in-charge of the command. The siege of Kangra was pushed on for weeks. Supplies were cut off. The garrison had to live on boiled dry grass. It was faced with death and starvation. After a siege of 14 months, the fort surrendered in November 1620. In 1621, Jahangir visited it and ordered the slaughter of a bullock at that place. A mosque was also built within the fort of Kangra.

Conquest of Kistwar (1622): The district of Kistwar had been able to maintain its independence inspite of the conquest of Kashmir. Efforts had been made in the time of Akbar to conquer it, but those were not crowned with success. Dilawar Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, brought the Rajah of Kishtwar to Jahangir in 1620. On account of the oppression of the Governor, the people revolted and a strong army had to be sent to crush the revolt. It was in 1622 that law and order were restored in Kistwar and the people settled down to a life of peace.

War with Ahmednagar (1610-20): Akbar had established his authority over Ahmednagar and thereby ousted the Nizam Shahi dynasty. In the time of Jahangir, Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian adventurer, was able to restore the old dynasty. Malik Amber has been regarded to be one of the greatest generals and statesmen of medieval India. He was admired even by his enemies for his

qualities of head and heart. He organised the revenue system on the same lines as that of Todar Mal. He trained the Marathas in guerilla warfare. According to Motamad Khan, the Mughal historian, "In warfare, in command, in sound judgement and in administration, he had no equal. He well understood the predatory warfare which in the language of the Deccan is called Bargi Giri. He kept down the turbulent spirits of the country and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave reaching such eminence." Another writer pays the following tribute to Malik Amber: "A born leader of men, he conciliated all parties, maintained order, and left a name for justice, vigour and benefit which has not been forgotten yet."

Malik Amber took advantage of the rebellion of Prince Khusrav and attacked the imperial forces in the Deccan. With the help of his Maratha troops, Malik Amber defeated Abdur Rahman, Khan-i-Khana and recaptured Ahmednagar in 1610. Khan-i-Khana was recalled and Khan Jahan succeeded him. As the mind of the Emperor was otherwise busy with the affairs of Nur Jahan, no action could be taken against Malik Amber for the present. However, in 1612, an army was sent from Gujrat to help Khan Jahan, but nothing substantial was achieved. The Maratha cavalry harassed the Mughal troops of Khan Jahan Lodi and Prince Parvez did not dare to attack Malik Amber again. In 1616, Prince Khurram was entrusted with the command. Prince Khurram offered terms of peace to Malik Amber and the latter accepted the same. Adil Shah gave presents worth 15 lacs to Prince Khurram and also promised to restore all the territory which had been seized by Malik Amber. The treaty was ratified by Jahangir who also conferred the title of Farzand or son upon Adli Khan. Prince Khurram was given the title of Shah Jahan and his Mansab was raised to 30,000 Zat and 20,000 Sawar. There was a lot of rejoicing but the fact remains that Ahmednagar was not conquered and the power of Malik Amber was not crushed. This state of affairs continued till 1629 when Malik Amber died.

Affairs of Kandhar: Kandhar had been annexed by Akbar by a stroke of good luck and it continued to be a part of the Mughal Empire throughout the rest of his reign.

On account of its strategic position and commercial importance, Kandhar was the bone of contention between India and Persia. It

was the gateway to India and a natural base of operations for an invader coming from Central Asia or Persia. The power controlling Kandhar could also easily capture Kabul and that is the reason why the Mughals attached great importance to the possession of Kandhar. Moreover, Kandhar was the place where merchants from India, Central Asia, Turkey and Persia met.

1606-7: When Akbar died in 1605 and there was the revolt of Prince Khusrav, Shah Abbas, the Persian ruler, instigated the chiefs of Khorasan to attack Kandhar. The Indian Governor put up a stiff resistance. Jahangir also sent reinforcements. The result was that the attack on Kandhar failed. Shah Abbas expressed his complete ignorance of the whole affair. He not only rebuked the Khorasan nobles but also apologised to Jahangir. The matter rested there for the time being.

In 1611, Shah Abbas sent an ambassador to Agra with rich presents and letters of flattery for Jahangir. Other missions were also sent for the primary purpose of flattering Jahangir and thereby putting him off his guard. Such missions were sent in 1615, 1616 and 1620. In 1621, Shah Abbas sent a large army for the capture of Kandhar. The siege actually started in 1622. When the news reached India, Jahangir ordered Shah Jahan to proceed to Kandhar. Shah Jahan had his grievances against the treatment meted out to him by Nur Jahan who was advocating the cause of her son-in-law. Shah Jahan also suspected that he may not be quickly disposed of on the Kandhar front under the instructions of Nur Jahan. The result was that instead of proceeding to Kandhar, he revolted against the Mughal Government. The fort of Kandhar fell after a siege of 45 days. Shah Abbas attempted to justify his capture of Kandhar but Jahangir accused him of treachery and deceit. He also ordered Prince Parvez to recapture Kandhar but the order was cancelled at the instigation of Asaf Khan. The result was that Kandhar could not be recaptured during the reign of Jahangir.

Bubonic Plague: Bubonic plague broke out in the Punjab in 1616. It spread to Sirhind and the Doab as far as Delhi. Jahangir has described the disease in these words: "When it was about to break out, a mouse would run out of its hole as if mad, and striking itself against the door and walls of the house, would expire. If immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death."

“ If any person touched the dead, or even the clothes of a dead man, he also could not survive the fatal attack. The effect of the epidemic was comparatively more severe upon the Hindus. In Lahore, its ravages were so great that in one house 10 or 20 persons would die, and their surviving neighbours, annoyed by the stench, would be compelled to desert their houses full of habitations. The dead were left locked, and no person dare to go near them through fear of his life. It was also very severe in Kashmir where its effect was so great that a Darvesh who had performed the last said offices of washing the corpse of a friend, the very next day was met the same fate. A cow, which had fed upon the grass in which the body of the man was washed, also died. The dogs, also, which ate the flesh of the cow fell dead upon the spot. In Hindustan, no place was free from this visitation which continued to devastate the country for a space of eight years.”

The plague broke out in Agra in 1618-19 and spread to all the surrounding areas. About 100 persons died every day. Both the rich and the poor were affected. In spite of heavy mortality, the state did not devise any methods to check the deaths.

Revolt of Shah Jahan (1623-25): It has already been pointed out that Shah Jahan revolted instead of going to Kandhar. Jahangir came out to oppose Shah Jahan personally. The opposing armies met at Balochpur and Shah Jahan suffered heavy losses. After that, the prince retired to the Deccan. He could not get help from the Governor of Gujrat. He went to Burhanpur and from there proceeded towards Bengal where he reached in 1624. He was able to take possession of both Bengal and Bihar on account of the favourable attitude of the Mughal authorities there. Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan pursued Shah Jahan and completely defeated him in the battle. Shah Jahan was again forced to go back to the Deccan. At this stage, he tried to make friends with Malik Amber of Ahmednagar. In 1625, reconciliation was brought about between Shah Jahan and Jahangir. Shah Jahan agreed to surrender Rohtas and Asirgarh and also sent Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh as hostages.

Death of Jahangir (1627): The health of Jahangir was completely shattered on account of too much of drinking. He was trying to restore it by visiting Kashmir and Kabul. He was going from Kabul to Kashmir but returned to Lahore on account of severe cold. He died on the way in October 1627. His body was brought

to Lahore and was ultimately interred in the Jahangir tomb near Shahdara (Lahore).

Visit of foreigners: Captain W. Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe visited India in the time of Jahangir. As regards Hawkins, he was an adventurous English seaman and he arrived in India in 1608 with a letter from James I to the Emperor of India, "The Great Mughal." There was a lot of opposition but in spite of that he managed to reach Agra to deliver the letter in person. He was well-received by Jahangir and he became his favourite. Hawkins lived at the Mughal court for about three years (1608-11) and enjoyed the hospitality of the Emperor. So far as the object of his mission was concerned, he failed to accomplish anything on account of intrigues of the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries. Hawkins married an Armenian Christian lady at the bidding of Jahangir.

Hawkins has written a lot about the habits of the Emperor, the court etiquette, the condition of the people and the administrative system of the country. He tells us that Jahangir was a heavy drunkard. There were many feasts at the Royal Court and the most important was that of Nau Roz. There was also the law of escheat by which after the death of a nobleman, all his property was taken over by the king. Hawkins has referred to the causes of the wealth of the Mughal Emperor. Those were the treasure and jewels of the ancestors, property of the nobles which came by way of escheat, money brought into the country by foreign merchants and the possession of land.

Hawkins also tells us that when the King got angry, terrible results followed. He might order a man to be flayed alive, or torn to pieces by elephants or tortured to death in many ways. The king was a mixture of opposites. On one occasion he might order the murder of a person and on another occasion he may give generously or intervene to save the life of some innocent person. Jahangir showed himself publicly three times a day to hear petitions of the people and give justice to them. Hawkins tells us that bribery was very common and the local authorities were oppressive. The Provincial Governors could do whatever they pleased and there was no effective check on them.

Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I in 1615. He was both a scholar and a courtier and was well qualified for the job given to him. He reached Surat in September 1615 and proceeded to Ajmer where Jahangir was. He remained at the court of Jahangir from 1615 to 1618. He succeeded in obtaining a Firmaan from Jahangir allowing

the English to trade at Surat. The Journal of Sir Thomas Roe and the Diary of his clergyman, Edward Perry, form a very valuable source for the reign of Jahangir. Sir Thomas Roe got the concession by bribing Asaf Khan.

The Journal of Roe gives a penpicture of the Royal Court and the important personalities of the country. He tells us that the Mughal court observed a lot of pomp and show. He described the festivities in which the nobles took part. He also refers to the squalor and misery of the pasantry. The public highways were insecure. Local administration was completely insufficient and corruption prevailed everywhere. Roe was struck by the fact that there were no written laws in India and the word of the king was the law. The control of the Central Government over the provinces was not what it should have been. He also refers to the law of escheat by which the property of a noble passed to the Emperor after the death of the noble. He tells us as to how favourties of the King were given promotions whether they deserved it or not. According to Roe, Jahangir had neither pride nor conceit. There were scenes of drunkenness and revelry at night. Roe was a clever diplomat. He possessed plenty of shrewdness and business capacity.

Roe tells us that the merchants were harassed at the ports. The Deccan was in a state of ruin. The art of painting was highly advanced.

Estimate of Jahangir: According to Dr. V.A. Smith, Jahangir was "a strong compound of tenderness, cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness." He wrote his Memoirs known as *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*. The Emperor possessed plenty of intelligence and ability but his habit of excessive drinking completely ruined him. He was not cruel by nature, but he behaved cruelly on certain occasions. He loved justice and was always ready to give the same to the people. He possessed very liberal views on religious matters. Jahangir possessed a fine critical taste in matters of dress and pleasures of the table. He designed new fashions. He relished fine fruits.

Jahangir was not in the morning what he was in the evening. "By day he was the picture of temperance, at night he became exceedingly glorious in the company of his nobles." Jahangir possessed a violent temper and there was every possibility of his behaving in a very cruel manner. Excessive drinking was responsible for his fits of violent temper. When he was sober, he was magnani-

mous and forgiving. He gave gifts to the needy.

Jahangir was a typical autocrat, a warm-hearted friend and a generous patron. He was a lover of nature and loved ease and indolence. He was "a lover of things Indian, and feels delight in Indian surroundings. There is much in his character that deserved to be condemned, but there is a great deal that entitles him to be placed among the most fascinating personalities of Indian history."

According to Jaffar, "Jahangir was a great ruler, capable of enormous energy. If he had not allowed himself to be dominated by the Nur Jahan clique, he would have proved himself an excellent administrator, worthy to be placed by the side of his father. It must, however, be pointed out that the real glory of his reign has been greatly eclipsed by the splendour of the two reigns that followed and preceded his, and he himself has suffered much on account of the coming between two illustrious sovereigns—Akbar, the great and Shah Jahan—the magnificent."

CHAPTER VII

SHAH JAHAN (1627-58)

Early life and accession to throne: Shah Jahan was one of the four sons of Jahangir. His original name was Khurram. He was born in January 1592 at Lahore from a Hindu mother. While young, he was a favourite of Akbar. He was smart, intelligent and ambitious. No effort was spared to give him the best education.

Even while very young, he could be pointed out to be the successor to the Mughal throne after the death of Jahangir. Prince Khurram was liked by his father and Shahriyar had still not come into the picture. It was on account of his bravery and sense of responsibility that Prince Khurram was put in charge of many expeditions by his father. In 1607, he was given the Mansab of 8,000 Zat and 5,000 Sawar. In 1611, he got the Mansab of 10,000 Zat and 5,000 Sawar. In 1612, he married the daughter of Asaf Khan. He was also promoted to the rank of 30,000 Zat and 20,000 Sawar.

However, there was a sudden fall in the fortunes of Prince Khurram after the marriage of Prince Shahriyar with the daughter of Nur Jahan. On account of this matrimonial relation, Nur Jahan backed the claims of Shahriyar even at the cost of Shah Jahan. It was this fact that made Prince Shah Jahan revolt in 1622. It is true that an amicable settlement was made between the father and the son in 1625, but Nur Jahan was bent upon supporting the cause of her son-in-law.

When Jahangir died in October 1627, Nur Jahan was with him. She summoned Shahriyar from Agra to Lahore with a view to put him on the throne. Asaf Khan, the father-in-law of Shah Jahan, also backed the cause of Shah Jahan. Thus, both sister and brother supported their respective sons-in-law. Shah Jahan was not easily available as he was in the Deccan and it would have taken some time before he could reach Agra. The result was that Asaf Khan put Dawar Baksh, son of Khusrau, on the throne as a stop-gap arrangement. He was to continue on the throne till the arrival of Shah Jahan from the Deccan. Both Nur Jahan and Shahriyar were no match for Asaf Khan and the result was that both of them were

defeated. Nur Jahan retired from public life and Shahriyar was imprisoned. When Shah Jahan arrived at Agra in February 1628, Dawar Baksh was removed from the throne and allowed to go to Persia where he spent the rest of his life. He was lucky to have saved his neck. Shah Jahan was responsible for the death of all his relatives. Nur Jahan died in 1645.

Rebellion of Bundela Rajputs: Bir Singh Bundela was the murderer of Abul Fazl. His son, Jujhar Singh, made encroachments on the Mughal territory and showed signs of rebellion. The result was that Shah Jahan sent three armies from different directions to crush him. There was some desperate fighting and ultimately Jujhar Singh surrendered. He agreed to give Rs. 15 lacs as war indemnity and 1,000 gold Mohurs as a present to Shah Jahan. He gave 40 elephants and also agreed to send an army of 2,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry to participate in the Deccan campaign. Shah Jahan allowed him to keep a Jagir for the maintenance for his rank of Chahar Hazari Zat and Chahar Hazari Sawar. In spite of this, Jujhar Singh revolted once again in 1635. He was pursued by the Mughal troops and he was killed by the Gonds in a chance skirmish.

Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi (1628): Khan Jahan Lodi was the commander-in-chief and viceroy of the Deccan. He was originally an Afghan adventurer and he rose in life due to his own efforts to the highest rank. He entered into an alliance with the ruler of Ahmednagar and revolted. Shah Jahan realised the gravity of the situation. If Khan Jahan could win over all the rulers of the Deccan to his own side and lead their combined troops, it might become difficult to retain the Southern Provinces of the Mughal Empire. No wonder, Shah Jahan went to the Deccan in person in 1629 to conduct the campaign. Azim Khan, the Mughal General, was more than a match for Khan Jahan Lodi and the latter was driven from place to place. Ultimately, Khan Jahan retreated to the South with a view to take shelter with the ruler of Bijapur. The allies of Khan Jahan, such as Shahji Bhonsla and Kaluji Bhonsla, voluntarily surrendered before the Mughal armies and were confirmed in their Jagirs and retainers of Shah Jahan. Khan Jahan failed to get any help from Bijapur. He proceeded towards Bundelkhand with a view to persuade its chiefs to revolt. Here also, luck did not favour him and instead of helping him, the chiefs opposed him. The result was that Khan Jahan was killed while fighting near the fort of Kalanjar in 1630.

The Nauroz of 1628: Shah Jahan celebrated the feast of Nauroz of 1628 with great pomp and show. Every effort was made to make the occasion as sacred as possible. All the four princes stood on the four corners of his throne. Shah Jahan gave liberal gifts to the members of his family. The gifts were of the value of lacs of rupees. The Mansab of Asaf Khan was raised to 9,000 Zat and 9,000 Sawar.

Famine of 1630: In 1630, famine took place in the Deccan, Gujrat and Khandesh. So severe was the famine that thousands of people died of starvation. Parents did not hesitate to eat up their children. According to Mirza Amin Qazwini, the people suffered terribly. The grocers and traders mixed powdered bones with flour and sold flesh of the dogs which was mistaken for meat. After famine came pestilence. So great was the destruction that many villages were completely destroyed. Streets and lanes were glutted with human corpses. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, "Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The number of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for fertility and plenty now retained no productiveness." According to Peter Mundy, "The highways were strewn with corpses which emitted terrible stench. In the towns especially, they dragged them out by the heels, stark-naked, of all ages and sexes, till they are out of the gates and then they are left, so that the way is half barred up."

According to Dr. V.A. Smith, the Government did not perform its responsibility to relieve the sufferings of the people. The remission of one-eleventh of the assesment implies that the balance was collected from the people. However, such a view is not correct. According to Abdul Hamid about Rs. 70 lacs were remitted by the Government. The emission was about one-third of the total demand. The remission may not be adequate but it cannot be stated to be insignificant.

Death of Mumtaz Mahal: Mumtaz Mahal was the daughter of Asaf Khan. She is rightly called the Lady of the Taj. She was too much loved by her husband who had many other wives also. She was not only extremely beautiful but also thoroughly devoted to her husband. She was her husband's companion during those days when his fortune got a setback.

When Shah Jahan became Emperor in 1628, she got an opportunity to show her real worth. She tried to do all that she could to help widows and orphans. She was the refuge of many miserable and oppressed men or women. She gave a lot of money in charity. She was kind to all those who came into contact with her. She died in 1631 and Shah Jahan built the Taj in her memory. The Taj is one of the wonders of the world and is a noble monument of conjugal love and fidelity.

War with the Portuguese (1631-32): The town of Hugli had arisen into prominence on account of the establishment of Portuguese factories there. The Portuguese settlers indulged in heavy trade and very often captured the orphan children of the Hindus and Mohamaddans and forcibly converted them to Christianity. These actions of the Portuguese were highly objectionable and the Mughal authorities resented them. Some of the Portuguese captured two slave girls which were claimed by Mumtaz Mahal. In spite of her request, the slave girls were not released. Naturally Mumtaz Mahal was highly offended and she made up her mind to teach them a lesson. At that time, Shah Jahan was in revolt against his father and consequently much could not be done against the Portuguese. However, even before his accession to the throne, Shah Jahan was well aware of the misdeeds of the Portuguese and was determined to crush their power.

In 1631, Kasim Khan was appointed the Governor of Bengal and was ordered to take steps to exterminate the Portuguese. Large forces were sent for the purpose. The Portuguese were attacked from all sides and "sent to hell." The siege of Hugli lasted for more than three months. After a stiff resistance, the Portuguese surrendered. Their losses were very heavy. More than 10,000 of them were killed and more than 4,000 were made prisoners. Shah Jahan hated the fanaticism of the Portuguese. He offered the captives the choice of becoming Muslims or suffer life-long imprisonment or slavery. They were paid back in their own coin. Some of them became Muslims and others died suffering. It is to be noted that Shah Jahan was very vindictive against the Portuguese. It is true that the Portuguese had done a wrong, but Shah Jahan ought to have been more tolerant and generous.

Shah Jahan's Deccan policy: Akbar had been able to conquer Khandesh and a portion of Ahmednagar. All his successors aimed at carrying to the logical conclusion the policy initiated by him in the Deccan. As the whole of Northern India had already been

conquered, Shah Jahan could conveniently spare time, money and military resources for the conquest of the Deccan. Jahangir had already carried on a war with Malik Ambar of Ahmednagar. Shah Jahan had himself won spurs in the Deccan campaign. After his accession to the throne, Shah Jahan made up his mind to complete the conquest of the Deccan.

Ahmednagar had helped Khan Jahan Lodi when the latter revolted against the Mughal authority. That was a sufficient excuse for the Mughals to attack Ahmednagar. Moreover, the chaotic state of affairs in the country helped Shah Jahan. After the death of Malik Amber in 1629, there arose differences between Fateh Khan, the son of Malik Amber and Sultan Murtaza Nizam. The things became so bad that Fateh Khan was thrown into prison. However, he was released later on and restored to power on account of the Sultan's difficulties with regard to the Mughals. Although Fateh Khan was restored to power, he refused to forget and forgive the treatment meted out to him by his master. The result was that he started negotiations with Shah Jahan and under the instructions of the Mughal Emperor, captured Sultan Murtaza Nizam, put him in prison and ultimately got him murdered. Hussain Shah, a minor member of the royal family, was put on the throne of Ahmednagar and Fateh Khan himself became the power behind the throne. Fateh Khan did not continue to be faithful even towards Shah Jahan. Fateh Khan was in possession of the fort of Daulatabad. Shahji Bhonsla persuaded the Sultan of Bijapur to attack Daulatabad and punish Fateh Khan, and he himself joined the army of Bijapur. On behalf of Shah Jahan, Mahabat Khan went to the relief of the fort. Fateh Khan refused to give up the fort. The siege continued for two months and ultimately Fateh Khan and the garrison were bought off. The fort was surrendered. Sultan Hussain Shah was captured and sent as a state prisoner to Gwalior. Thus, in 1632 the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmednagar was ended. Fateh Khan was rewarded for his treacherous conduct. He was taken into the imperial service and was granted a liberal salary.

Shahji Bhonsla, revived the Nizam Shahi dynasty by placing another boy of the royal family on the throne. However, even he had to surrender to Shah Jahan. In 1636, the kingdom of Ahmednagar was completely destroyed and its territory was shared by Shah Jahan and the Sultan of Bijapur.

War with Bijapur: In 1631, Mohammad Adil Shah of

Bijapur had joined hands with Murtaza Nizam. This was tantamount to the defiance of the Mughal authority. No wonder, he had to pay heavily for it. The Shah of Bijapur was besieged by Asaf Khan in his capital. The people of Bijapur put up a stiff fight. The Maratha soldiers in the employment of Bijapur state rendered great service in harrassing and plundering the Mughal army. The result was that the siege had to be raised and the kingdom of Bijapur was saved.

Nothing happened between 1631 and 1635. In the latter year, Shah Jahan had to take action against Shahji Bhonsla who tried to revive the state of Ahmednagar. Shah Jahan sent written commands to the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda requiring them to recognise his sovereignty and also abstain from helping Shahji Bhonsla. They were informed that if they refused to accept the command, their territories would be attacked. The ruler of Golconda accepted the command of Shah Jahan and agreed to pay tribute. He also agreed to read the Khutba in the name of Shah Jahan and also strike coins in his name. The ruler of Bijapur refused to accept the command of Shan Jahan and the result was that his territory was invaded. Khan Dowran was put incharge of the army. The capital of Bijapur was besieged. The Marathas repeated their old tactics. The districts surrounding the capital were deserted. The lands immediately surrounding the city were flooded with water. The besieging army was harrassed in many other ways. It is true that the capital of Bijapur was saved but the Mughal troops plundered the rest of the territory with a vengeance. On account of the helpless condition of his people, the ruler of Bijapur was forced to come to terms with the Mughals. According to the treaty, the ruler of Bijapur agreed to pay Rs. 20 lacs as "a peace offering." He also agreed to respect the integrity of Golconda which was claimed as a tributary state by the Mughals.

Having thus settled the state of affairs in the Deccan in 1636, Shah Jahan retired to Agra. Aurangzeb was appointed the Governor of the Deccan and he occupied that post for eight years (1636-44). During this period, Aurangzeb annexed Bagalna near Nasik and reduced the power of Shahji. Khan Zaman acted as he Chief Adviser of Aurangzeb. In 1653, Aurangzeb was appointed the Governor of the Deccan for the second time. He remained in that post till 1657 when he got the news of the illness of his father.

During the period of his second Governorship, Aurangzeb introduced the same revenue system in the Deccan as was done by

Todar Mal in the North. In this task, he was assisted by Murshid Kuli Khan. Advances were given to agriculturists to buy implements and seeds. Efficient and honest persons were appointed as administrators and consequently the tone of administration improved.

It has been pointed out that in 1636, the ruler of Golconda promised to pay an annual tribute. However, he did not fulfil his promise. Moreover, he extended his territory with the help of Mir Jumla, his Minister. Mir Jumla was granted a Jagir in Carnatic in lieu of his services to the state. The Jagir was developed to such an extent that the ruler of Golconda became jealous of Mir Jumla and tried unsuccessfully to blind him. No wonder, Mir Jumla ran away and sought refuge with the Mughals. Aurangzeb decided to take full advantage of the situation of Golconda. He marched upon Golconda and besieged the same. When victory was in sight, Shah Jahan ordered Aurangzeb to end the siege. A treaty was made in 1656 with the ruler of Golconda. According to it, the ruler of Bijapur was to pay a large indemnity and also give up some parts of his territory to the Mughals. He also promised to marry his daughter to one of the sons of Aurangzeb and also nominate his son-in-law as his heir. The property of Mir Jumla was to be restored to him and his son was to be released.

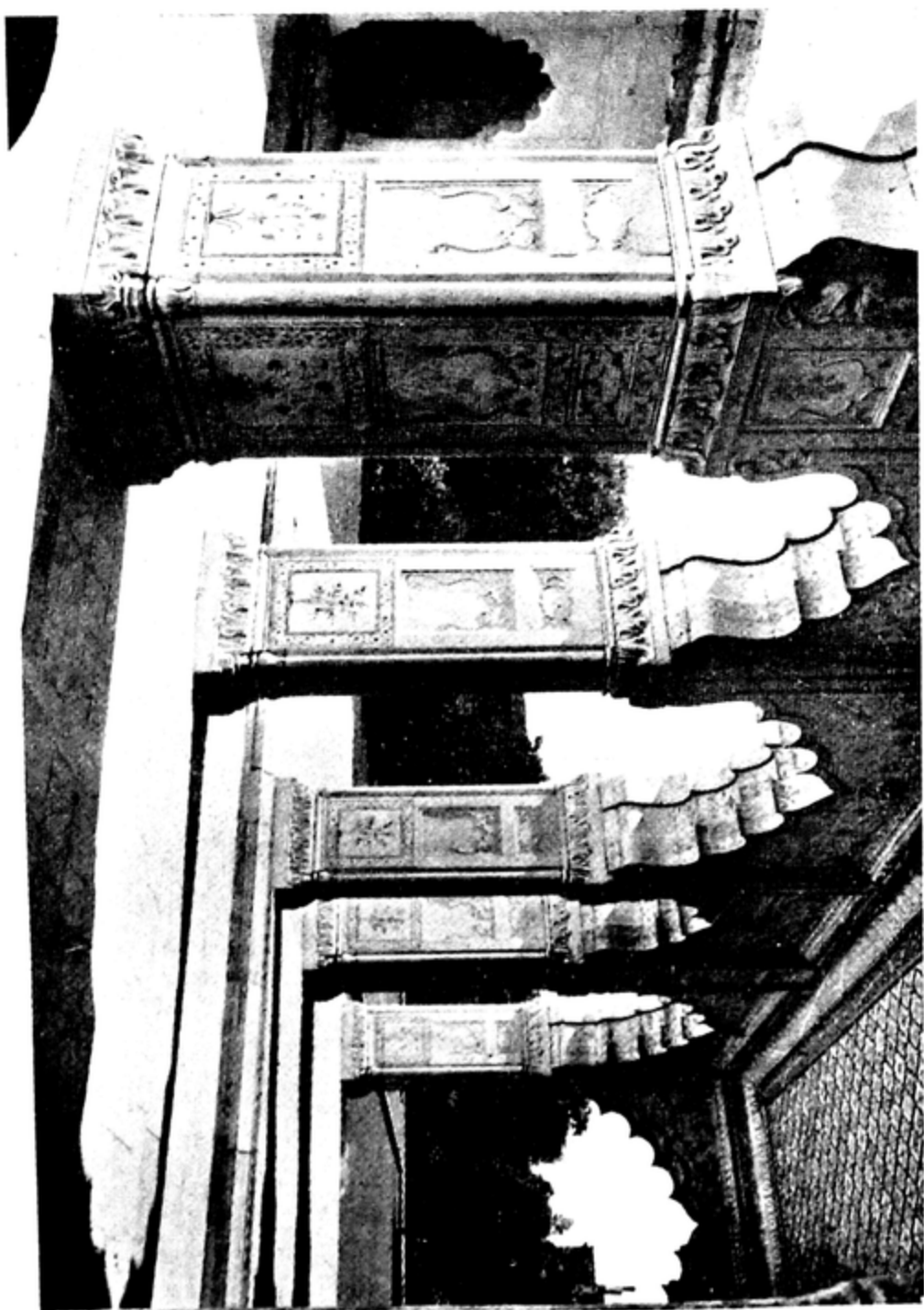
As regards Bijapur, its relations with Aurangzeb were not cordial on account of the fact that Mohammad Adil Shah sided with Dara Shikoh. In 1656, Adil Shah died and he was succeeded by his son Ali II who was hardly 19 years of age. Finding the time opportune, Aurangzeb marched on Bijapur which was absolutely unprepared. Very soon, Bidar and Kalyani were captured. The ruler of Bijapur sued for peace. According to the treaty, he was to give Bidar, Kalyani and Parinda to the Mughals. He was also to pay Rs. one crore by way of indemnity. Aurangzeb was in favour of carrying on operations still further but the news of the illness of Shah Jahan forced him to suspend the hostilities and proceed towards the North.

Relations with Kandhar: Kandhar had been lost in 1623 in the time of Jahangir and no efforts were made to recover it till 1638. It was in that year that Shah Jahan turned his attention towards Kandhar. Ali Mardan Khan was the Governor of Kandhar on behalf of the Persian Government. When Ali Mardan came to know of the intentions of the Mughal Emperor, he started his preparations for defence and requested the Shah of Persia to send him help. Unfortunately, the Shah of Persia misunderstood and suspected the

designs of Ali Mardan. An attempt was made by the Shah of Persia to get Ali Mardan arrested. This was too much for Ali Mardan and he corresponded with the Mughal authorities. He surrendered Kandhar into the hands of the Mughals and took refuge at Delhi. He was honoured at the Mughal court and was made the Governor of Kashmir and Kabul. He was also employed on various military and other duties. He was responsible for carrying out many works of public utility.

Although Kandhar was lost, the Persians never gave up the hope of re-conquering it. Shah Abbas II made preparations for the recapture of Kandhar. The fort of Kandhar was besieged. The Mughal garrison fought desperately against the invaders for 57 days. When they felt that no relief was coming from India, they surrendered on 11th February 1649. According to Inayat Khan, the following circumstances led to the surrender of Kandhar: "At length a number of the garrison from want of spirit, lost the little courage they possessed, and Shadi Uzbeg having entered into a conspiracy with the Kazal-Bashis, seduced Kipchak Khan from his duty. Though the latter was naturally inclined at heart to this course of behaviour, yet as his companions had their families with them, through dread of losing their wealth, their lives and their good repute they would not let him follow the bent of his own disposition, so he was necessarily compelled to ally himself with those unfortunates. Some of the Mughal Mansabdars, Ahadis and Matchlockmen too, having sprinkled the dust of treason on the heads of loyalty entered into league with them, and having come in front of the fort, declared that in consequence of all the roads having closed, from the vast quantity of snow on the ground, there was no hope of the early arrival of succour and that it was evident from the untiring efforts of the Kazalbashis that they would very shortly capture the fort, and after its reduction by forces of violence, neither would there be any chance of their lives being spared, nor of their offspring being saved from captivity. The wretched Daulat Khan, who ought instantly to have extinguished the flames of this sedition with the water of the sword showed an utter want of spirit by contenting himself with offering advice in reply. This, however, made no impression on the individuals in question who got up and departed to their respective homes so that nought but a scanty force having left in the entrenchments, the Kazalbashis entered the Sher Haji in several places."

First siege of Kandhar (1649): Shah Jahan was determined to recapture Kandhar and consequently sent Aurangzeb with 60,000



Delhi Fort—Diwan-i-Khas

(By Courtesy, Dept. of Archaeology Govt. of India)

cavalry and 10,000 infantry for that purpose. The siege of Kandhar was continued for three months and 20 days, but without any result. After that, Aurangzeb was ordered by Shah Jahan to withdraw from Kandhar.

Second siege of Kandhar (1652): Aurangzeb was appointed the commander of the Mughal forces for the conquest of Kandhar for the second time. The second siege lasted for more than two months and 8 days and no success was achieved against the Persians inspite of the best efforts. The Persian artillery was more than a match for the Mughal artillery. Inspite of the protests of Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan ordered the siege to be abandoned. When Aurangzeb asked for more time to complete the work, Shah Jahan gave the following reply: "If I had believed you capable of taking Kandhar, I should not have recalled your army. Every man can perform some work. It is a wise saying that men of experience need no instruction."

Third siege of Kandhar (1653): Dara, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was put in command of the third expedition to reconquer Kandhar. Dara boasted that he would finish the work within a week. This time thorough preparations were made for the siege of Kandhar. Millions were spent for the undertaking. The siege was continued for months and after that the attempt had to be given up. After 1653, no other attempt was made to recapture Kandhar.

The failure of the Mughal armies to recapture Kandhar inspite of three efforts gave a mortal blow to their prestige. The Mughal Government wasted more than Rs. 12 crores. The failure of the last attempt proclaimed to the world the inefficiency and weakness of the Mughal forces. No wonder, throughout the rest of the 17th century the danger of a Persian invasion gave headache to the rulers of India.

Balkh and Badakhshan: Shah Jahan was actuated with the desire of conquering Balkh and Badakhshan although the latter had given him no cause for offence. There was a dispute in the royal family of Balkh and Shah Jahan thought of fishing in troubled waters. Abdul Aziz, the son of Nazr Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Bokhara, revolted against his father. Shah Jahan thought this to be the most opportune time for interference into the affairs of Bokhara. According to Sir J.N. Sarkar, the prosperity of his reign and the flattery of his courtiers turned the head of Shah Jahan and he started dreaming the vainest of vain dreams. It was a foolhardy enterprise and there was absolutely no chance of success.

In 1646, Prince Murad and Ali Mardan Khan were sent with

50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry for the conquest of Balkh. Without much opposition, the Mughal armies entered the city of Balkh in July 1646. Its ruler ran away to Persia. After some time, Murad got sick of his stay in Balkh and without the permission of his father, left Balkh and came back to India. Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb and Shah Shuja in place of Murad. One great difficulty of the Mughals was that they were outnumbered by the enemy. The Uzbek way of fighting also added to the difficulties of the Mughals. The Uzbeks did not offer a pitched battle and the Mughals found themselves helpless before the Cossack tactics of the Uzbeks. Aurangzeb entered Balkh and put the same under Madhu Singh Hada.

After Balkh, Aurangzeb thought of dealing a blow to the Uzbeks. Fighting continued for a very long time and the Mughals got fed up with the whole affair. The Mughals had to fight against the forces of Bokhara and defeated them.

There were prolonged negotiations and after that the Mughals retreated towards Kabul. They were furiously attacked by the Hazaras and had to suffer heavy losses.

It cannot be denied that the Central Asian policy of Shah Jahan failed completely. In two years Government had to waste aimlessly about Rs. 4 crores. The campaign added niether to the prestige of the Mughals nor to their territory. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has put the results of the Central Asian campaigns of the Mughal army in these words: "Thus ended Shah Jahan's fatuous war in Balkh—a war in which the Indian treasury spent 4 crores of rupees in two years and realised from the conquered country a revenue of Rs. 22½ lacs only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, nor dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain store in Balkh fort, worth 5 lacs, and the provisions in other forts as well, were all abandoned to the Bukharians, besides Rs. 50,000 in cash presented to Nazr Muhammad's grandsons and Rs. 22,500/- to envoys. Five hundred soldiers fell in battle and ten times that number (including camp followers) were slain by cold and snow on the mountains."

War of succession (1657-58): In September 1657, Shah Jahan fell ill. The physicians were not hopeful about his recovery. Shah Jahan even made his last will and testament. Different kinds of rumours regarding the death of Shah Jahan were circulated.

A disputed succession had become a sort of a family tradition with the Mughals. Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan

had to fight their rivals to the throne. Although all the four sons of Shah Jahan were born of the same mother, they were not prepared to give up their inherent right to fight for the throne. All these four sons were of mature age. In 1657, Dara was 43, Shah Shuja 41, Aurangzeb 39 and Murad 33. All the four brothers had experience both in civil and military affairs. All of them were Governors of the provinces. Dara was the Governor of the Punjab, Murad of Gujrat, Aurangzeb of the Deccan and Shah Shuja of Bengal.

As regards Dara, he possessed a lot of natural ability but at the same time suffered from a violent temper and proud and haughty conduct. He freely associated with the Muslim Sufis and Hindu Vedantists. He was responsible for the translation of the *Upnishdas* into Persian. He did not find any fundamental difference between Islam and Hinduism as such. He possessed an eclectic spirit in religious matters. However, it is wrong to suggest that he was an apostate from Islam. He was considered an heretic by the Muslims.

Dara was a favourite of his father and that was the reason why in spite of his being posted in the Punjab, he lived with his father at Agra. He did not possess the qualities of a true statesman. He was vain and haughty and was not prepared to accept the advice of others. He was not a good soldier and his record in the battlefield was a very poor one. He was surrounded by flatterers. According to Lane Poole, "Dara was a nervous, sensitive, impulsive creature, full of fine feelings and vivid emotions, never master of himself or of others and liable to lose his self-control just when cool judgment was most necessary. He might have been a poet or a transcendental philosopher, he could never become a ruler of India." According to Manucci, "The first-born son of King Shah Jahan was the Prince Dara, a man of dignified manners, of a comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of most extraordinary liberty, kindly and compassionate, but over-confident in his opinion of himself, considering himself competent in all things and having no need of advisers. He despised those who gave him counsel. This was why even his dearest friends never ventured to inform him of the most essential things. Still it was very easy to discover his intentions. He assumed that fortune would invariably favour him and imagined that everybody love him."

As regards Shah Shuja, he was the Governor of Bengal. He was a victim to pleasures and luxury. Consequently, both his intellect and mental faculties were seriously affected. The result was that

he could not make up his mind at the crucial moment. Moreover, Shah Shuja professed the Shia faith and consequently was hated by the Sunni Muslims who formed an over-whelming majority of the Muslims of India. According to Bernier, "He (Shah Shuja) resembled in characteristic traits his brother, Dara, but he was more discrete, firmer of purpose and excelled him in conduct and address." According to Manucci, "He knew how to acquire friends likely to help him in his important and reasonable affairs. His agents at the court succeeded in seducing many men from the service of Dara. He was a Shia by religion and it is believed that this religion was adopted with the object of winning support of the Persian officials of the Emperor who were also Shias." According to Lane Poole, "Shuja's Zenana was the prison of his career."

Undoubtedly, Aurangzeb was the ablest of all the sons of Shah Jahan. He was a great soldier and general. He had given an ample proof of his war-like qualities in the reign of his father and was more than a match for any brother in the battle-field. He was very clever and consequently even the most intimate friends of his could not find out as to what was passing in his mind. He was a true statesman who could keep his head cool even in the event of a great calamity. He was a pious man and was loved by the orthodox Muslims for his religious zeal and fanaticism. He possessed a lot of administrative experience as the Governor of the Deccan and Gujrat. According to Bernier, "He was a consummate statesman and a great king, but endowed with a versatile and a rare genius." According to Lane Poole, "It has been usual to call the character of Aurangzeb as a puzzling compound of contradictions. He possessed many great qualities, he practised all the virtues ; but he was lacking in one thing needful in a leader of men : he could not win love. Such a one may administer an Empire, but he cannot rule hearts of men." According to Irvine, "His life was austere and laborious ; he seems never to have indulged in a holiday. He belonged to that uncommon class of men who believe that their worst and most self-interested connections are directly inspired by God." According to Hunter, "His life would have been a blameless one, if he had no father to dispose, no brothers to murder and no Hindu subjects to oppress."

Murad was the youngest son of Shah Jahan. He was a brave and plucky soldier but otherwise dissolute, drunken and brainless. He was such a simpleton that he could be deceived very easily. According to Lane Poole, "the youngest son of Shah Jahan was a gallant

swash-buckler, brave as a lion, frank and open as the day, a fool in politics, a despair in statecraft and a firm believer in ruddy steel. He was the terror of the battle-field and the best of good fellows over a bottle. No one could be better trusted in a melee, none was more fatuous in council or more reckless in a debauch. The hereditary passion for wine which had descended from Akbar to his posterity, found a willing victim in this valliant lion. He was, in short, brainless." According to Bernier, "His constant thought was how he might enjoy himself and the pleasures of the table and the field engaged his undivided attention."

Fight for the throne: As soon as the news of the dangerous illness of Shah Jahan reached the various princes, all of them started making preparations for capturing the throne. Shah Shuja and Murad took up the imperial title. Both of them placed themselves on the throne and got the coins struck in their own names. However, Aurangzeb moved very cautiously. He took every precaution to conceal his own movements. He established guards over all the ferries over the Narbada. He asked his sister Roshanara to inform him of all that happened at the capital. Having done this, he started negotiations with Prince Murad for a joint action against Dara Shikoh. According to the agreement arrived at between the parties, Murad was to receive the Punjab, Kabul, Kashmir and Sind and Aurangzeb was to receive the rest of the Mughal territory in India. After this settlement, both the princes marched towards Agra and their armies joined each other outside Dipalpur in Malwa.

An army was sent under Sulaiman Shikoh and Raja Jai Singh, to check the advance of Shah Shuja. A battle was fought at Bahadurgarh in February 1658 and Shah Shuja was defeated. Jaswant Singh and Kasim Khan were sent to fight against Aurangzeb and Murad. The battle of Dharmat was fought in April 1658 and Aurangzeb and Murad got a victory. This was too much for the Central Government at Agra. No wonder, Dara personally marched out to fight against his brothers. He disregarded the advice of his father to allow him to appear on the scene and thereby disperse Murad and Aurangzeb. He also did not wait for the arrival of the victorious Mughal army under Sulaiman Shikoh and Jai Singh. Unfortunately, the army commanded by him had more sympathy for Aurangzeb than for himself. It was in this atmosphere that the battle of Samugarh was fought on 29th May 1658. The Rajputs fought desperately and "did honour to their race." Both Aurangzeb

and Murad fought in front of their armies and thereby staked their own lives. The balance was in favour of Dara when the elephant on which Dara was riding was wounded by an arrow. He foolishly accepted the advice to mount on a horseback. When his troops found him missing from the elephant, they took him to be dead. "That action decided the fate of the battle." (Smith). The soldiers of Dara ran away from the battlefield and victory lay with Aurangzeb and Murad.

There was some resistance at Agra and after that the fort was surrendered in June 1658 by Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan was made a prisoner and he died in captivity in 1666.

One by one, Aurangzeb managed to dispose of all his brothers. So far as Murad was concerned, he was invited to a dinner by Aurangzeb and was arrested while drunk. First of all he was sent to Delhi and then to Gwalior. It was there that he was executed in 1661.

As regards Shuja, he raised the standard of revolt and occupied Banaras, Allahabad and Jaunpur. With the help of Mir Jumla, Shah Shuja was defeated. After his defeat, Shuja ran away to Arakan. He was killed by the Maghs.

As regards Dara, he retreated from Samugarh to Delhi and from there to Lahore. Multan was the next destination. From Multan, Dara went to Thatta. As he was not welcomed there, he went to Cutch. From there, he went to Kathiawar where he was welcomed by Shah Nawaz Khan, the Governor of the Province. He also helped Dara to occupy Surat. He was also able to raise a large army and if he had accepted the advice of his friends, he could easily have escaped to the Deccan where it would have been difficult for Aurangzeb to crush him. Unfortunately, he made up his mind to give battle to the pursuing army. The result was that he was defeated at Ajmer. After his defeat, he ran away to Sind. Unfortunately, he got shelter from Jiwan Khan who treacherously handed him over to the pursuers in June 1659. Dara was brought to Delhi. He was placed on a filthy elephant and paraded in the streets of Delhi. Dara was put on his trial as an apostate from Islam and a verdict of death was given against him. According to Smith, "On the night of that day (August 30), brutal murderers tore away Sipih Shikoh from his father's embrace and after a violent struggle beheaded Dara Shikoh."

Even after disposing of his three brothers, Aurangzeb did not feel himself safe. Sulaiman Sikoh had defeated Shah Shuja in the battle of Bahadurgarh in 1658. On account of his slow movement,

he had not been able to join his father and take part in the battle of Samugarh. The result was that after the defeat of Dara in the battle of Samugarh, he had to run for his life to Garhwal where he was given shelter by a local chief. Pressure was put on the chief and in December 1660, Sulaiman Shikoh was handed over to Aurangzeb. Sulaiman Shikoh was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior and there he was put to death "by the slow process of post or infusion of opium poppy-heads." Sipihr Shikoh, another son of Dara, was lucky. He was later on married to one of the daughters of Aurangzeb.

Causes of the success of Aurangzeb: 1. The victory of Aurangzeb over his rivals was due to many factors. According to the Muslim historians, that was due to the Iqbal of Aurangzeb. But leaving aside this factor, Aurangzeb's success was partly due to his own qualities of head and heart. He was a great general and a statesman. No one could equal him in diplomacy and statecraft. He was a staunch Muslim and no wonder the orthodox Muslims of India not only prayed but also worked for his victory. Even the Muslims on the side of Dara proved treacherous to him and his cause and the Muslims on the side of Aurangzeb fought for his cause with determination and enthusiasm. They considered Aurangzeb as the champion of Sunni orthodoxy.

2. The success of Aurangzeb was partly due to the folly and weakness of Shah Jahan. He did nothing to check the spread of the news that he was dead. As soon as he heard of the advance of Murad and Aurangzeb, he ought to have put himself at the head of the Mughal forces and defeated Aurangzeb and Murad. There is nothing to doubt that many of the followers of Aurangzeb would have deserted him on the appearance of Shah Jahan himself in public. The reason was that in such a case there was no occasion for a war of succession. Such a fight could have meaning only if Shah Jahan was dead. Shah Jahan ought to have prevailed upon Dara to allow him to be in the battle-field at Samugarh. He foolishly submitted to the dictates of Dara, and he had to pay dearly for that folly. He had to spend 8 years in imprisonment.

3. Dara was no match for Aurangzeb in any way. The latter was much better than the former in diplomacy, generalship and statecraft. Dara lacked the reckless courage which was possessed by Aurangzeb. Dara should not have got down from his elephant and he should not have put himself on a horseback at Samugarh. He should have changed one elephant for the other. Moreover, Dara

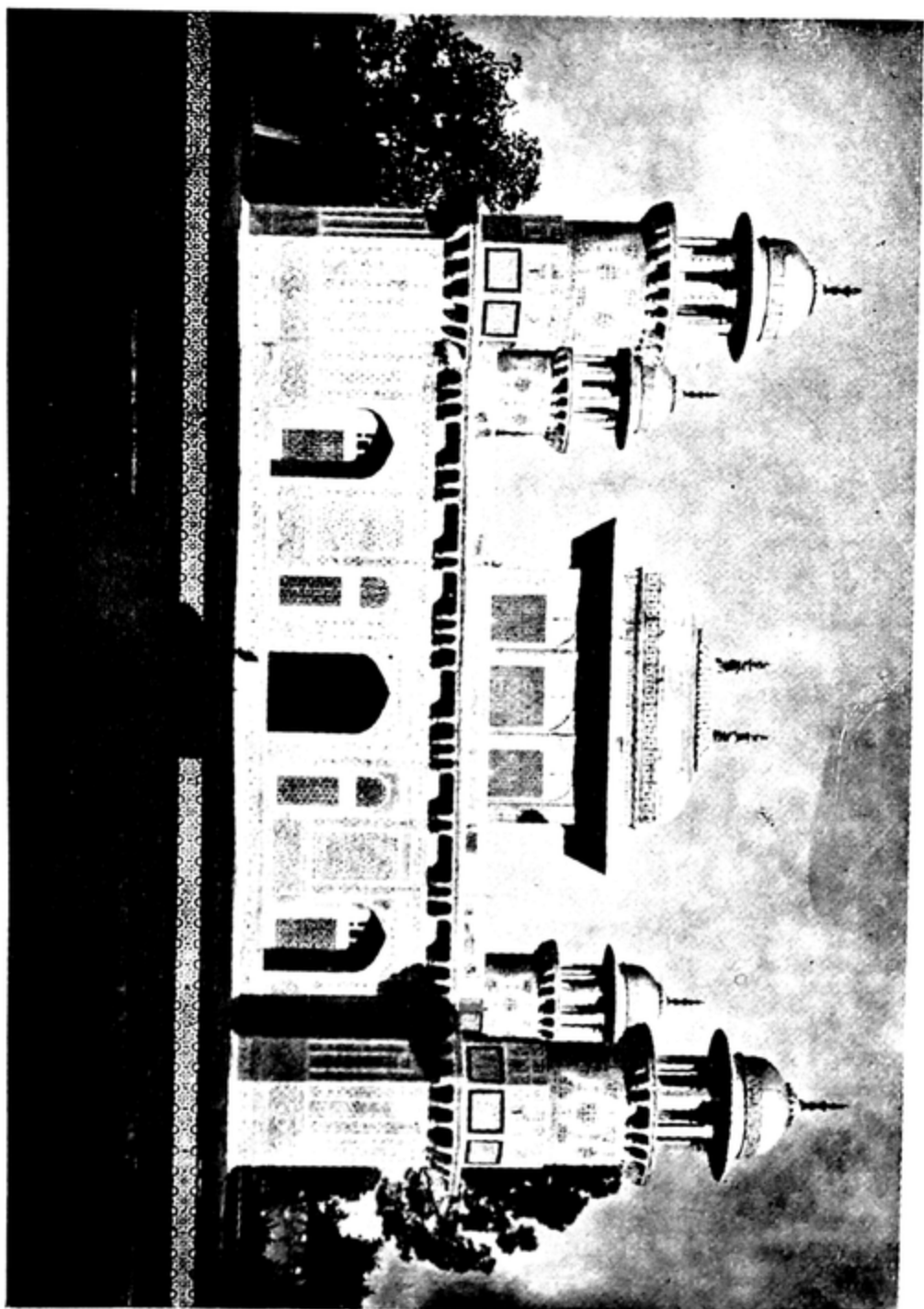
should not have gone out to give battle to Murad and Aurangzeb till the victorious Mughal armies under Sulaiman Shikoh and Raja Jai Singh had returned. If he had waited for that army, he would have got better chances of success on account of his military strength. By his action, the army under Sulaiman Shikoh and Jai Singh became useless.

4. The artillery of Aurangzeb proved more useful than that of Dara. Foolishly, Dara advanced beyond his own artillery and thereby made it useless.

5. There was lack of cooperation between the Rajput and Muslim armies under Dara. The result was that they could not fight effectively. However, Aurangzeb used better tactics than those of Dara. Aurangzeb kept a part of his troops in the reserve and used them only when the troops of Dara were exhausted. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the victory of Aurangzeb "was the victory of action over supineness, of intrepidity over inertia, and of organisation and discipline over confusion and incoherence."

Art and architecture under Shah Jahan: Shah Jahan was a great builder and he has rightly been called "the prince of builders." The architectural style of Shah Jahan's buildings was different from that of his predecessors. Humayun's Mausoleum, the buildings at Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's tomb at Sikandara and that of Itimad-ud-Daula at Agra belonged to the Indo-Persian style and architecture. The pre-Shahjahan buildings were remarkable for their massiveness and strength. On the other hand, the buildings of Shah Jahan have a romantic glitter and effeminate beauty. They are characterised by "elegance rather than by strength, and by the lavish use of extraordinary costly decoration." Shah Jahan preferred to use marble instead of red stone used by Akbar and Jahangir in their buildings. Moreover, while there was a mixture of Hindu-Muslim style in the buildings of Akbar and Jahangir, there was no such thing in the architecture of Shah Jahan. In 1632, Shah Jahan completely forbade the building of temples by the Hindus.

One of the greatest achievements of Shah Jahan was the building of the Taj on the banks of the river Jumna. This was built in the memory of his wife Mumtaz Mahal. It cost a lot of money. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, the building of the Taj cost Rs. 50 lacs and about 12 years were also spent on completing it. According to Tavernier, the Taj was completed in 22 years and cost more than Rs. 3 crores.



Agra—Tomb of Irmad-ud-Daula

(By Courtesy, Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of India)

Shah Jahan built a large number of buildings in the Agra fort. Special mention may be made of the Moti Masjid and Musamman Burj. The Moti Masjid is to the north of the Diwan-i-Am. Its measurement is 187 by 234 feet. Its construction was started in 1648 and it was completed in 1652. A total of Rs. 30 lacs was spent on it. The Musamman Burj is a beautiful structure of marble. It is here that Shah Jahan died in prison.

Shah Jahan laid the foundations of Shah Jahanbad in May 1639. There was a lot of pomp and show on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the building. Jami Masjid is one of the largest mosques in India. It took 6 years to complete it. It cost a sum of Rs. 10 lacs.

The tomb of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya was built of pure white marble. A few buildings were built at Ajmer. Reference may be made to the Peacock Throne. It cost him Rs. 19 crores. It was of solid gold studded with costly jewels.

Golden Age of Mughal Period: It is pointed out that the reign of Shah Jahan was the Golden Age of the Mughal period. The Mughal Empire reached its high water mark in his time. There was peace and prosperity in the country. Land was fertile and the revenues of the state were abundant. Export trade was carried on profitably. No wonder, Shah Jahan built a large number of buildings which were undoubtedly master-pieces of Mughal architecture.

According to Lane Poole, "Shah Jahan was renowned for his kindness and benevolence which endeared him to the people." According to Hunter, "The Mughal Empire attained its highest union of strength and magnificence under Shah Jahan." According to Khafi Khan, "Although Akbar was the conqueror and a law-giver, yet for order, arrangement of territory and finances and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shah Jahan". Shah Jahan was a just ruler. He appointed upright people as judges so that justice may be done to the people. Shah Jahan led a strenuous life and gave peace, prosperity and contentment to his people. According to Manucci, "He kept his eye on his officials punishing them rigorously when they fell short of their duties. This was the reason why he kept at his court an official with several baskets full of poisonous snakes. He would order that in his presence they should be made to bite any official who had failed to administer justice, leaving the culprit lying in his presence till the breath left him." Chor

Minars were constructed and the heads of the thieves were exhibited in them.

Foreign travellers in the time of Shah Jahan: Many foreign travellers visited India in the time of Shah Jahan. Bernier and Travenier were two Frenchmen and they visited the country practically at the same time. Manucci was an Italian adventurer. As regards Bernier, he was a French physician and he visited India at the time when the struggle was going on in the country among the four sons of Shah Jahan. He wrote a book called "The War of Succession of 1658." He has tried to give a graphic picture of the sufferings of Dara when he was being pursued by the armies of Aurangzeb. As regards the condition of India, Bernier tells us that the people were not at all destitute of good laws although high officials could disregard them with impunity. The chief men in the country were opportunists and time-servers. Provincial Governors were rapacious, oppressive and ambitious. The people were demoralised and spiritless. The peasantry was completely crushed. He also refers to the law of escheat by which all the property of a noble was taken over by the King at the time of his death. The whole of the administration depended upon the will of the Mughal Emperor. He could raise anybody and also pull him down. To quote Bernier, "The country is ruined by the necessity of defraying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of a numerous court and to pay a large army maintained for the purpose of keeping the people in subjection. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of the people. The cudgel and the whip compelled them to incessant labour for the benefit of others." Travenier praised the Government of Shah Jahan in these words: "He reigned not so much as a king over his subjects but as a father over his family and children. He excelled other monarchs in good administration and in the order and arrangements and finances as well as the system of justice which was stern." Manucci has given us a lot of information about the King and the people of India. There are a lot of interesting anecdotes in his account. There may be a lot of exaggeration in what he wrote about the King and the people of India, but according to him, Shah Jahan gave peace, prosperity and contentment to his people.

Estimate of Shah Jahan: Undoubtedly, Shah Jahan was one of the greatest rulers of the Mughals and his reign has rightly been called the Golden Age of the Mughals. He was a great soldier

and general. He has given proof of his qualities of his generalship during the reign of his father and that of his own. He was a great builder and the buildings at Delhi and Agra are a standing monument of his achievement. He was a great administrator and statesman. He systematised the administration and particularly the Mansabdari system. He reduced the salaries of the Mansabdars and forced them to keep the number of troops prescribed for their rank. He increased the land revenue by enhancing the state demand from one-third to one-half, Shah Jahan was a very hard-working man. However, in religious matters, he was a bigoted Muslim. In a way, he anticipated his son, Aurangzeb.

Dr. V.A. Smith gives his estimate of Shah Jahan in these words : " Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of Shah Jahan or the efficiency of his administration, it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the climax of the Mughal dynasty and Empire. During the space of 30 years (1628-58), the authority of the Emperor was not seriously challenged and the realm was never invaded by any foreign foe. Although the loss of Kandhar and the failure of three attempts to retake it proved a military inefficiency and encouraged Persian pride, these events had little effect on India where the strength of the army sufficed to uphold the imperial system. It is true that Shah Jahan's son, Aurangzeb Alamgir, largely extended the Southern frontier of the Empire during the first thirty years of his reign, but it is also true that long before the annexation of the Sultanates in the Deccan, the Marathas had searched out the weak places in the Imperial armour and the erroneous policy of the sovereign had undermined the foundations of the throne. The empire which had suffered severely from the prolonged wars of succession may be regarded as declining throughout the whole reign of Aurangzeb notwithstanding his conquests in the South.

" In the realm of architecture and other forms of art, it is unquestionable that the work of the highest quality in the Mughal period belonged to the reign of Shah Jahan. The puritan Aurangzeb cared for none of these things. His buildings were insignificant, with one or two exceptions and the drawings and paintings of his time show deterioration on the whole. Many of Shah Jahan's artists survived into the reign of his son and some of their productions executed during the reign are not distinguishable from the earlier works, but generally speaking the atmosphere of Aurangzeb's court was unfavourable to the arts."

CHAPTER VIII

AURANGZEB (1658-1707)

(After having settled with his brothers, Aurangzeb ascended the throne in July 1658. However, the formal accession did not take place till June 1659. On the latter occasion, Aurangzeb assumed the title of Alamgir.) In 1661, Aurangzeb received ambassadors from Persia and Bokhara who were sent to congratulate him on his succession. As all the possible rivals had already been disposed of, Aurangzeb enjoyed comparative peace.

Early Measures : A reference may be made to some of the early measures adopted by Aurangzeb. There was a lot of confusion in the country on account of the war of succession. The tolls and taxes which the people had to pay, already added to their difficulties and interfered with the trade of the country. The huge armies of the Mughals also damaged the crops of the people on the way. With a view to give some relief to the people, Aurangzeb abolished the *Rahdari* which was collected on every highway frontier or ferry.

It brought a lot of money to the Government. He also abolished the *Pandari* or a ground tax or house-tax. About 80 cesses collected from the Hindus and Muslims were abolished and Khafi Khan mentions only 14. However, in spite of this, these taxes continued to be levied by the *Zamindars*. Aurangzeb prohibited the use of the *Kalima* on the coins so that the same may not be touched by the non-Muslims. He abolished the *Nauroz* which was a borrowed institution from Persia. Aurangzeb appointed *Muhatasibs* or censors of public morals to look after the conduct of the people and also to see that the people acted according to what the Koran said. They were to stop the use of alcohol, intoxicating drugs and other things forbidden by the Holy Koran. Aurangzeb ordered the repair of the mosques and *Khangahs*. *Imams* and *Muazzims* were regularly paid. Strong measures were taken against those *Sufis* who were the associates of *Dara*.

Wars on the Eastern Frontier (1661-66): Daud Khan, Governor of Bihar, conquered Polaman in December 1661. Mir Jumla had been sent in pursuit of Shah Shuja. He had chased him from Bengal to Dacca and from there to the Arakan frontier in May

1663. Aurangzeb appointed Mir Jumla as the Governor of Bengal and encouraged him in his activities. Consequently, Mir Jumla overran Cooch Bihar and Assam. He penetrated into the country with the object of invading the Chinese territory. However, he was driven back by floods, heavy rains and the lack of proper means of transport. Mir Jumla was very much exhausted and he died in March 1663.

Shayista Khan was transferred from the Deccan to Bengal and appointed its Governor. The new Governor found that the Portuguese and the Burmese pirates were growing very bold and they were carrying their attacks to the sub-division of Dacca. Shayista Khan strengthened the Bengal fleet and then attacked and ultimately compelled the King of Arakan to cede Chittagong in January 1666. The Island of Sondip in the Bay of Bengal was also captured and piracy was put down.

In 1662, Aurangzeb had a serious attack of illness. As a result of it, he was confined to bed for a month. When he improved a little, he went to Kashmir to regain his health. Bernier accompanied Aurangzeb to Kashmir and has left to us an excellent account of the journey.

Aurangzeb, a Puritan: Reference has already been made to some of the measures adopted by Aurangzeb at the beginning of his reign. However, the subject requires a more elaborate treatment on account of its importance in the life of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb discontinued the use of the Solar Ilahi year for the purpose of counting his regnal years. In the 11th year of his reign, the court singers were allowed to be present at the court but music and dancing were forbidden. After sometime, they were not allowed to attend the court even. Aurangzeb stopped the practice of Jharokha-Darshana. This was a retrograde step because it deprived the people of an opportunity to get their wrongs redressed directly from the Emperor. It was stopped because it encouraged human worship. In the 12th year of his reign, Aurangzeb stopped the practice of the weighing of his body against gold, silver and other commodities. It appeared to him that such a custom was borrowed from the Hindus. To begin with, Aurangzeb used to attend the Dusshera celebrations of the Hindus, but later on he gave up the same. To begin with, Aurangzeb used to put on a *Tika* on the head of every new Hindu Rajah if he was present at the Mughal court. Aurangzeb stopped the practice because it appeared to him that the *Tika* was a Hindu ceremony. Aurangzeb

also dismissed the royal astronomers and astrologers. This was done with a view to remove superstition from administration. Scent-burners of gold and silver were removed from the court. Silver inkstands were discontinued. Prostitutes and dancing girls were given the option of leaving the Mughal Empire or getting married. This regulation did not have much effect as the Mughal nobles could not live without them. The cultivation and public use of Bhang were forbidden. Gambling was also prohibited.

✓ Aurangzeb not only forbade singing, but also disallowed public musical parties. Religious music even on the day of the death of the prophet was not allowed. Aurangzeb made an exception in the case of Shaikh Yahya Chisti, a saint of Ahmedabad. An attempt was made to control the fashions of the day. The length of the beard allowed by the state was fixed. An order was issued that if the beard of any person was longer from the prescribed length, the same was to be cut down. According to Manucci, a large number of persons were employed by the state and their duty was to cut the offending beards. Dresses of gold-cloth were disallowed. The length of the trousers was also prescribed by the state. The representation of the figure of birds, animals, men and women on the occasion of Hindu and Muslim festivals, was disallowed. Aurangzeb stopped the practice of lighting lamps on the tombs of the saints of other respectable persons. The Khojas were persecuted. A Faqir who claimed to be a God, was executed in 1694. Likewise, Hussain Malik was put to death because he used dis-respectful language for the companions of the Prophet.

Aurangzeb stopped the celebration of the Muharram in 1669. We are told that the Governor of Ahmedabad was removed because he celebrated the Muharram. Similar action was taken against certain Mansabdars. Likewise, a Portuguese was put to death because he first of all became a convert to Islam and then later on became a Christian again. Another person was put to death because he abused the three Khalifas.

The predecessors of Aurangzeb had appointed a large number of Mansabdars among the Hindus. However, Aurangzeb stopped this practice. The number of the Hindu Mansabdars fell, although the total number of Mansabdars increased. Aurangzeb followed the policy of shutting out the Hindus from the highest offices deliberately. It is true that some Hindus occupied big posts even in the time of Aurangzeb, but in the later half of his reign, they did not fill any high executive or administrative office.

Hindus were not allowed to occupy high administrative jobs. The heads of the various hereditary houses were not given the same status which their predecessors had.

✓ Aurangzeb adopted many measures to break the monopoly of the Hindus in the Revenue Department of the State. A general order prohibiting the employment of Hindus was passed. This was particularly so with regard to the Revenue Department. The Hindus enjoyed a monopoly in the clerical establishments because most of the Muslims were reserved for the royal army. Many Hindus changed their religion and thereby bought the security of their tenure of their office. Aurangzeb systematically followed the practice of appointing Muslims in place of the Hindus in various departments of the Government. Hindus were not to be the heads of departments in which the Muslims worked. The Hindus in the army were not allowed to employ Muslim servants.

✓ Aurangzeb ordered the demolition of Hindu temples. In February 1659, he passed the following order in connection with a dispute as to the right of holding charge of the ancient temples of Banaras: "It has been decided according to our canon law that long standing temples should not be demolished but no new temples be allowed to be built... Our Royal Command is that you should direct that in future no person shall in unlawful ways, interfere with or disturb the Brahmins and other Hindu residents in those places." The temple of Somnath was destroyed early in the reign of Aurangzeb. In November 1665, he sent an order to his officials in Gujrat for the destruction of such temples as had one time been destroyed or desecrated by him as the Viceroy of Gujrat but had later on been restored by the Hindus.

Similar orders seemed to have been issued in 1669 to the Governor of Orissa. Thereby the Governor of Orissa issued the following order to his officials: "To all Fojdars, garrison commanders, accountants, district collectors of revenue and their officials from Katak to Midnapur in the frontier of Orissa.

"The Imperial Bakhshi Asad Khan has sent a letter written according to the instructions of the Emperor to say that the Emperor, learning from the News-Letters of the province of Orissa that at the village of Tilkkuti in Midnapur a temple has been built, has issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all temples built anywhere in the province. Therefore, you are hereby commanded with extreme urgency that immediately on receipt of this letter you

should destroy the above-mentioned temples. Every temple built during the last ten or twelve years should be demolished without delay. Also do not allow the Hindus and infidels to repair their old temples. Reports of the destruction of temples should be sent to the court under the Seal of Qazis and attested by pious Shaikhs."

Aurangzeb turned his attention towards Mathura where a large number of beautiful temples had been built from time to time. The famous temple was that of Keshav Rai. Its railings of stone were built at his own cost by Dara Shikoh. In October 1666, the Faujdar of Mathura removed the railings of that temple.

In 1669, Aurangzeb came to know that the Brahmins of Multan, Sind and Banaras were using their temples for purposes of instruction. Aurangzeb passed orders for the punishment of those who were giving instructions in the temples. According to Maasir-i-Alamgiri, "Orders in accordance with the organisation of Islam were sent to the Governors of all the provinces that they should destroy schools and temples of the infidels and put an end to their educational activities as well as the practices of the religion of the Kafirs."

In August 1669, the temple of Viswanath at Banaras was completely demolished. The same was the case with the temple of Gopinath at Banaras. Likewise, the temple of Keshav Rai at Mathura which was built by Bir Singh Bundela at a cost of Rs. 33 lacs, was levelled to the ground and a mosque was built on its site.

In 1679, orders were passed for the sequestration of the state of Jodhpur after the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. Khani-i-Jahan destroyed many temples and brought cart-loads of idols from those temples to Delhi. When the Rajput war started, the Maharana of Udaipur ran away and the temple in front of his palace was destroyed. Likewise, temples on the edge of Udaisagar Lake were also destroyed. In all, 235 temples were destroyed in the state of Udaipur.

Orders were also passed for the destruction of the Hindu temples in the state of Jaipur. While one of the temples was being demolished, there was stiff resistance by the Rajputs and till all of them were killed, the work of demolishing could not proceed. About 66 temples were destroyed in Amber. When Aurangzeb marched from Amber to the Deccan, he ordered the destruction of all the temples on the way. This was one of the special duties of the Superintendent of labourers with the army.

After the conquest of Golconda and Bijapur, the temples in those

states were destroyed and mosques were built out of the same material. Aurangzeb appointed an officer on social duty to destroy the Hindu temples in Maharashtra. He also stopped the public worship at the Hindu temple of Dwarka. Likewise, temples at Hardwar and Ayo-dhya were destroyed.

Aurangzeb also issued many punitive regulations against the Hindus. The pilgrimage tax which had been abolished in the time of Akbar, was reimposed on the Hindus. This brought a lot of money to the state treasury. The celebration of the Hindu festivals was banned. From 1665, the Holi festival ceased to be celebrated. In the same year, the celebration of the Diwali was stopped. In 1703, the Hindus were not allowed to burn their dead on the banks of the river Sabarmati in Ahmedabad. Similar restrictions had been imposed in 1696 at Delhi in connection with the Jumna. Fire-works of all kinds were prohibited. It was ordered that the Hindus were not to look like Muslims. An order of 1694 laid down that with the exception of the Marathas and Rajputs, no Hindu was to ride on an Iraqi or Turani horse or an elephant or to use a palanquin. A Hindu of Multan violated this order and his horse and saddle were confiscated by the state. However, the exception with regard to the Marathas was not strictly enforced. Orders were passed in 1702 that Muslim engravers were not to engrave the names of Hindu gods and goddesses on the seals of the rings of the Hindus. It was ordered in 1665 that the Muslims were to pay half the custom duties realised from the Hindus. Two years after, customs duties were abolished from the Muslims. As the privilege was abused by the Muslims, they were ordered to pay once again half of the customs duties paid by the Hindus. A tax on produce from gardens was realised at the rate of 20% from the Hindus and 16.6 per cent from the Muslims.

However, the worst of all was the imposition of Jizya on the Hindus in April 1679. This was done on the representation of Anayat Khan, Diwani-Khalsa. Jizya was to be paid by all the non-Muslims in India. Even the Brahmins were not exempted. The same was realised from the Indian states also. No distinction was made in favour of officials or clerks or soldiers. Every tax-payer was to pay the Jizya personally. He was to come before the collector personally and then make the payment. The payment could not be made through a deputy. There was a lot of humiliation at the time of the payment of the Jizya.

Elaborate arrangements were made for the assessment and

collection of Jizya. There were three grades of assessment. (1) A Hindu whose property was worth 200 Dirhams paid 12 Dirhams as Jizya. It was at about 6% of the property. (2) Persons whose property varied from 200 Dirhams or Rs 52/- to Rs. 2,500/- paid 24 Dirhams as Jizya. (3) Persons whose property was worth more than Rs. 10,000/- Dirhams, paid a lump sum of 48 Dirhams. It is evident that the incidence of the Jizya was less in the case of the rich. However, the rich paid the whole amount in a lump sum and the others could pay in instalments. There were certain exemptions from the Jizya. Minors, women, beggars, slaves, the blind, the crippled, the mentally deficient and the unemployed were not required to pay Jizya. In very exceptional cases, Jizya was also remitted by the state.

The Jizya was a part of the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzeb. Its object was to have converts to Islam by harrassing the Hindus. Any Hindu could escape from the Jizya by becoming a Muslim. No wonder, a large number of Hindus were converted to Islam in this way.

However, Aurangzeb employed many other ways to have converts to Islam. Converts to Islam were given recognition by the Emperor. They were given high posts in the state. Thousands of Hindus were removed from the various departments of the Government and Muslims were recruited in their place. They were given the option of retaining their jobs if they became converts to Islam. Rebels were pardoned if they became Muslims. If there was a quarrel between two persons and one of them became a Muslim, he who became a Muslim got the property. Again, "If a Mohammadan had no desire to discharge his debt to the Bania and if the Bania demanded the payment of the same, the Mohammadan would lodge a complaint to the Kazi that he had called the prophet names or spoken contumaciously of their religion, produce a false witness or two, and the poor man was forced to circumcision and made to embrace Islam. Several persons had been thus served to the great terror of all. This king not at all minding anything of his Kingdom gives himself wholly upon the converting or rather perverting the Banias."

Effects of Anti-Hindu policy: (a) Rajput War (1679-81):

The Rajputs revolted in 1679. Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur died at Peshawar in December 1678. At the time of his death, he was in the service of the Mughals. Aurangzeb sent his officers to

take possession of his Kingdom and set up on the throne a worthless relative of Jaswant Singh who promised to pay a Nazrana of about Rs. 35 lacs to Aurangzeb. When the two widows of Maharaja Jaswant Singh reached Lahore, they gave birth two sons. Aurangzeb ordered the widows and their children to be detained at the Mughal court. This was too much for the Rajputs. The result was that they decided to rescue the sons of Jaswant Singh and their widows. This was accomplished through the bravery of Durga Das in July 1679. The widows appealed for help to the Rana of Udaipur. The Rajputs made a common cause and the war started with the Mughals. This war continued from 1679 to 1681. To begin with, Aurangzeb directed the armies from Ajmer. In 1679, Jodhpur was annexed to the state. The state of Mewar was ruined and the Rana ran away. In the beginning of 1681, Prince Akbar revolted against his father and joined the Rajputs. Aurangzeb tried to create dissensions between Prince Akbar and the Rajputs and for some time he succeeded in his mission. However, truth came to be known to Durga Das who escorted Prince Akbar to the Deccan in May 1681. From there Prince Akbar ran away to Persia in 1683.

It is true that Aurangzeb made peace with the Rajputs in 1681 but Aurangzeb had committed a blunder. In future, he could not count upon the loyalty and active support of the Rajputs. When he went over to the Deccan to take action against the Marathas and the Shia kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, he was all the time afraid of the trouble in Rajputana. Aurangzeb might have fared better in the Deccan if he had not alienated the Rajputs.

(b) **Revolt of Satnamis:** The Satnamis were originally an offensive set of Hindu worshippers. Mewat and Narnol were their chief centres. Khafi Khan gives the following description about them : "These men dressed like devotees, but they nevertheless carried on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion, they have dignified themselves with the title of 'good name' this being the meaning of Satnami. They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it. Many of them have weapons or arms."

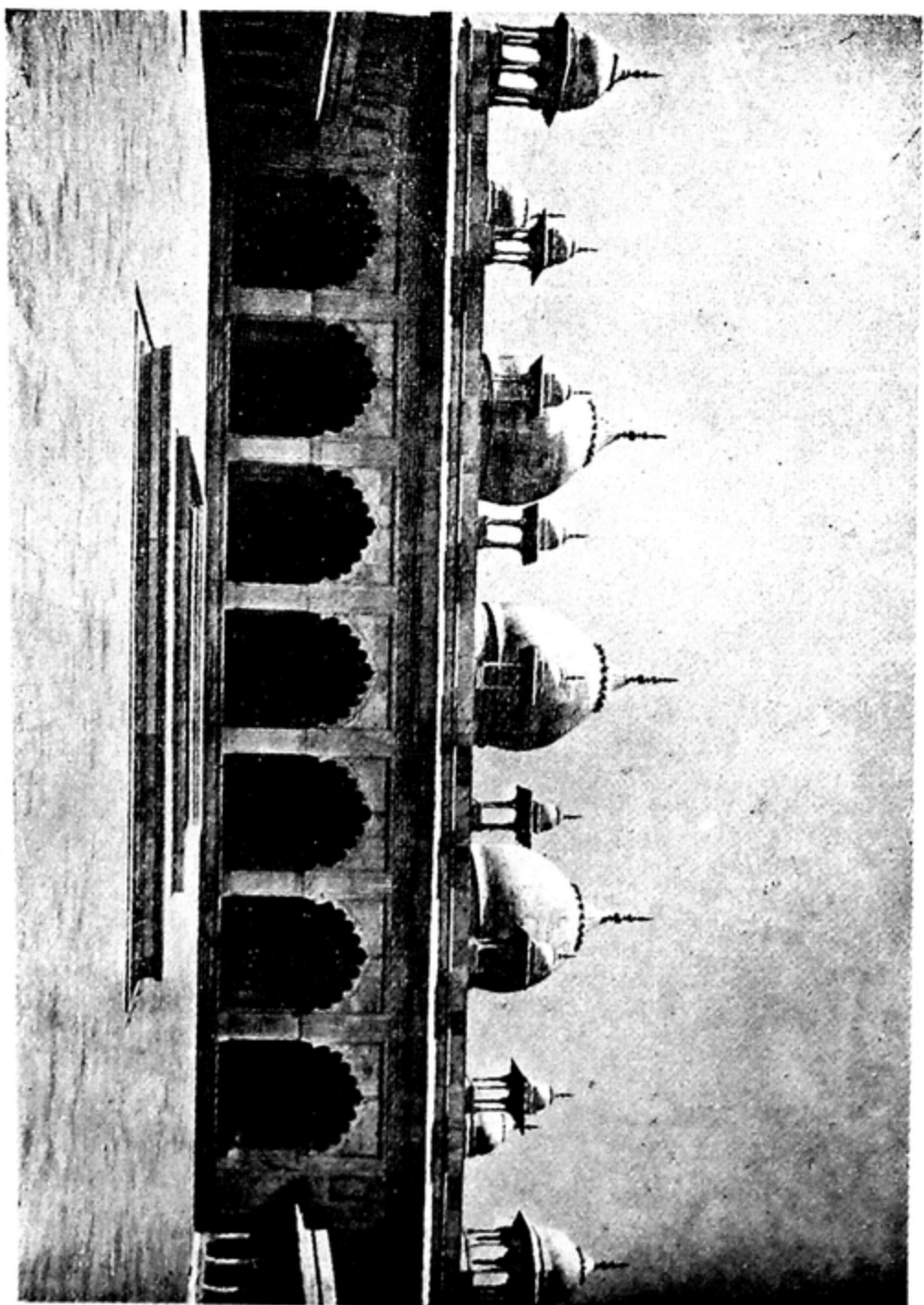
There was a special reason why the religious-minded Satnamis revolted against the Mughal authority. A Satnami cultivator was murdered by a Mughal Piada or foot-soldier. The Satnamis hit

back and practically killed the foot-soldier. After that, they revolted. "The quarrel soon took a religious colour and assumed the form of a war for the liberation of the Hindus by an attack on Aurangzeb himself." The Fauzdar of Narnol was also defeated. The situation became serious and ultimately Aurangzeb sent Radandaz Khan and other generals against Satnamies and thus it was that the Satnamis were crushed.

(c) **Rebellion of Gokal:** The Jats of Mathura revolted against the Mughal authority. That was partly due to the fact that Abd-un-Nabi Khan, the Faujdar of Mathura (1660-69) oppressed the Jats very much and also offended their sentiments. The Jats revolted under the leadership of Gokal, a Zamindar of Tilpat, killed the Faujdar and plundered the Pargana of Sadabad. Aurangzeb made preparations for an attack on the Jats and himself proceeded against them. The Jats were defeated and Gokal was captured with his family. According to Sarkar, Gokal's "limbs were hacked off one by one on the platform of the police office of Agra". His family was forcibly converted to Islam. 5,000 Jats lost their lives and 4,000 Mughal soldiers were killed.

In spite of this, there was no peace. The new Faujdar of Mathura was a chip of the old block and he oppressed the people in the same way as Abd-un-Nabi Khan had done. The result was that the Jats revolted once again in 1686 under the leadership of Raja Ram. The Jats were so daring that they plundered Akbar's tomb at Sikandara near Agra in 1688. Ultimately, Raja Ram was defeated and killed. The stronghold of the Jats was conquered in 1691. However, the Jats carried on their struggle till the end of Aurangzeb's life under the leadership of Churaman.

(d) **The Bundelas:** The Bundela Rajputs considered themselves to be safe on account of "dense forests, the rapid streams, and the steep hills of Central India." Bir Singh Bundela had openly revolted against Akbar in 1602 and Akbar had failed to punish him on account of guerilla tactics of the Bundelas. Champat Rai revolted against Aurangzeb but he was so much hard pressed that he committed suicide. Chhatrasal, one of the four sons of Champat Rai, "lived to defy the Imperial Government with success." He was hardly 11 at the time of his father's death. Chhatrasal and his brother Angad were employed by Raja Jai Singh in his own contingent and were given promotions on account of their services in the campaign against Shivaji. Chhatrasal was also employed by Dilawar Khan in



Agra Fort—Pearl Mosque

(By Courtesy, Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of India)

the Mughal attack against Deogarh. As he felt that his services were not being recognised by the Mughal Government, he "dreamt of taking to a life of adventure and independence in imitation of Shivaji which meant a defiance of the Mughal Government." The people of Bundelkhand and Malwa hailed Chhatrasal "as the champion of the Hindu faith and Kshatria honour." He won many victories against the Mughals and was able to set up an independent state in Eastern Malwa. He died in 1731 "with the complete effacement of Mughal rule in Bundelkhand."

(f) **The Sikhs :** The Sikhs also suffered at the hands of Aurangzeb. After the death of Har Kishan, Teg Bahadur became the 9th Guru of the Sikhs. The Guru set up his headquarters at Anandpur in the Hoshiarpur District. Guru Teg Bahadur visited Patna in 1666. In 1668, he accompanied Raja Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, to Assam but he returned to Anandpur. He was called Sacha Padshah by the Sikhs. Guru Teg Bahadur protested against the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzeb. According to Khafi Khan, "Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities." Aurangzeb was annoyed on account of the Guru's encouragement of the Hindus to resist the religious policy of the Emperor. The Guru was summoned to Delhi and asked to become a Muslim. He refused to do so and was put to death in 1675 after a lot of torture. Another story is that the Guru was asked to prove his Guruship by a miracle. The Guru wrote a charm on a piece of paper and when his head was cut off from the body, the following words were found written on the paper: "Sir Diya Sar na Diya" or "Sir Diya Din na Diya".

After the death of Guru Teg Bahadur, Guru Govind Singh became the 10th Guru and he made up his mind to have revenge for the death of his father. Open war started between the Sikhs and the Mughals. Guru Govind Singh organised the Khalsa into a military organisation. Guru Govind Singh revolutionized the philosophy of the Sikhs. According to him, "I shall make men of all four castes lions and destroy the Mughals." Guru Govind Singh organised an army and built forts on the hills. From 1695 onwards, he fought successfully against the Rajas of North Punjab and the Mughal officials. Ultimately, he was defeated by the Mughals. Two of his sons were captured and executed with great cruelty. It is stated that when Aurangzeb was nearing his death, he summoned Guru

Gobind Singh and promised him a good treatment. However, Aurangzeb died in 1707 when Guru Govind Singh was on his way to meet him. The Guru was stabbed to death in 1708 by an Afghan. Guru Gobind Singh was succeeded by Banda Bahadur and he carried on the struggle against the Mughals.

Deccan policy of Aurangzeb: Aurangzeb spent the last 25 years of his life (1682-1707) in the Deccan. During all this long period, he had practically no rest. The object of his Deccan wars was to conquer the states of Bijapur and Golconda, and crush the power of the Marathas. Unfortunately, the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda were Shias and Aurangzeb as a Sunni was the deadly enemy of the Shias. Aurangzeb also felt that the existence of these states enabled the Marathas to enrich themselves. The Marathas got not only military and administrative experience but also received a lot of money. Aurangzeb must have argued that if the states were annexed to the Mughal empire, the Marathas would not dare to attack them. No wonder, Aurangzeb proceeded in person to put an end to these states.

Conquest of Bijapur (1686): Sikandar Ali Shah was the ruler of Bijapur. His weakness lay in his youth. In 1682, an expedition was sent against him under Prince Azam, but the same failed and the Prince was called back. For two years, Aurangzeb was busy against the Marathas and Prince Akbar. This interval was utilised by the ruler of Bijapur in re-organising his army with the help of Sharza Khan, his minister. Aurangzeb demanded the dismissal of Sharza Khan. As this order was complied with, Aurangzeb proceeded against the King in person and besieged Bijapur in April 1685. A breach was made in the fortifications of the city. It is true that the garrison fought very bravely and the Marathas also tried to help the people of Bijapur, but the siege could not last long. The city of Bijapur fell in September 1686. Sikandar Adil Shah was captured and made a prisoner. His kingdom was annexed in 1686. Sikandar Adil Shah was taken into the Mughal service. He was made a Mansabdar and allowed a pension of Rs. one lakh. Later on, he was imprisoned in the fort of Daulatabad where he died in 1700.

Conquest of Golconda (1687): Abul Hasan was the ruler of Golconda and he was not in the good books of Aurangzeb. The cause of Aurangzeb's displeasure was not only the Shia religion of the ruler but also the employment of Hindus in his Kingdom. Aurangzeb himself explained the cause of the war in these words: "The evil deeds of this wicked man passed beyond the bounds of writing, but by

mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and Government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels ; oppressing and afflicting the Saiyids, Shaikhs and other holy men ; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity ; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day ; making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion ; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels ; want of obedience to the Divine Commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to a country, the disregarding of which it cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discrete men. No attention has been paid to them ; moreover, it had lately become known that a lac of Pagodas had been sent to the wicked Sambha. That in this insolence and intoxication and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope of deliverance in this world or in the next."

The war between Golconda and the Mughals dragged on for some time. Ultimately, Aurangzeb himself arrived at Golconda in January 1687 and pressed the siege. Both mining and assaults failed. Then Aurangzeb had recourse to bribery and gained admittance through the treachery of one of the officers of the garrison who opened a gate. Abul Hasan was captured and made a prisoner. His kingdom was annexed in September 1687.

However, reference may be made to the bravery of Abdur Razzak, one of the ablest officers of Abul Hasan who was faithful to his master to the last. He rejected the tempting offers of Aurangzeb and fought bravely in the hand to hand fight at the gateway till he fell with 70 wounds on his body. Aurangzeb was so much impressed by his bravery and fidelity that he appointed one of his surgeons to cure him. Khafi Khan has given the following account of this brave man : " Abdur Razzak Lari heard this, and, springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by 10 or 12 followers, he rushed to the open gate through which the imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, like a drop of water falling into the sea, or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceiv-

able fury and desperation shouting that he would fight to the death for Abdul Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertion kept his seat. The horse carried him to a garden called Nagina, near the citadel, to the foot of an old cocoanut tree where by the help of the tree, he threw himself off. On the morning of the second day, a party of men belonging to Husaini Beg passed and recognising him by his horse and other signs, they took compassion upon him and carried him upon a bedstead to a house. When his own men heard of this, they came and dressed his wounds."

Aurangzeb and the Marathas: The story of the relations of the Marathas with Aurangzeb is given in the next Chapter. Suffice it to say that Aurangzeb sent Shayista Khan against Shivaji in 1663, but the latter failed to subdue him and with great difficulty escaped with his life. Later on, Prince Muazzam and Raja Jai Singh were sent against Shivaji. Jai Singh forced Shivaji to sign the treaty of Purandhar in 1665. Shivaji attended the court at Agra in 1666. Although he was placed under detention, he managed to escape to his headquarters in the Deccan. Prince Muazzam and Jaswant Singh were sent against Shivaji.

After the death of Shivaji in 1680, Aurangzeb carried on the struggle against Shambaji. The latter was arrested and put to death. His son, Sahu, was put in prison where he remained till 1708.

After the execution of Shambhaji in 1689, the struggle was carried on by Raja Ram up to 1700. After the death of Raja Ram, the same struggle was successfully carried on by his widow, Tara Bai. In spite of his best efforts, Aurangzeb failed to crush the Maratha power. He had completely failed in his mission.

Consequences of the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb: The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb had far-reaching consequences. If Napoleon could say that "It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me," Aurangzeb could also say that the Deccan wars not only undid

his own work but also those of his predecessors. No wonder, V.A. Smith remarks that the Deccan was not only the grave of his body but also of his Empire. It was foolish on the part of Aurangzeb to have conquered the states of Bijapur and Golconda. It is true that their rulers were Shias, but Aurangzeb ought to have subordinated his religious zeal to statesmanship. He ought to have known that in practical politics many things are done by statesmen which are hardly approved of by them. Anyhow, the annexation of Bijapur and Golconda destroyed the check on the Marathas. It was difficult for Aurangzeb to deal with the Marathas from so distant a place as Delhi. No wonder, he had to spend the rest of his life in the Deccan to subdue the Marathas. It was a fatal step which Aurangzeb took. On account of the absence of Aurangzeb from the north for a quarter of a century, the administration of the country was thrown out of gear. It led to the break-up of the Mughal Empire after his death. The Provincial Governors and Faujdars defied the central authority and there was nothing to curb them. The result was that towards the end of his life, Aurangzeb could see his own Empire breaking up. A lot of money was wasted in the Deccan wars. At the top of it, when money was most needed to carry on the war in the Deccan, not much could be realised from the various provinces on account of the weakening of the central authority. It was during this period that the Jats and Sikhs got an opportunity to strengthen their hands.

The operation of the imperial armies, especially the numerous sieges, led to a total destruction of forests and grass. The huge Mughal forces, totalling 1,77,000 including non-combatants, ate up everything green. The Maratha raiders destroyed whatever they could not carry. They fed their horses on the standing crops and burnt the houses and property which they could not carry on account of their weight. When Aurangzeb retired in 1705, the country presented a scene of utter desolation. According to Manucci, "He left behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their places being taken by the bones of men and beasts." The total deforestation injured agriculture. The power of resistance of the common man was weakened on account of the long duration of war. Everything they produced or stored up was swept away by the hordes on both sides. The result was that when famine or draught came, the peasants and landless labourers perished helplessly like flies. Scarcity was chronic in the imperial camp and often

deepened into famine. Raiding bands were locally formed and many got an opportunity of making money and winning glory. Trade almost ceased in the Deccan during this period. Caravans could travel in the south of Narbada only under strong escort. Even the Royal Mail and baskets of fruits for the Emperor were detained for 5 months at the Narbada. The Provincial Governors enriched themselves at the cost of the traders by snatching away their goods and making unreasonable demands on them. Village industries and industrial classes almost died out. The Madras coast was so unsettled by the struggle between the Marathas and the Mughals between 1690 and 1698 that the English and French factors found it difficult to get enough cloth for loading their European-going ships. This led to a great economic impoverishment of India. It also lowered the mechanical skill and standards of civilization of the Indians.

The Mughal soldiers on the march destroyed the crops on the way and the Government could not and did not compensate the peasants for their losses. The worst oppressors of the peasants were the servants, day-labourers and other persons who moved with the Mughal armies. Particularly, the Baluchi camel-owners who hired their animals to the army and the un-attached Afghans searching for employment plundered and beat the countrymen most mercilessly. The Banjaras or wandering grain-dealers who moved in large numbers, defied the authority of the petty officers of the Government and very often looted the people on the wayside and fed their cattle on the crops in the fields with impunity. Even the royal messengers who carried Government letters, reports of spies and baskets of fruits for presentation to the Emperor robbed the people of the villages on the way. The land-stewards of the rival Jagirdars of the same village were a menace to the people. The incoming and outgoing Jagirdars had no sympathy for the peasants.

The financial condition of the Mughals became so weak that it was on the verge of bankruptcy. Hundreds of soldiers and several officers fell into arrears for three years. The starving men created scenes in the court of the Emperor. Sometimes they abused and beat the business manager of the General. Although the Government made reckless promises of money grants, it was humanly impossible to fulfil them. Even when grants in lieu of salary were drawn up by the pay-office, they remained for years as orders on paper as the actual delivery of the villages to the grantees was impossible. The interval

between the order and the actual possession of the Jagir was long enough to turn a boy into a grey-bearded man. Aurangzeb spent huge amounts on bribing the Maratha officers in charge of hill-forts. It was impossible for the Mughal treasury to meet all the demands.

The spirit of the Mughal army in the Deccan was utterly broken. Soldiers grew sick of the endless and futile war. Even the most trusted officers of Aurangzeb became home-sick. One such nobleman offered the Emperor a bribe of Rs. one lakh for transferring him to Delhi.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has made the following observations with regard to the effects of the Deccan wars: "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal Empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre... His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever. Lawlessness reigned in many parts of Northern and Central India. The old Emperor in the far off Deccan lost all control over his officers in Hindustan and the administration grew slack and corrupt; chiefs and Zamindars defied the local authorities and asserted themselves, filling the country tumult. In the province of Agra in particular, there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed at the withdrawal of Imperial patronage; not a single grand edifice, finely written manuscript or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzeb's reign. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury; the Government turned bankrupt, the soldiers starving from arrears of pay, mutinied; and, during the closing years of his reign the revenue of Bengal, regularly sent by the able Diwan Murshid Quli Khan, was the sole support of the Emperor's household and army and its arrival was eagerly looked forward to. Napoleon I used to say, 'It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me.' The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb."

Aurangzeb and the English: From the time of Sir Thomas Roe, the English factors in India followed a policy of friendly relations with the Mughal emperors and the Indian princes. About 1616, the English got the permission to build a factory at Masaulipatam. In 1639, Francis Day applied and got from the ruler of Chandragiri a lease of land and later on the famous Fort St. George was built on the same land. Although Shah Jahan took action against the Portuguese, he was friendly disposed towards the English and allowed

them to build factories at Hugli and Kasim Bazar in 1650-51. He also gave them certain trade concessions. The English East India Company got the island of Bombay from Charles II in 1668 on an annual rent of £60.

On account of the general insecurity prevailing in the Deccan in the time of Aurangzeb, the English fortified their possessions. In 1684, the Directors approved of the policy of their factors in India and wrote back to say that "though our business is only trade and security, we dare not trade boldly, nor leave great stocks....where we have not the security of a fort."

In 1685, Shayista Khan, Governor of Bengal, imposed local duties upon English traffic. The Company openly defied the authority of Aurangzeb and resisted with force the demands of the Mughal Viceroy. The result was that a sort of semi-official war between the English and the Mughal Empire started. James II, the King of England, was persuaded to send warships to capture Chittagong. The expedition was a total failure. Its only result was to infuriate Aurangzeb. The latter ordered the capture of English factories at Surat, Masualipatem and on the Hugli. The English factors were forced to leave these places in 1688. This brought the English to their senses. Peace was restored between the parties. The new Governor of Bengal invited Charnock, the chief of the English factory at Hugli, to return to his settlement in 1690. Charnock got the Royal Firman and was allowed to start a small station which later on grew into the present city of Calcutta.

Aurangzeb and his sons: Aurangzeb possessed a very suspicious temperament. He had already disposed of his brothers at the beginning of his reign and he did not place his trust even in his sons. It has already been pointed out that his son Prince Akbar revolted against him and ultimately went away to Persia. Prince Sultan, his eldest son, was kept in prison for about 18 years because he had shown sympathy with Shuja and had also married his daughter. Prince Muazzam who later on succeeded Aurangzeb as Bahadur Shah I, displeased his father on account of his sympathy for the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda. He was imprisoned in 1687 and released in 1695. Kam Baksh, the youngest son, also suffered imprisonment. Aurangzeb kept all his sons away from him and was always suspicious of their movements. Prince Muazzam was sent to Agra as Governor. Kam Baksh was put in charge of the former territory of Bijapur. Prince Azam was made the Governor of Malwa.

We are told that at the time of his death, Aurangzeb wrote pathetic letters to his sons. To Prince Aza, he wrote thus: "I am grown very old and weak. Many were around me when I was born, but now I am going alone. I know not who I am or why I came into the world. I bewail the moments which I spent forgetful of God's worship. I have not done well for the country or its people. My years have gone by profitless. God has been in my heart; yet my darkened eyes have not recognised His light. Life is transient, and the lost moment never comes back. There is no hope for me in the future. The fever is gone, but nothing is left of me save skin and dried flesh. The army is confounded and without heart or help, even as I am, apart from God, with no rest for the heart. They know not whether they have a king or not. Nothing brought I into this world but carry with me the burden of my sins. I know not what punishment be in store for me to suffer. Though my trust be in the mercy of goodness of God, I deplore my sins. When I have lost hope in myself, how can I hope in others? Come what will, I have launched my bark upon the waters..Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!"

To Kam Baksh, Aurangzeb wrote thus: "Soul of my soul.. Now I am going alone. I grieve for your helplessness. But what is the use? Every torment I have inflicted, every sin I have committed, every wrong I have done, I carry the consequence with me. Strange that I came with nothing into the world, and now go away with this stupendous caravan of sin! Wherever I look I see only God..You should accept my last will. It should not happen that Musalmaans be killed and the reproach should fall upon the head of this useless creature. I commit you and your sons to the care of God and bid you farewell. I am sorely troubled. Your sick mother Udaipuri, would fain die with me..May the peace of God be upon you".

About these letters V.A. Smith remarks that "the sternest critic of the character and deeds of Aurangzeb can hardly refuse to recognise the pathos of those lamentations or to feel some sympathy for the old man on his lonely death-bed."

Character and estimate of Aurangzeb: It goes without saying that Aurangzeb was an ideal person in many ways. He was simple in his habits and pious in his life. His contemporaries called him a "Darvish clad in the Imperial purple." He was absolutely free from vice and even from the most innocent pleasures of the idle

rich. The number of his wives was less than four and he was faithful to wedded love. He possessed a wonderful memory. He never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard. He retained all his physical powers to the end. He was a little deaf towards the end and was lame in his right leg. He was a past master of diplomacy. He could not be beaten in any kind of intrigue or secret manipulation. He was a master of the pen and a master of the sword.

Unfortunately, he possessed a suspicious nature. He trusted neither his officers nor his sons. Consequently, he had to do too many things himself. It was impossible for an individual to carry on the work of the administration of the country single-handed and no wonder he failed. He failed in spite of all his talent, skill, and patience. He interfered too much into the work of his subordinates. The result was that his subordinates lost all sense of responsibility and initiative. Such a bureaucracy was not fit to carry on the administration of the country.

Aurangzeb was a practised calligraphist and wrote Shikasta and Nastaliq with great skill. He was a master of Persian and could compose verses. He had no ear for music. He ate very little and slept only for three hours a day. He was a great general and this is proved by his achievements in the life-time of his father. The *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*, the greatest digest of Muslim law, was compiled under his patronage.

Aurangzeb was intolerant towards the non-Muslims and this fact alone multiplied his difficulties. There was practically no human touch in his dealings. He would have been an ideal ruler if he had been the ruler of a Muslim state. Unfortunately, he was not fitted to rule a country where the bulk of the population was that of non-Muslims. Khafi Khan makes the following observations on Aurangzeb: "Of all the sovereigns of the house of Timur, nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi. . . . no one, since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity and justice. In courage, long suffering and sound judgement, he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object."

CHAPTER IX

RISE AND GROWTH OF MARATHA POWER

It is true that Shivaji contributed a lot towards the rise and growth of Maratha power in India, but it is equally true that at the time when Shivaji appeared on the scene, the ground had already been prepared for him. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "But Shivaji's rise to power cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon in Maratha history. It was as much the result of his personal daring and heroism as of the peculiar geographical situation of the Deccan country and the unifying religious influences that were animating the people with new hopes and aspirations in the 15th and 16th centuries."

Physical features : The physical features of the Maratha country developed certain peculiar qualities among the Marathas which distinguished them from the rest of the people of India. The mountainous territory gave security to the Marathas from outside invaders. It also made them hardy soldiers who were not afraid of difficulties and hardships. The scarcity of rains in Maharashtra and the difficulties of finding a livelihood, developed among the Marathas a spirit of self-reliance and hard work. Without these qualities, they would have faced death from starvation. Their hardy character stood them in good stead when they were pitted against the Mughals. While the Marathas could be seen galloping in their small narrow paths in search of their enemies without the least feeling of any inconvenience or hardship, the Mughal soldiers found their life miserable. The mountainous country made it possible for the Marathas to adopt successfully the guerilla tactics. The broken ranges of hills provided the Marathas "ready-made and easily defensible rock forts." "The people were taught to regard the forts as their mother as indeed it was, for thither the inhabitants of the surrounding villages resorted in time of invasions with their flocks and herds and treasure, and in time of peace they afforded a living by supplying the garrisons with provision and fodder." According to J.N. Sarkar, nature developed in the Marathas "self-reliance, courage, perseverance, a stern simplicity, a rough straightforwardness, a sense of social equality and consequently pride in the dignity

of man as man." There were no social distinctions among the people and Maratha women added to the strength and patriotism of men.

According to Elphinstone, "They (the Marathas) are all active, laborious, hardy and persevering."

Bhakti movement: The spread of the Bhakti movement in Maharashtra inculcated the spirit of oneness among the Marathas. The main teachings of the leaders were Bhakti or devotion to God and equality of all believers before God without any distinction of class or birth. The Bhakti movement united the people of Maharashtra in a common love of man and faith in one God. The important leaders of the Bhakti movement were Tukaram, Ramdas, Vaman Pandit and Eknath. Ram Das Samarth was considered by Shivaji as his Guru and he exercised a tremendous influence over his countrymen. He rendered yeoman's service by carrying out social reform. In his book called Dasa Bodh, Ram Das taught the philosophy of Karma or action. He was not only a religious preacher but also a nation builder. The effect of the Bhakti movement on the Maratha people is described by Justice Ranade in these words: "Like the Protestant reformation in Europe in the 16th century, there was a religious, social and literary revival and reformation in India, but notably in the Deccan in the 15th and 16th centuries. The religious revival was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy, it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth, an ethical in its preference of pure heart and the law of love, to all other acquired merits and good works. This religious revival was the work also of the people, of the masses, and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower order of society, tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shop-keepers, barbers and even scavengers more often than Brahmins." (Rise and Growth of the Maratha Power).

Literature and Language: The literature and language of the Marathas also acted as a unifying force. The hymns of Tukaram were sung by all the classes and they served as a bond of unity among people who belonged to different sections of society. The songs in Marathi dialect and Marathi language played an important part. According to J.N. Sarkar, "Thus, a remarkable community of language, creed and life was attained in the Maharashtra in the 17th century even before political unity was conferred by Shivaji. What little was wanting to the solidarity of the people

was supplied by his creation of national state, the long struggle with the invader from Delhi under his sons, and the Imperial expansion of the race under the Peshwas. Thus in the end a tribe—or a collection of tribes or castes—was fused into a nation, and by the end of the 18th century a Maratha people in the political and cultural senses of the term had been formed, though caste distinctions still remained. Thus history has moulded society."

Even before the appearance of Shivaji on the scene, the Marathas had acquired training in the art of administration and also in the military field. This training the Marathas got in the Muslim states in the Deccan. The Marathas were employed in the Revenue Department of the States. Some of them were appointed even Ministers by the Mohammadan rulers. Murar Rao, Madan Pandit and many members of the Raj Rai family filled from time to time the posts of ministers and Diwans in the Golconda State. Narso Kale and Yesu Pandit were other important persons who served with distinction in the state of Bijapur. Brahman ambassadors were employed on diplomatic duties by the rulers of Ahmednagar. The Maratha Siledars and Bargirs were employed first of all in the Bahmani kingdom and later on in the five states into which it was broken up. The training thus acquired in arms and civil administration brought to the Maratha education, power and wealth. It is a matter of history that a very prominent part was played in the politics of Ahmednagar and Bijapur by the Maratha jagirdars, Shahji Bhonsla and Murar Rao Jogdev in the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. It has rightly been stated that "the nominal Mohammadan rulers of Golconda, Bijapur, Bider etc., were virtually controlled both in the civil and military departments by Maratha statesmen and Maratha warriors and the hill forts near the Ghats and the country thereabout were in the hands of Maratha jagirdars who were only nominally dependent upon these Mohammadan sovereigns."

Shivaji's Early Life: It was in this atmosphere that Shivaji was born in April 1627. His father's name was Shahji Bhonsla and his mother's name was Jijabai. Shahji Bhonsla had played a very important part in the politics of Ahmednagar and Bijapur. Jijabai was the daughter of Jadhav Rao, the greatest Maratha jagirdar of his time and a descendent of the Yadav rulers of Deogiri. Both from the side of his father and mother, Shivaji was highly connected. Shivaji's mother exercised a tremendous influence on her son. She was a very pious lady and she did a lot to mould the character of her son. She taught

her son the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the acts of bravery on the part of the Hindu warriors in the past. She, by "her example and teaching did much to stimulate the zeal of her famous son in defence of Brahmins, cows and caste, the three principal objects of Hindu veneration." According to Justice Ranade, "If ever great men owed their greatness to the inspiration of their mothers, the influence of Jijabai was a factor of prime importance in the making of Shivaji's career, and the chief source of his strength."

Dadaji Kondadev also played an important part in the life of Shivaji. He was the administrator of the estates of Shivaji's father in Poona. The administrator loved Shivaji as his son. He gave him training in the art of riding, fighting etc. He also taught him the art of administration.

Both Ram Das and Tuka Ram had their influence on the life of Shivaji. Ram Das was virtually regarded by Shivaji as his Guru or spiritual guide or philosopher. The Guru Mantra or the sacred formula which Ram Das whispered into the ears of Shivaji was the love of his country and nation. "Mother and mother country are dearer than heaven itself. Gods and cows, Brahmins and the faith, these are to be protected: therefore, God has raised you up; when faith is dead, death is better than life; why live when religion has perished? Gather ye, therefore, the Marathas together; make the dharma live again; for otherwise our forefathers will laugh at us from Heaven."

Such was the training and such was the environment in which Shivaji started his work. In his youth, he made himself thoroughly familiar with the hilly country around Poona. He also mixed freely with the Mawali chiefs of his own age. Their friendship proved of great value to him later on. He got his best soldiers from them. The Mawalis were hardy and brave people and were well-acquainted with every nook and corner of the country. This helped them a great deal when they were pursued by the Mughals and the forces of Bijapur.

Conquests: Shivaji started his career of conquest and progress at the early age of 19. According to Rawlinson, "There seems to be little doubt that his career was inspired by a real desire to free his country from what he considered to be a foreign tyranny, and not by a mere love of plunder." According to Sarkar, "A career of independence was no doubt risky to Shivaji, but it had undreamt of advantages to compensate for the risk if only he could succeed." Shivaji took

advantage of the confusion prevailing in Bijapur and in 1646 captured the fort of Torna. After this, the fort of Raigarh was captured and almost wholly rebuilt. Then he snatched Supa from his uncle, Shambhaji Mohite. After the death of Dadaji Kondadev, Shivaji took over the whole of the estate of his father. He also brought the forts of Baramati and Indapura under his direct control. He also captured Purandhar and Kondana. When these activities of Shivaji came to the notice of the ruler of Bijapur, it was decided to take action against him, but the matter was hushed up on account of the intervention of ministers who represented that those forts were captured for the protection of the family jagir.

After this, Shivaji directed his attention towards the Konkan. The Marathas under Abaji Sonder took possession of the important town of Kalyan in that region. After that, Abaji marched southwards in the Kolaba district. This was a little too much for the Bijapur Durbar. Once again, it was decided to take action against Shivaji. According to J.N. Sarkar, the father of Shivaji had already been degraded and imprisoned and his Jagir confiscated owing to his insubordination to the Bijapur Commander Nawab Mustafa Khan during the siege of Jinji by the Bijapuri troops. Another view is that the father of Shivaji was imprisoned on the ground that he had connived at the acts of aggression of his son. Shivaji did not want to do anything which might endanger the life of his father. He gave up his raids for the time being. He also negotiated with Prince Murad, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan and expressed a wish to join the Mughal service. The Government of Bijapur was alarmed at the diplomatic move of Shivaji and ordered the release of his father. The release was also due to the good offices of certain Muslim nobles of Bijapur. The names of Sharza Khan and Randula Khan are noteworthy in this connection. Shahji was released in 1649. As the release was conditional, Shivaji kept quiet for six years *i.e.*, from 1649 to 1655. This time was utilised by him in consolidating his power and re-organising his administration.

Struggle with Bijapur (1657-62): In November 1656, Mohammad Adil Shah of Bijapur breathed his last and was succeeded by a young man of 18. At this time, Aurangzeb was the Governor of the Deccan and he decided to fish in the troubled waters. With the help of Mir Jumla, he conquered Bidar, Kalyani and Parinda in 1657. The Bijapur Darbar made peace with Aurangzeb by surrendering certain districts and agreeing to pay a huge war indemnity.

What saved Bijapur was the fact that Aurangzeb had to divert his attention towards Northern India with a view to take part in the war of succession which followed on account of the illness of Shah Jahan in September 1657.

Shivaji and Afzal Khan (1659): As there was no danger from the Mughals, the Government of Bijapur decided to take action against Shivaji. A huge army was collected and Afzal Khan was commissioned to bring back the rebel (Shivaji) dead or alive. Afzal Khan boasted that he would bring the mountain-rat in chains. When Afzal Khan reached the field of operations, he found that fighting in the mountainous country was extremely difficult. Consequently, he decided to send Krishnaji Bhaskar to Shivaji with certain tempting offers. When Shivaji got the letter, he found himself on the horns of a dilemma. He treated the envoy with great kindness and met him at night and appealed to him as a Hindu to tell him the real intention of Afzal Khan. Krishnaji merely hinted that Afzal Khan meant mischief. This was enough for Shivaji and he decided to be on his guard. Military preparations were made to meet the situation that might arise.

Shivaji and Afzal Khan met at the appointed place. Afzal Khan embraced Shivaji and then suddenly tightened his clasp and held the neck of Shivaji in his left arm with an iron grip. With his right hand, Afzal Khan tried to run Shivaji through with his sword. However, the armour that Shivaji was putting on saved him from the blow. Then came the turn of Shivaji. With the help of the "tiger claws" (Baghnakh) fastened to his left hand, Shivaji forced Afzal Khan to relax his grip and after that he stabbed him with his dagger. After this, the attendants of Afzal Khan and Shivaji exchanged blows. Afzal Khan lost his life and the Maratha troops which were in readiness, pounced upon the Muslim troops and massacred them mercilessly.

The question has been raised as to how far the murder of Afzal Khan by Shivaji was justified. According to Khafi Khan, Shivaji was guilty of treachery and deceit. Grant Duff has also followed him. However, modern researches have shown that Shivaji did everything in self-defence. This is what the records of the English factories show. Instead of allowing himself to be killed by Afzal Khan, he killed him instead. There has been a controversy as to who struck the first blow. It has been finally decided that Afzal Khan was the aggressor.

The failure of the expedition of Afzal Khan led to the conquest

of the countries southward to Panhala and along the banks of the Krishna. Another army was sent by the Government of Bijapur against Shivaji, but that also met the same fate. Shivaji was able to carry his armies to the very gates of Bijapur. His generals captured Rajapur and Dabhal. A third expedition did not fare any better. The fourth army of Bijapur was commanded by the Shah of Bijapur himself. In spite of that, nothing substantial was gained and the war dragged on for more than a year. Ultimately, the Government of Bijapur entered into negotiations for peace. Shivaji was recognized as the ruler of the territories in his possession and there the matter ended.

Shivaji and the Mughals : Shivaji did not spare the Mughals.

He started attacking those provinces which were a part of the Mughal territory. Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor, was not prepared to take it lying. In 1660, he sent Shayista Khan as the Governor of the Deccan and instructed him to put a check on the activities of Shivaji. Shayista Khan was able to defeat the Marathas at a few places. He also captured a few forts belonging to Shivaji. However, the Maratha troops made the lives of the Mughal soldiers a hell. The latter did not know how to deal with such enemies. Shayista Khan decided to spend the rainy season at Poona. Unfortunately, he took up his residence in that very house in which Shivaji had spent his childhood and consequently was acquainted with every nook and corner of the place. Shivaji hit upon a bold plan. He entered the city of Poona at night with 400 followers in the form of a marriage party and attacked the residence of Shayista Khan. Shayista Khan was fast asleep at that time. He was roused by one of his slave girls. Before he could strike, his thumb was cut off by Shivaji. The son of Shayista Khan was surrounded and killed. After finishing their work, the Marathas ran away. The attack was a complete success. That added to the prestige of Shivaji. Next morning when Raja Jaswant Singh went to see Shayista Khan, the latter remarked thus: "I thought the Maharaja had died fighting for me in the last night's attack." It was suspected that Raja Jaswant Singh had his hand in the attack. Aurangzeb was so much upset that he recalled Shayista Khan from the Deccan in December 1663 and appointed him the Governor of Bengal.

Attack on Surat (1664): Shivaji attacked Surat with 4,000 picked men who were fully armed. A lot of booty was carried away from the town. The English and Dutch factories were able

to defend themselves and were saved.

Jai Singh and Shivaji: Aurangzeb deputed Raja Jai Singh to deal with Shivaji. Prince Muazzam at that time was the Governor of the Deccan. Jai Singh relieved Jaswant Singh in March 1665 and started his preparations for attack on the territories of Shivaji. Shivaji was surrounded on all sides. Even Raigarh, the city of Shivaji's Government, was threatened. The flying columns of the Mughals destroyed the Maratha villages. Finding himself helpless, Shivaji decided to come to terms with Jai Singh. With that object in view, Shivaji visited the camp of Jai Singh and entered into the Treaty of Purandhar in June 1665. According to this treaty, Shivaji surrendered 23 of his forts and retained only 12 for himself. His son Shambhaji was to be created a Panj Hazari Mansabdar and he was to be given a jagir. Shivaji was not to be forced to attend the Mughal court like other Mansabdars. However, he promised to render military help to Aurangzeb in his wars in the Deccan. Shivaji agreed to pay 40 lacs of Huns to Aurangzeb in 13 annual instalments if his possession of certain lands yielding 4 lacs of Huns a year in the Konkan and 5 lacs of Huns in a year in the Balaq were confirmed. It was expected that Shivaji would occupy those lands with his own soldiers. Shivaji also agreed to help the Mughals in their attack of Bijapur.

The Treaty of Purandhar was regarded to be a great diplomatic victory for Jai Singh. Shivaji joined the Mughals in their war against Bijapur, although the war was not a success. Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to visit the Mughal court. According to Sardesai, Shivaji agreed to come to Agra because he wanted to have personal knowledge of Aurangzeb, his court and the sources of his strength. According to J.N. Sarkar, Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to visit the Mughal court by holding out very high hopes to Shivaji. He also took up his personal responsibility for his safety at the capital. It goes without saying that a visit to the Mughal capital was a dangerous one, but inspite of that Jai Singh succeeded in his efforts to send Shivaji to Agra.

Shivaji and his son Shambhaji reached Agra in May 1666. However, they were not shown the respect which they expected. This upset Shivaji and there was a exchange of words between him and Aurangzeb. "Thus, Shivaji's high hopes were dashed to pieces and he found himself a prisoner instead." However, Shivaji did not give up hope. He made up his mind to find out an excuse

to escape from Agra. He pretended to be ill and started sending baskets of sweets for distribution among the Brahmins and the poor. These baskets were watched for some time by the guards but later on, the watch was lessened. Shivaji took advantage of this and escaped along with his son in these baskets. He managed to reach Maharashtra by following a circuitous route. There was great rejoicing among the Marathas. It was a national deliverance, as providential, as it was romantic. Aurangzeb suspected Jai Singh and recalled him and the latter died on his way in July 1667.

The Mughals were not in a position to deal with Shivaji. They were busy with the Afghan risings in the North-west "which taxed the imperial strength for more than a year." Prince Muazzam was weak and indolent and Raja Jaswant Singh was friendly towards Shivaji. The result was that there was not much to fear from the Mughals. In 1668-9, Shivaji occupied himself with the reorganisation of his internal administration. Jaswant Singh and Muazzam persuaded Aurangzeb to grant the title of Rajah to Shivaji. His son Shambhaji was also made a Mansabdar of 5,000. Shivaji was also given a Jagir in Berar.

After a brief respite, war started once again in 1770 between Shivaji and the Mughals. Many of the disbanded soldiers from the Mughal army joined Shivaji. The result was that Shivaji was able to capture many forts and thereby add to his dominions. In December 1670, the officers of Shivaji got from the two local authorities of certain districts in Khandesh written promises to pay Chauth to Shivaji.

In 1670, Shivaji plundered Surat for the second time and was able to secure a booty of Rs. 66 lacs. In 1672, the Marathas got Chauth from Surat. Between 1670 and 1674, the Marathas got successes everywhere. The Mughal power in the Deccan was crippled.

In 1674, Shivaji got himself coronated at Raigarh according to the vedic rites. He became the sovereign ruler of Maharashtra. A new era was also started. Unfortunately, Shivaji did not live long. His reign lasted only for six years. In 1676, Shivaji planned and began to operate operations in the South. Before his death in 1680, he was able to capture Jinji, Vellore and many other important forts. The expedition to Jinji has been described as "the most important expedition of Shivaji's life."

At the time of his death, Shivaji's own kingdom or Swaraj comprised the Western Ghats and the Konkan between Kalyan and

Goa, with some districts to the East of the mountain. The provinces in the South comprised the Western Karnatak extending from Belgaum to the bank of the Tungbhadra, opposite to the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. Vellore, Jinji and a few other districts were not settled at the time of his death.

Shivaji's administrative system: According to Rawlinson, "Like nearly all great warriors—Napoleon is a conspicuous example—Shivaji was also a great administrator, for the qualities which go to make a capable general are those which are required by the successful organiser and statesman." In theory, Shivaji was an autocrat like his contemporaries. He could do what he pleased. However, he was assisted by a Council of 8 ministers known as the Ashta Pradhan. It is absolutely misleading to say that the Ashta Pradhan was like a modern cabinet. Its functions were purely advisory. The eight ministers were the following:—

(1) The Peshwa or Prime Minister whose duty was to look after the general welfare and interests of the state.

(2) The Amatya or Finance Minister whose duty was to check and countersign all public accounts of the Kingdom in general and of the particular districts.

(3) The Mantri or Chronicler whose duty was to keep a diary of the daily doings of the King and also record everything that happened at the court. He was also called Wakia-Nawis.

(4) Sumant or Dabir or Foreign secretary whose duty was to advise the King on matters relating to foreign states and all questions of war and peace. He was also to see foreign ambassadors and envoys and keep touch with the state of affairs in other states.

(5) Sachiv or Shuru Nawis or Home Secretary whose duty was to look after the correspondence of the King. He was to see that all royal letters and dispatches were drafted in the proper style. He had the authority to revise them. He also checked the accounts of the Parganas.

(6) Pandit Rao or Danadhyaksha or Sadar and Muhatasib or Ecclesiastical Head whose duty was to fix dates for religious ceremonies, punish hearsay and distribute among the Brahmins the charity of the King. He was the judge of canon law and censor of public morals.

(7) Nyayadhisht or Chief Justice who was responsible for civil and military justice.

(8) Senapati or Sari Naubat or Commander-in-Chief who

was in charge of the recruitment, organisation and discipline of the Army. He arranged disposition of the troops in the battle-field.

It is to be noted that with the exception of the Nyayadhish and Pandit Rao, all other ministers were required to command armies and lead expeditions. "All royal letters, charters and treaties had to bear the seal of the King and the Peshwa and the endorsement of the next four ministers, *i.e.*, other than the Commander-in-Chief, the Ecclesiastical Head and the Chief Justice." There were 18 departments of the state and those were under the charge of the various ministers who worked under the supervision and guidance of the King.

Local Government: Shivaji divided his kingdom into four provinces and a Viceroy was appointed for each. The provinces were divided into a number of Prants. The system of granting Jagirs was abolished and Shivaji started the system of paying the officers in cash. Even when the revenues of a particular place were assigned to any official, his only concern was with the money and he had no control over the people. It was laid down that no office was to be hereditary.

Army: Shivaji was a military genius and no wonder he took pains to put the army on an efficient footing. It was the practice of the Marathas to work for half the year upon their fields and to spend the dry season in the saddle on active service. Such a system was considered to be defective by Shivaji and he introduced the system of keeping a regular standing army. During the rainy season, it was provided with quarters and the soldiers were given regular salaries for the whole year. Regular grades were fixed up. In the case of cavalry, the unit was formed by 25 troopers. Over 25 troopers was placed one Havaladar. Over 5 Havaldars was placed one Jumladar and over 10 Jumladars was placed one Hazari. Other higher ranks were the Five Hazari and the Sari Naubat of cavalry or Supreme Commander. For every 25 troopers, there was a water-carrier and a farrier. The cavalry was divided into two classes: the Bargirs and the Shiledars. The Bargirs were supplied with horses and arms by the state and the Shiledars had to find their own equipment.

The infantry was divided into regiments, brigades and divisions. The smallest unit was formed by 9 soldiers who were under a Naik. Over 5 Naiks was placed a Havaladar and over two or three Havaldars was placed a Jumladar. Over 10 Jumladars was placed a Hazari and over 7 Hazaris was placed a Sari Naubat.

Both Hindus and Muslims were recruited in the army without any distinction. Soldiers were paid in cash and had full confidence in their leaders. Those soldiers who showed bravery, were rewarded. Shivaji was able to attract a large number of persons from different parts of the country on account of his appreciation of worth.

Forts played a very important part in the military organisation. Garrisons of forts were carefully selected. Great care was taken to keep the troops disciplined. Every fort was placed under three officers of equal status *viz.*, the Havaladar, the Sabnis and the Sari Naubat.

Shivaji built a considerable fleet which was stationed at Colaba. He checked the power of the Abyssinian pirates of Janjira. It also plundered the rich Mughal ships.

Shivaji was very anxious to maintain discipline in the army. Women were not allowed to go with the army. The baggage was restricted to the minimum. The following were some of the regulations of the army: "The army should return to cantonments in the home territory during the rainy season. Grain, fodder and medicines were to be stored for the horses and thatched huts for the troopers. Soon after Dashehra, the army marched out of the cantonments and for eight months it subsisted in foreign territories. No women, female slaves or dancing girls should be permitted. Any one breaking the rule should be put to death. Women and children of the enemy should be protected. Brahmins were to be let alone and should not be accepted as sureties, when contributions were levied from conquered country. Precious articles seized by the troops during their sojourn abroad should be sent to the treasury. Those who kept back anything should be severely dealt with." According to Khafi Khan, Shivaji "laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, pulsiyah (copper money) and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them; that other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers and to be paid over by them to Shivaji's Government." It is stated that on the occasion of the sack of Surat, the Marathas did not touch cloth, copper utensils and other insignificant articles.

Fiscal system: Shivaji abolished the system of farming of taxes. A direct arrangement was made by the Government with cultivators. According to Sarkar, "The Ryots were not subject

to the authority of the Zamindars, Deshmukhs and Desais who had no right to exercise the powers of a political superior or harrass the Ryots. The land was carefully surveyed with the help of a measuring rod or Kathi. The share of the state was fixed at 30% of the produce but later on it was increased to 40% when other taxes were abolished by Shivaji. The cultivator was allowed to pay in cash or in kind according to his sweet will. The amount of money to be paid was fixed and consequently there was not much chance of their oppression. The state encouraged agriculture. We are told that in times of famine, the Government advanced money and grain to the cultivators which were to be paid back in instalments later on. Fryer has condemned the revenue system of Shivaji and according to him there was oppression of the peasants. "The great fish prey on the little and even Bijapur rule was milder than that of Shivaji." It is admitted that Shivaji was very strict in the matter of realisation of land revenue so that much discretion may not be left in the hands of the officers for oppression or favouritism. It is admitted on all hands that Shivaji's system was humane and beneficent and according to Grant Duff, Shivaji's claim to "a high rank in the page of history must be admitted."

Shivaji started the system of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. According to Justice Ranade, the Chauth was not a military contribution without any moral or legal obligation. It was a payment in lieu of protection against the invasion of a third power. Ranade compared the system of Chauth with the system of subsidiary alliances of Wellesley and added that "the demand for Chauth was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression on payment of fixed sums for the support of the troops maintained for such services. This was the original idea as worked out by Shivaji and it was the same idea which in Marquis of Wellesley's hands bore such fruit a hundred and twenty years later."

Sir J.N. Sarkar holds a different opinion. According to him, "the payment of the Chauth merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Maratha soldiers and civil underlings, but did not impose on Shivaji any corresponding obligation to guard the district from foreign invasion or any internal disorder. The Marathas looked only to their own gain and not to the fate of their prey after they had left. The Chauth was only a means of buying off one robber ; and not a subsidiary system

for the maintenance of peace and order against all enemies. The lands subject to the Chauth cannot therefore be rightly called spheres of influence."

According to Sardesai, the great Maratha historian, the Chauth was a tribute realised from hostile or rival territories. Such a system prevailed in Western India even before the advent of Shivaji. Shivaji got Chauth from the countries invaded by him with the promise that he would protect them from other foreign invaders.

According to Dr. Sen, author of "Administrative system of the Marathas," Chauth was a contribution exacted by a military leader. Such a demand was justified by the circumstances of the times. In theory, the Chauth was one-fourth of the revenue of a district invaded by the Marathas. According to Sarkar, "As this proper assessment was always larger than the actual collection, the real incidence of the Chauth was considerably more than one-fourth of what the peasants paid to their legitimate sovereign."

The term "Desai" is a corrupted form of the Sanskrit word "Desaswami" or Deshmukh. Sardeshmukh was over many Deshmukhs or Desais. He was paid for his services and that payment was called Sardeshmukhi. Shivaji claimed to be the hereditary Sardeshmukh of his country and consequently demanded an additional levy of 10% as Sardeshmukhi. However, it cannot be denied that it was merely a legal fiction.

Justice: The administration of justice was of a primitive nature. No regular courts were set up and no regular procedure was laid down. The Panchayats continued to decide disputes in the villages. The system of ordeals was common. Criminal cases were heard by the Patels. Appeals in both civil and criminal cases were heard by the Nyayadhis who were guided by the Smritis. Hazir Majlis was the final Court of appeal.

Estimate of Shivaji: It goes without saying that Shivaji possessed a creative genius of a very high order. As the son of a petty Jagirdar in a Muslim state, he rose to the position of a Chhatrapati. He brought order out of chaos and welded the Marathas into a nation. The Marathas regarded him as a "superman, a divine agency to free them from the yoke of Muslims." He had a very high standard of morality. Although he was illiterate, he was capable of understanding the most complicated problems of Government. Both in diplomacy and statecraft, he had no equal. He was a very religious-minded man but this does not mean that he was a bigot. He respected the

Muslim saints also and gave lands and annuities to Muslim shrines. It is true that he fought against the Muslims, but he stopped the war as soon as they accepted his overlordship. Khafi Khan describes Shivaji as "a father of fraud" and "a sharp son of the devil." But even he admits that Shivaji had "made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect and gave to some of his Musalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Mohammadan were taken prisoners by his men, he watched over them until their relations came with their ransom to buy their liberty." Again, "Shivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, plundering caravans and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of women and children of Mohammadans, when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict and any one who disobeyed them received punishment."

Shivaji "had the born leader's personal magnetism and threw a spell over all who knew him, drawing the best elements of the country to his side and winning the most devoted service from his officers, while his dazzling victories and ever-ready smile made him the idol of his soldiery. His gift of judging character was one of the main causes of his successes, as his selection of generals and Governors, diplomatists and secretaries was never at fault, and his administration, both civil and military, was unrivalled for efficiency."

According to Rawlinson, "His was a dark and violent age and at least Shivaji's hands were not stained like those of Aurangzeb, with the blood of his kindred. He was never deliberately or wantonly cruel. To respect women, mosques and non-combatants, to stop promiscuous slaughter after the battle, to release and dismiss with honour captured officers and men—these are surely no light virtues."

According to Jadu Nath Sarkar, "No blind fanatic, no mere brigand can found a state. There can be no denying the fact that he was, as the ancient Greeks would have called him, a king among men—one endowed with the divine instinct or genius." Again, "Unlike Ranjit Singh and Mahdaji Sindhia, he built up an administrative system and raised a national army without any foreign help. His institutions lasted long and were looked up to with admiration and emulation even a century later in the palmy days of the Peshwas"

ride." Shivaji was not "an entrepreneur of rapine or a Hindu edition of Ala-ud-Din Khilji or Taimur." According to Sarkar again, "Before his rise, the Maratha race was scattered like atoms through many Deccani Kingdoms. He welded them into a mighty nation and he achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four mighty powers like the Moghal Empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India and the Abyssinians of Juggia. No other Hindu has shown such capacity in modern times. The materialistic Maratha authors of the Bhakhars have given us a list of Shivaji's legacies—so many elephants, horses, soldiers, slaves, jewels, gold and silver and even spices and raisins! But they have not mentioned Shivaji's greatest gift to posterity, viz., the new life of the Maratha race." To quote Sarkar again, Shivaji was "not only the maker of the Maratha nation, but also the greatest constructive genius of medieval India," and "the memory of a true 'hero as king' like Shivaji remains an imperishable historical legacy for the entire human race—to animate the heart, to kindle imagination and to inspire the brain of succeeding ages to the highest endeavours."

Shivaji and Hindu Empire: According to Sardesai, the object of Shivaji was not merely to free the Hindus of Maharashtra but also to get freedom for all the Hindus living in the various parts of India. Sardesai has given many reasons for his view. According to him, Shivaji's main object was to secure religious freedom for the Hindus and not territory. In 1645, Shivaji wrote to Dadaji Naras Prabhu about his scheme of "Hindavi-Swarajya." The scheme aimed at religious autonomy for the Hindus all over India. After the death of Shivaji, his ideal and ambition were interpreted in that light by the Marathas. Moreover, "Shivaji's levy of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi was conceived in the spirit of an all-India instrument of expansion." Shivaji decided to go to Agra with the object of studying the conditions in Northern India and to find out the possibility of overthrowing the Mughal Empire. His desire to regenerate the Hindus is supported by the fact that he developed land and sea forces and set aside the prejudice against sea-voyages. Shivaji also encouraged the readmission into the Hindu society of Hindu converts to Islam. He did not fight with the Rajput chiefs and tried to maintain good relations with them.

However, this view is not accepted by other historians. It is pointed out that it was impossible to secure religious autonomy for the Hindus so long as the Mughal Empire was not destroyed. There is

nothing to show that he entertained any ambition to be the leader of the Hindus of India. He had no definite scheme of an alliance with other Hindus of India against the Mughals. It is well known that Shivaji did not avail of the services of Chhatrasal Bundela who came to help him. It is evident that Shivaji was not trying to set up an all-India Hindu Empire.

Weakness in Shivaji's system: Inspite of the efforts of Shivaji, his Empire did not last long. It was a military organisation like that of Ranjit Singh and Ala-ud-Din Khilji and was destroyed within a decade of his death. There were many causes responsible for it. Like Babur, the reign of Shivaji was very short and throughout all this period he had to fight against the enemies and consequently he had no time to consolidate his position. The Maratha society was such as could be reformed by the patient and sustained efforts of selfless workers for years. There were constant disputes among the Marathas with regard to the distribution of Watan or hereditary land. When Shivaji became supreme, he had to decide those cases and while doing so, he gave decisions against certain parties. Those parties became his enemies and joined hands with other enemies of Shivaji. This fact gave a lot of trouble to Shivaji all his life. The large number of castes in Maharashtra in the 17th century also created dissensions among the Marathas and stood in the way of their solidarity. The Brahmans hated the non-Brahmans and even the Brahmans were themselves sub-divided into Desh Brahmans, Konkan Brahmans and Chitpavan Brahmans. The Brahmans hated not only the non-Brahmans but also quarrelled among themselves. Moreover, the successes of Shivaji brought about the supremacy of Hindu orthodoxy. The upper classes put emphasis on ceremonial purity, and this created a division between the rich and the poor. According to Jadunath Sarkar, "Shivaji's political successes sapped the main foundation of that success. In proportion as Shivaji's ideal of a Hindu Swaraj was based on orthodoxy, it contained within itself the seed of its own death." Moreover, no well-considered attempt was made to educate the people of Maharashtra and to improve their intellect and character. The ignorance of the masses was a great obstacle in the way of the success of the Maratha nation.

Shambuji (1680-9): After the death of Shivaji, Shambuji, his eldest son, ascended the throne. Shambuji was a man of loose character and spent all his time in merry-making. He completely ignored the work of re-organisation of the Marathas. When

Aurangzeb was busy in his campaigns against Bijapur and Golconda. Shambuji and his followers did not take full advantage of the opportunity. Nothing was done to harrass the Mughal armies. When Bijapur and Golconda were conquered, Aurangzeb decided to deal with the Marathas. Many of their forts were captured and Shambuji moved to Sangameshwar. He wasted a lot of his precious time at that place. The result was that Muqarrab Khan, the Mughal General, made a surprise attack and captured him along with his friend Kavi Kulesh and their wives and daughters. The prisoners were brought in heavy chains to the Imperial camp. In the words of J.N. Sarkar, they were presented to Aurangzeb in the following manner: "Four miles outside the encampment, Shambuji and Kavi Kulesh were dressed as buffoons with long fool's caps and bells placed on their heads, mounted on camels, and brought to Bahadurgarh with drums beating and trumpets pealing. Hundreds of thousands of spectators lined the roads to gaze Shambu as at a new kind of wild beast or demon. Thus degraded, the captives were slowly paraded through the entire camp and finally brought to the Emperor who was sitting in full Durbar for the occasion. At the sight of the prisoners, Aurangzeb descended from his throne and kneenling down on the carpet bowed his head to the ground in double thankfulness to the Giver of this crowning victory. After he had looked at them, the captives were removed to prison."

Khafi Khan tells us that when Kavi Kulesh saw this devotion of Aurangzeb, he addressed verses to Shambuji to this effect: "Oh Rajah, at the sight of these the king Alamgir, for all his pomp and dignity, cannot keep his seat upon the throne, but has perforce descended from it to do thee honour." Another story is that Aurangzeb sent an officer to Shambuji enquiring as to where the latter had hidden his treasure and which Mughal officers had intrigued with him. It is stated that Shambuji abused Aurangzeb and the Prophet and demanded the hand of Aurangzeb's daughter as the price of his friendship. When all this was reported to Aurangzeb, he decided to take severe action against him and his followers. Consequently, Shambuji and his followers were tortured and put to death in March 1689, "their limbs being hacked off one by one and their flesh thrown to the dogs". According to the custom of the Mughals, the heads of the culprits were stuffed with bran and were exposed in public in all the chief cities of the Deccan. Probably, Sambhuji deserved his fate. He had to pay heavily for his vices.

However, by his death, Shambuji achieved what he had failed to do in life. The effect of his imprisonment and death was that the Marathas were united and they made up their minds to carry on a relentless struggle against the Mughals. The Mughals carried on their struggle with the Marathas with vigour and the result was that they were able to capture a large number of forts in a short period. Itiqad Khan conquered Raigarh and was also able to capture the family of Shambuji including his son Shahu. Raja Ram, a son of Shivaji by another wife, escaped in the guise of a Yogi and stationed himself in the fort of Jinji in the Karnatak.

Raja Ram (1689-1700): Raja Ram lacked the qualities of his father. He possessed neither the initiative nor the dash of Shivaji. He was hardly ten when his father died and he was kept a prisoner by his brother Shambuji. The result was that he failed to get the education which was necessary for his status. However, he was fortunate in having brilliant advisers and helpers. Ram Chandra Pant and Parlhada Niraji were his advisers and they possessed exceptional ability. Shantaji and Dhanaji were two great warriors who carried the plans and policy of Raja Ram. No wonder, the Marathas were able to have the upper hand over the Mughals in the time of Raja Ram. Raja Ram himself was addicted to opium and dissipation. He possessed the virtue of selecting the right type of ministers and putting his trust in them. That was the main cause of his success.

Shantaji Ghorpare and Dhanaji Jadav, with their plundering hosts, ravaged the country. They cut off the Mughal convoys and spread terror and confusion everywhere. In spite of the fact that an able general like Zulfikar Khan was sent to besiege Jinji in 1691, no better results could be achieved. This fort was one of the strongest forts in Southern India and no wonder Raja Ram was able to defy the Mughals. Zulfikar Khan, in spite of his handicaps, tried to take over the forts and provinces which were newly acquired. The siege was unusually prolonged and Prince Kam Baksh was recalled on account of his suspected behaviour. Likewise, Zulfikar Khan was recalled in 1694 on account of his failure. Many other generals were tried between 1694 and 1697. According to J.N. Sarkar, "Jinji became a centre of Maratha enterprise in the east coast, while their ministers (notably Ramchandra Pant) left at home organised resistance to the Mughals in the west. The difficulties of Aurangzeb were only multiplied by the disappearance of a common head and a central Government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his

own retainers fought and raided in a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aurangzeb could not end it, because there was no Maratha Government or state army for him to attack and destroy."

After 1690, the Marathas began to win victories. Two Mughal generals were defeated and captured. By 1695, two other Mughal generals were defeated. Those generals were Qasim Khan and Himmat Khan. The struggle between the Marathas and the Mughals was "no longer a simple military problem, but had become a trial of endurance and resources between the Mughal Empire and the indigenous people."

From 1695 to 1699, the Marathas under Shantaji and Dhanaji harrassed the Mughals to such an extent that they later became completely demoralised. According to Sarkar, "The Mughal administration had really dissolved and only the presence of the emperor with all his troops in country held it together, but it was now a delusive phantom. Santa and Dhana were the heroes of this period; the initiative lay entirely with them and they upset every plan and calculation formed by the imperialists." However, Jinji was captured in January 1698 after a siege of 8 years. Before its capture, Raja Ram escaped to Satara where he organized a new state army and brought all the Maratha generals under his banner. He also levied Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from Khandesh, Berar and Baglana.

By October 1699, Aurangzeb was fed up with the mutual quarrels of the Mughal generals and he decided to conduct the campaign against the Marathas personally. In December 1699, Satara was besieged. Although vigorous efforts were made to capture the fort, no good results followed. Satara was captured after the death of Raja Ram in 1700.

Tara Bai (1700-7): After the death of Raja Ram, Karna, his son, came to the throne. However, he died after a few weeks on account of small pox. Tara Bai, Raja Ram's widow, put another son named Shivaji II on the throne and became herself the regent. Tara Bai was a vigorous lady. She took keen interest in the affairs of the State. She possessed a lot of knowledge of civil and military affairs. According to Khafi Khan, "She took vigorous measures for ravaging the imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six Subhas of the Deccan as far as Sironj, Mandisor, and the Subhas of Malwa. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes,

the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign the power of the Marathas increased day by day. They divided all the districts (parganas) among themselves, and following the practice of the imperial rule, they appointed their Subahdars (provincial governors), Kamaishdars (revenue collectors) and Rahdars (toll-collectors)."

In addition to the capture of Satara, the Mughals got the forts of Parli (1700), Panhala (1701), Kondana (1701), Khelna (1702), Rajgarh and Torna (1704). Some were got by military valour and others by treachery and bribery. In 1705 was captured the fort of Wagingera which belonged to the Berads. The inmates of the fort carried their women and children with them and set fire to all that was left behind. The result was that the Mughals got nothing inspite of their victory. The capture of Wagingera was the last military victory of Aurangzeb.

Inspite of his best efforts, Aurangzeb failed to crush the spirit of the Marathas. On the other hand, the latter had become the masters of the situation and their resources increased on account of their raids and robberies. According to Manucci (1704), the Maratha "leaders and their troops move in these days with much confidence, because they have cowed the Mughal commanders and inspired them with fear. At the present time they possess artillery, muskets, bows and arrows with elephants and camels for all their baggage and tents. They carry these to secure some repose from time to time. In short they were equipped and moved about just like the armies of the Mughals...only a few years ago they did not march in this fashion."

In 1703, the Marathas attacked Berar and in 1706, they invaded Gujrat and sacked Baroda. In the same year, the Marathas threatened the camp of Aurangzeb at Ahmednagar. Such was the Mughal state of affairs.

According to Manucci, the entire land had become so much depopulated that neither fire nor light could be found in the course of a three or four days' journey. "In the Deccan there was no rain from 1702 to 1704, but instead plague prevailed. In these two years have expired over two millions of souls; fathers compelled by hunger, offering to sell their children for a quarter to half a rupee, and yet forced to go without food, finding no one to buy them."

Famine, pestilence and flood fought on the side of the Marathas. According to Sarkar, "The soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardships in marching over flooded rivers and rain-soaked

roads, porters disappeared, transport beasts died of hunger and overwork, scarcity of grain was chronic in the camp."

Tara Bai managed the affairs of the state in the name of her son Shivaji II. She was assisted in her work by Paras Ram Trimbak, Dhanaji Jadav and Shankerji Narayan. She moved from place to place with a view to guide the Maratha operations against the Mughals. She was the very soul of the Maratha resistance. No amount of suffering could weaken her resolve. Her indomitable personality was responsible for the success of the Marathas.

Sahu (1707-48): After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Mughals tried to divide the Marathas. In 1707, Zulfikar Khan, the Governor of the Deccan, set Sahu free and the later claimed the Government of the country from Tara Bai. Sahu had been captured in 1689 and kept in Mughal custody along with his mother. He was seven years of age at that time. He spent more than 17 years in captivity and got the training which could be available under the circumstances. Efforts were made to convert him but without much success.

When Sahu was released by the Mughals, there started a struggle between the two groups of the Marathas. Tara Bai declared that Sahu was an imposter and he had no right to the kingdom which had been lost by his father Shambuji. The present state was created by her husband Raja Ram and Shivaji II was the lawful ruler. She sent an army under Dhanaji to check the advance of Sahu and a battle was fought at Khed in November 1707. Tara Bai was defeated and she retired to Kolhapur with her son Shivaji II. In 1702, when Shivaji II died, his step brother Shambuji was put on the Gaddi of Kolhapur. Sahu was recognised as the ruler of the Marathas on the Gaddi of Satara.

Sahu did not possess the qualities of his grand-father. He was contented with the pleasures of the palace and the honours of kingship. The result was that he left the affairs of the state into the hands of the Chief Minister or the Peshwa. The first Peshwa was Balaji Vishwanath who made his position supreme in the state by his wisdom and cleverness and also made the office hereditary in his family. The result was that the successors of Shivaji began to decline in power and all control passed into the hands of the Peshwas. No wonder, the story of the rise of the Marathas during the 18th century became the story of the Peshwas.

Balaji Vishwanath (1714-20): Balaji Vishwanath enjoyed

the trust and confidence of his master, Sahu, and no wonder he was appointed to the post of Senakarte or Organiser of Forces. Balaji's ancestors were Deshmukhs. He himself was employed as a clerk in the salt-works at Chiplun. In 1689, he worked as a revenue clerk and later on was appointed as Sar-Subah of Poona and Daulatabad. He seems to have come into contact with the Mughals and Sahu about 1705. Sahu had a very high opinion of the ability, loyalty and character of Balaji. The latter was one of those persons who joined Sahu after his release. He also played a very important part in crushing the opposition to Sahu.

Taking full advantage of the dissensions and intrigues at the Mughal court at Delhi, the Marathas gained strength and influence. In 1719, Balaji Vishwanath was invited to Delhi to help the Sayyad brothers. Although Farrukh Siyar was killed in 1719, Balaji Vishwanath got three grants from Mohammad Shah, the new Mughal Emperor. The three grants are considered to be the foundation-stone of the great fabric of the Maratha power in India. The first grant gave to the Marathas the right of Chauth or one-fourth share of the revenues of the Deccan and Southern India including Hyderabad, the Karnatak and Mysore. The second grant gave the right of Saradeshmukhi or one-tenth share of the produce over and above the Chauth. The third grant recognised the right of Swaraj or the entire sovereignty of the Marathas over their country. Sahu was not to molest Shambuji of Kolhapur and he was to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 10 lacs to the Mughal Emperor. The Emperor was to release and send back from Delhi Sahu's mother, his wife, his brother and other members of the Maratha royal family detained at Delhi.

The Marathas made considerable progress during the regime of Balaji Vishwanath. The latter died in 1720. Balaji was a self-made man and he rose to power by sheer dint of his hard efforts. Although he was not a soldier, he was a great administrator and statesman. He was instrumental in winning over important personalities to the side of Sahu. He reorganised on a sound footing the finances of Sahu. Chauth and Sardeshmukhi were profitable sources of income for the Maratha exchequer.

Sir Richard Temple has described the character and achievements of Balaji Vishwanath in these words: "He was more like a typical Brahmin than any of his successors. He had a calm, comprehensive and commanding intellect, an imaginative and aspiring disposition, an aptitude for ruling rude nature by moral force, a genius

for diplomatic combinations and a master of finance. His political destiny propelled him into affairs wherein his misery must have been acute. More than once, he was threatened with death for which he doubtless prepared himself with all the stoicism of his race when a ransom opportunity arrived. He wrung by power of menace and argument from the Mughals, a recognition of Maratha sovereignty. He carried victoriously all his diplomatic points and sank into premature death with the consciousness that a Hindu empire had been created over the ruins of Muhammedan power and that of this empire the hereditary chiefship had been secured for his family."

Baji Rao (1720-40): After the death of Balaji Vishwanath, his eldest son, Baji Rao was appointed the Peshwa by Sahu. This was done inspite of the opposition of the advisers and chiefs of Sahu. At the time of coming to power, Baji Rao was hardly a young man of 20. Inspite of young age, Baji Rao possessed plenty of common sense, intelligence and very good physique. He was well-versed in diplomacy and administration. He correctly came to the conclusion that the Mughal power was declining and it was possible to snatch away the provinces from it. Baji Rao made the following observation in that connection: "Now is our time to drive the strangers from the country of the Hindus, and acquire immortal renown. Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree, and the branches will fall off themselves. By directing our efforts to Hindustan, the Maratha flag shall fly from the Krishna to Attock." Sahu approved of his policy in these words: "You shall plant it beyond the Himalayas. You are indeed a noble son of a worthy father." Balaji reorganised the armies of the state and started his campaigns in 1731. The Maratha claim to Chauth and Sardeshmukhi was recognised in that year. In 1732, the Maratha armies over-ran the province of Malwa. Bundelkhand was conquered and in 1737, Baji Rao appeared before the very walls of Delhi. Nizam-ul-Mulk advanced from the Deccan to help the Mughal Emperor, but he himself was defeated near Bhopal and had to agree to a formal cession of Malwa and Gujrat. He also promised to pay a war-indemnity of Rs. 50 lacs to Baji Rao. In 1739, the Island of Bassein was taken from the Portuguese. Baji Rao died in 1740 after putting the Maratha power on a secure footing.

It goes without saying that Baji Rao was a great military and diplomatic genius. It was on account of his personality that the political centre of gravity shifted from Delhi to Poona. He was a

generous friend and an inspiring orator. He was a great judge of men. Although he died at the age of 40, he had accomplished a lot. He loved a Muslim dancing girl named Mastani. She was an exceedingly accomplished lady and was the most charming lady of her time in India. She was a good musician and looked after Bajji Rao like a devoted wife. It is said that Bajji Rao's addiction to meat and wine were due to her influence. Both of them died in 1740.

Sir Richard Temple has summed up the character of Bajji Rao in these words: "Bajji Rao was hardly surpassed as a rider and was ever forward in action, eager to expose himself under fire if the affair was arduous. He was enured to fatigue and prided himself in enduring the same hardship as his soldiers and shared their scanty fare. He was moved by ardour for success in national undertakings by a patriotic confidence in the Hindu cause as against its old enemies Muhammedans and its new rival Europeans, then rising above the political horizon. He lived to see the Marathas spread terror over the Indian continent from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal. He died as he had lived in camp under canvas among his men and he is remembered to this day among the Marathas as the fighting Peshwa and an incarnation of Hindu energy."

Balaji Bajji Rao (1740-61): After the death of Bajji Rao in 1740, his son, Balaji Bajji Rao became the Peshwa. There was not much opposition from his brothers. It is true that Balaji Bajji Rao was not a man of parts himself, but he took advantage of the worth of his own cousin, Sadasiva Bhao. Balaji consulted him in every important affair of the state and did nothing without his advice. It was under the guidance of Sadasiva that the Maratha power reached its climax in 1760.

Raghoji Bhonsla over-ran the whole of Central India and attacked Bengal many a time. He forced Ali Vardi Khan in 1751 to give Orissa to the Marathas and also give Chauth of the provinces of Bengal and Bihar to the Marathas. Between 1752 and 1756, the Peshwa secured a promise of the Chauth of the Imperial revenues of Northern India. In 1758, the Marathas occupied the Punjab and the Maratha flag was unfurled over the fort of Attock. According to Elphinstone, "Their frontier extended on the north to the Indus and Himalaya, and on the south nearly in the extremity of the peninsula; all the territory within those limits which was not their own paid tribute."

The conquest and occupation of the Punjab by the Marathas brought them into conflict with Ahmed Shah Abdali who started from

Afghanistan to recover the same from the Marathas. The Marathas were also ready to meet him, and the famous battle of Panipat was fought in January 1761. Ahmed Shah Abdali had under his command about 40,000 cavalry and 35,000 infantry. Sadasiva Bhao had under his command 55,000 cavalry, 15,000 infantry and 15,000 Pandaris. Both sides had artillery and other auxiliaries. Sadasiva Bhao was proud of his artillery strength and against the advice of his generals, decided to fight a pitched battle. Abdali was able to cut off the lines of communication of the Marathas. To begin with, the Marathas had the upper hand, but later on the Afghans carried the day. Sadasiva Bhao was killed. Visvas Rao, the son of the Peshwa, was also killed. Malhar Rao Holkar saved his life by running away from the battlefield. Mahadji Scindia was able to save his life but he became lame. There was a terrible loss of life among the Marathas. The losses of the Maratha army were reported to the Peshwa in these words: "Two Pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohars have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be reckoned." The news was received by Balaji Baji Rao when he was coming to Panipat with reinforcements. However, he was too late. He retired broken-hearted to Poona and died in 1761 a few days later.

There is no unanimity of opinion among the historians with regard to the effects of the battle of Panipat in 1761. According to Sardesai, "Notwithstanding the terrible losses in manpower suffered on that field by the Marathas, the disaster decided nothing. In fact, it pushed forward in the distant sequel two prominent members of the dominant race, Nana Phadnis and Mahadji Scindia, both miraculously escaping death on that fatal day, who resuscitated that power to its former glory... The disaster of Panipat was indeed like a natural visitation destroying life, but leading to no decisive political consequences. To maintain that the disaster of Panipat put an end to the dreams of supremacy cherished by the Marathas, is to misunderstand the situation as recorded in contemporary documents."

However, this view is not accepted by other historians. According to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, "A dispassionate survey of Indian history will show how unfounded this (Maratha) chauvinistic claim is. A Maratha army did, no doubt, restore the exiled Mughal emperor to the capital of his fathers in 1772, but they came then not as king-makers, not as the dominators of the Mughal empire and the real masters of his nominal ministers and generals. That proud position

was secured by Mahadji Sindia only in 1789 and by the British in 1803." There is a lot to be said for this view. The battle of Panipat was a decisive battle. The flower of the Maratha army was cut off. After this battle, the Maratha dream of establishing their Empire over the whole of India vanished. The Maratha defeat had a great demoralising effect. The Indians after 1761 felt that they could not depend upon the protection and friendship of the Marathas. On account of the death of most of the Maratha captains and statesmen, the path was left open for the "guilty ambition of Raghunath Dada, the most infamous character in Maratha history. Other losses time could have made good, but this was the greatest mischief done by the debacle at Panipat." The internal dissensions in the Peshwa family were responsible for the weakening of the Maratha power. It is this fact which helped the English to rise to power. To quote Sardesai, "It is significant that while the two combatants, the Marathas and the Musalmans, were locked in deadly combat on the field of ancient Kurukshetra, Clive, the first founder of the British Empire in India was on his way to England to explain the feasibility of his dreams of an Indian Empire to the Great Commoner, Lord Chatham, then the Prime Minister. Panipat indirectly ushered in a new participant in the struggle for Indian supremacy. This is indeed the direct outcome of that historical event, which on that account marks a turning point in the history of India."

Causes of Maratha defeat in the battle of Panipat: The defeat of the Marathas was due to many causes. Ahmed Shah Abdali had a stronger military force than that of the Marathas. Sadasiva Bhao, the commander of the Maratha forces, was no match for Ahmed Shah Abdali who was admittedly the ablest Asiatic general of his time. The latter was a general par excellence. After the death of Vishwas Rao, he plunged into the battle-field like an ordinary soldier and lost his life. Sadasiva Bhao could not maintain his lines of communication with Delhi. The result was that for two months before the battle, the Maratha army was practically starving. The Marathas fought with hungry bellies in the battlefield. The Marathas had alienated the sympathies of the Rajputs and the Jats and consequently they could not rely upon anybody's support. No wonder, nobody raised his finger in defence of the Marathas. The troops of Ahmed Shah Abdali were better armed than those of the Peshwa. While the Marathas had lances and swords, the Afghans were armed with muskets. In the hand to hand fight, the Maratha

artillery could not play its part but the Afghan muskets helped the Afghans to win the battle. While the Afghans possessed discipline of a very high order, the Marathas lacked the same. They were individualists and refractory. They hated discipline with the hatred of 'lesser breeds without the law.' They extolled lawless caprice as liberty and howled against discipline, self-control and organised team-work of a true army or school as the mark of a 'slave mentality' and the destroyer of their clan." The ill-disciplined Marathas lost the day to the well-organised and well-disciplined Afghan troops.

Balaji Baji Rao died in June 1761. He was handsome and fond of arts, ease and a high standard of living. He was well-versed in diplomacy but he lacked the qualities of statesmanship and generalship which his father possessed in a large measure. It is true that the Marathas in his time reached the climax of their power and their horses "slaked their thirst in every stream that flowed between Cape Camorin and the Himalayas," but Balaji Baji Rao did not try to improve the administrative system. "He allowed Maratha rule to continue to be what it had been from the first, more an organisation of plunder than a system of administration." He allowed the village administration to go on as before. Bal Krishna Gadgil was appointed the Chief Justice and the Panchayats were placed on a sound footing. Many buildings and roads were built at Poona. He also built many temple and excavated a lake. However, he failed to keep his control over his lieutenants. Holkar and Sindhia were allowed to quarrel among themselves. Balaji also could not set Raghunath Rao right. He foolishly sought the British help in putting down one of his chiefs called Tulaji Angira. He himself did not keep an eye on the politics in Northern India and did nothing to check the alienation of the Rajputs and the Jats of Northern India by the Marathas.

Even after the death of Balaji Baji Rao in 1761, the rule of the Peshwas continued, although real power passed into the hands of the Maratha chiefs like Sindhia, Bhonsla, Holkar and Gaikwad. The Marathas had to fight against the English East India Company in the time of Warren Hastings, Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings. In 1819, the office of the Peshwa was abolished. However, Holkar, Scindhia, Bhonsla and Gaikwad continued to exist although with diminished power. It seems desirable to describe the system of administration under the Peshwas.

Maratha administration under Peshwas: The Maratha administrative system under the Peshwas was a compound of the prin-

ciples laid down in the books on Hindu polity, arrangements made by Shivaji and his successors and the modifications introduced by the Peshwas themselves.

The Peshwas rose to power as the powers and prestige of Rajah of Satara declined. From 1714 onwards, the office of the Peshwa became hereditary in the family of Balaji Vishwanath. To begin with, the Peshwa was one of the Astha Pradhan of Shivaji and that was not a hereditary appointment. Gradually, the position of the Peshwa became supreme to that of the other ministers and even the Pratinidhi who was appointed by Raja Ram as the Vice-gerent of Jinji. The genius of Balaji Vishwanath made the office of the Peshwa both supreme and hereditary.

Although the Peshwas showed to the Rajah of Satara on public occasion the attention due to a ruler, they virtually controlled the whole administration and even usurped the power of the Raja as the religious head of the state. However, these powers were not granted to him merely because he was a Brahmin. The high position of the Peshwa was recognised by the Maratha feudal nobility. He divided the revenues of each district among several Maratha chiefs. This system of sub-division of revenues gave rise to complications in accounts and the Peshwa and his Brahmin Secretariat took advantage of the same. Perpetual feuds and jealousies were also created among the Maratha chiefs.

Hazur Daphtar : The centre of the Maratha administration was the Peshwa Secretariat at Poona and it was known as the Hazur Daphtar. It was divided into many departments. It dealt with the revenues and expenditure of all the districts, the accounts submitted by the village and district officials, the pay and rights of all grades of public servants and the budgets of civil, military and religious servants. The daily register recorded all revenue income, all grants and payments and all payments received from foreign territory. These records became valueless in the time of Baji Rao II on account of the chaotic state of affairs.

Village : The foundation of Peshwa's administrative system was the self-contained and self-supporting village community. At the head of each village was a headman called the Patel. He was not paid by the Government. His post was hereditary and that was the subject of sale and purchase. The Patel was helped by Kulkarni or village clerk and record-keeper who was always a Brahmin. He was second in his importance to the Patel and was paid in the same way as the

Patel. The communal duties and wants of the village were performed and supplied by *Bara-Baluth* or 12 hereditary village servants who received a share of the crops and other requisites. They were also helped by other 12 village servants called *Bara Aluth*. The carpenters, blacksmiths and other village mechanics and artisans gave Begar or forced labour.

Mamlatdar was incharge of a division called Sarkar, Suba or Prant. He was helped by Kama-Vistar who was in charge of a similar area called Paragana. The Kama Vistar as subordinate to the Peshwa's Secretariat except in the case of Khandesh, Gujrat and Karnatak. Originally, Mamlatdar and Kama Vistar were appointed for short terms, but they got renewals. They were responsible for every branch of district administration including agriculture, industries, civil and criminal justice, control of police and investigation of social and religious questions. They received the state-revenues and fixed the revenues of each village after consultation with the Patel. They heard and decided the complaints of village officials. Under the existing system, there were many opportunities for bad administration. In theory, the accounts of the Mamlatdars were not passed by the Secretariat at Poona until they tallied with the accounts of the local officers. In all disputes regarding land, the Deshmukh was expected to produce ancient records with the history of all Inams and grants and the register of transfers of property which he maintained. The registers of the Deshmukh were irregularly maintained and were often incomplete. These registers were checked by the Mamlatdars. There were in all 9 officers in the District.

In order to prevent wholesale mis-appropriation of public money, the Maratha Government was accustomed to demand from the Mamlatdar and other officials the payment of a heavy sum (Rasad) on their first appointment to a district. The Hazur Daphtar prepared for them estimates of probable income and expenditure of the district. In the time of Baji Rao II, the posts of the Mamlatdars and others were auctioned. The clerks and menials were paid for 10 or 11 months in a year because it was thought that every servant got so much leave in a year.

Judicial system : The judicial system was very imperfect. There were no rules of procedure and no codified law. In several cases, the main object was to bring about an amicable settlement between the parties. Arbitration was considered to be the first step in the disposal of a suit. If arbitration failed, the case was transferred

for decision to a Panchayat appointed by the Patel in the village and by the leading merchants in urban areas. An appeal lay from the decision of the Panchayat to the Mamlatdar who usually upheld the verdict of the Panchayat. In spite of its primitive character, the Panchayat was a popular institution. If the Panchayat did not decide the case properly a re-trial took place. The peasant obtained fair justice from the village Panchayat. However, there was no justice if the big guns were involved in a case.

In criminal cases, the procedure of the other courts was repeated. However, the Panchayat was less frequently appointed. The Chief authorities were the Patel in the village, the Mamlatdar in the District, and Sarsubedar in the province and the Peshwa and the Nyayadhis at the headquarters. They administered justice according to the popular custom tempered by the notions of the presiding officers. No regular form of trial of the accused persons was prescribed. Flogging was frequently inflicted with the object of extorting confession. Torture was commonly employed. After 1761, capital punishment and mutilation of limbs were inflicted upon persons convicted of dacoity and theft, murder or treason. The usual methods of execution were hanging, cutting to pieces with a sword or crushing the skull. In the case of Brahmans, they were starved to death or poisoned. The ruler alone had the power of life and death. False evidence figured in criminal inquiries and the only notice taken of false evidence was a mild reproof from the Nyayadhis. The members of the family were taken away from the convict so that they might not be spoiled. Prisoners were kept in hill-forts and gold often unlocked their gates.

Police system: The method employed was one of setting a thief to catch a thief. Every village kept its own watchmen who belonged to the degraded Mahar tribe under the direct control of the Patel. Watchmen were helped by gangs of hereditary criminal tribesmen. Each group was under the control of its own Nayak or Headman who was answerable to the Patel for theft or robbery committed in the village. The system failed to prevent crimes. Umeji Nayak, the famous Ramosi outlaw, committed many crimes against persons and property when he was actually in receipt of a salary from the Bombay Government for performing police duties in the Poona District. His methods showed that there was nothing to prevent the village police from committing crimes and settling them upon the innocent. Even the petty chiefs and the estate holders plundered the villages of their rivals. Whenever the crime was on the increase,

the Government strengthened the village police with irregular infantry from the neighbouring hill-forts and levied a house-tax on the residents of the disturbed area. The duty of the irregular infantry was to support the village police under the Patel and to oppose violence by force of arms. It did not include the work of detection of crime.

In the time of Baji Rao II, the district police system was changed by the appointment of additional police officials whose duty was to discover and seize offenders. In the case of urban areas, magisterial and police powers were given to the Kotwal. The latter also regulated prices, took a census of the inhabitants, investigated and decided disputes regarding immovable property, supplied labour to Government, levied fees from the professional duties given to the Nagaraka or police superintendent.

Army: The Maratha army consisted of the mercenary forces of the feudal chiefs and regiments under the control of the Peshwa. In the time of Shivaji, they were national in character, but later on they assumed a professional character. The Marathas were sent to the cavalry and their knowledge of horse-breeding proved very useful. The infantry was mostly drawn from Northern India. The artillery was manned and commanded by the Portuguese and Indian Christians. The military services of the Marathas were secured by the grant of fiefs as the fiefs of the rival chiefs were in the same area. There was a lot of internal strife and dissensions and that stood in the way of the solidarity of the state.

The Maratha Government did practically nothing for the economic improvement and intellectual advancement of the people. A large proportion of the revenues of the Government came from robbing the territories of the neighbours. The Marathas did not construct works of public utility. The only thing they did in the field of education was to give money to the deserving Pandits. The Marathas maintained "Jasuds" (Spies) and "Harkaras" (messengers) for political and military performances and not for the convenience of the public.

Sources of revenue: The most important source of revenue was in the form of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. The Chauth was sub-divided into (1) 25 per cent for the ruler, (2) 66 per cent for Maratha Sardars and chiefs for the maintenance of troops, (3) 6 per cent to the Pant Sachiv, and (4) 3 per cent to other persons according to the pleasure of the ruler. Such a sub-division of Chauth continued under the Peshwas.

Another important source of revenue was agricultural income

from the villages belonging to original settlers who acquired the forests and who could not be deprived of their lands. The assessment was based on a careful survey. Land was divided into three classes viz., according to the character of the crop, facilities for irrigation and productivity of land. The Patel was the only official authority who could speak for the rights of the villagers against the higher authorities. The cultivator had practically no hearing.

Another source of revenue was the miscellaneous taxes such as a tax of one year's rent in 10 years on the lands held by the Deshmukh and Deshpande, a tax on land kept for the village Mahars, a tax on lands irrigated by wells, a house-tax levied from every-one except Brahmins and village officers, an annual fee for the testing of weights and measures, a tax on the re-marriage of widows, a tax on sheep and she-buffallows, a pasturage fee, a tax on melon cultivation in river beds, succession duty, a duty on the sale of houses etc. When the Maratha Government was in financial difficulty, it did not mind levying on all land-holders a *Kurja-Patti* or *Tasti-Patti* equal to one year's income of the tax-payer.

Customs duties also brought some revenue. These were in the form of taxes on trades and professions, taxes on projects and sale and octroi and ferry charges. Brahmins were exempted from duty on things imported for their own use. They were also exempted from house-tax and other small taxes.

Another source of income was from the forests. Permits were sold for cutting timber. Some money was also got from the sale of grass, bamboos, fuel, honey and pastures.

The Government also got some money by giving licences to approved goldsmiths for private mints. The goldsmiths undertook to maintain a certain standard. In spite of this, the goldsmiths turned out spurious and faulty coins. Such a thing happened in 1760 in a certain division. On such an occasion, all private mints were closed and a central mint was established which charged a fee of 7 coins for every licence.

The administration of justice also brought some money, although the income was not stable. A fee of 25% was charged on money bonds. Succession fee was charged and large sums of money were taken away from persons suspected or found guilty of adultery.

No definite estimate of the total revenues of the Maratha state can be given. The revenue depended upon the robbing expeditions

and could not be certain. On account of the unsettled condition of the country, the Maratha Government raised large sums of money on the security of its revenue. The people were impoverished on account of too much of looting. The constitution of the Maratha Government and army was more intended to destroy than to create an Empire.

CHAPTER X

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

Sources of Information : As regards the sources of the study of Mughal administration, those are scattered at many places. The *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl is a mine of information but it "does not give us much help in drawing a correct and detailed picture of the administrative machinery" (Sarkar). Some information is given by the *Dastur-ul-Amals* or official handbooks which were prepared in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The so-called "Manual of the Duties of Officers" found by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar from Patna also gives useful information. The *Iqbal-Namah Jahangiri* by Mutamad Khan, the *Padshah-Namah* of Abdul Hamid Lahori, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-Din and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badaoni also give useful information. The writings of foreigners like Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, Hawkins, Manucci, Terry, etc. also throw welcome light on certain aspects of Mughal administration. The contemporary factory records of the English Company are useful in many ways.

Nature of Mughal Government : The Mughal administrative system was in the nature of a military rule and was necessarily a centralised despotism. So far as the Muslims were concerned, the King was the head of the State and the Church. As regards the non-Muslims, he was only their temporal head. The government did not interfere very much with the life of the people. Much of it was left undisturbed by the government.

The Mughal administrative system took its colour from the ways and creed of its sovereigns. They were foreigners who came from outside. They were accustomed to a certain system of administration and when they came to India, they transplanted the same in this country. According to Sarkar, "The Mughal Administration presented a combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements ; or, more correctly, it was the Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting". The principle of their government, their church policy, their rules of taxation, their departmental arrangements, and the very titles of their officials were imported ready-made from outside India. However, the details of the imported system were modified to suit the local needs.

An effort was made to incorporate as much of the Indian customary law as possible.

The Mughal government was military in its origin and though in time it became rooted to the soil, it retained its military character to the last. All the civil servants were Mansabdars or members of the army. Their names were arranged in the gradation list of the army as they were paid by the Bakshi. Strictly speaking, there was no civil treasury at all. The land revenue system of the Mughals was based on the old Hindu system prevailing in the country. The old Hindu revenue officials were employed by the Mughal Government and ordinarily were not interfered with.

In the Mughal period, the state was the largest manufacturer or the only manufacturer on a large scale. The state had to manufacture to satisfy its own needs which were very great. The Emperor gave robes of honour or Khilats to his Mansabdars. Such a thing happened on many occasions. Many things were required for the use of the household of the Emperor. Thus, sheer necessity forced the Mughal Kings to manufacture on a large scale.

The Mughal Government was a highly centralized autocracy. The Crown was the pivot of the entire administrative machinery. As the government was absolute and highly centralized, the written records multiplied. No wonder, the Mughal Government was called a Kaghazi Raj or paper government. A large number of books had to be maintained, e.g., copies of correspondence, nominal rolls, descriptive rolls, history of the services of the officers, news letters and despatches etc.

The attitude of the Mughal Government towards law and justice was opposed to modern conceptions. It was the weakest in this matter. The Government did not perform its responsibility of maintaining peace and security in the rural areas. The villagers were made responsible not only for the safety of their own property but also of the travellers on the neighbouring roads. The existence of the office of the Faujdar is not denied, but the area within his jurisdiction was so large that it was out of the question for any individual to perform his duties satisfactorily.

Position of Mughal Emperor: The Mughal Emperor was the head of the administration. According to the Quranic theory, the Mughal Emperor was the ruler of the Muslims only (Amir-ul-Munnin, or Commander of the true believers). He was nominally responsible to the Muslim public or Jamait for his conduct as a King.

There was no check on his powers, but in actual practice, his autocracy was tempered by the fear of a rebellion. Customary law of the country also put a check. The Ulema had the power to depose a king, but their Fatwas were a mere scrap of paper so long as the Mughal Emperor had a strong army at his disposal.

Both Babar and Humayun acted upon the Islamic theory of Kingship, but Akbar rejected the same. Instead of being the Commander of the true believers only, he decided to become the King of all his subjects. His view was that inspite of thousand virtues, a king, "cannot be fit for this lofty office, if he does not inaugurate universal peace, and if he does not regard all classes of men and all sets of religions with a single eye for favour" (Akbarnama). Akbar also believed that the King was superior to all the human beings and was the shadow and vicar of God. According to Abul Fazl, "Royalty is a light emanating from God, a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, an argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues". Akbar also believed that there should be a union of religious and secular leadership and that is why he tried to combine the two in his own person. Jahangir followed to some extent the ideal of his father. However, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb again adopted the Islamic theory of sovereignty.

There was no accepted law of succession among the Mughals. After the death of a king, there was always some trouble. In the case of Shah Jahan, it led to a war of succession among his four sons. The contest was not confined to the sons of the last ruler. It is well known that when Akbar was lying ill, Prince Khusru, his grandson tried to oust his father, Jahangir. Even if a person was nominated as his successor by the dying king, it did not carry much weight. Although Akbar ultimately appointed Jahangir as his successor, Khusru revolted in the time of Jahangir to claim the throne. Although Jahangir nominated Shahriyar to succeed him, he was ousted by Shah Jahan. Even the eldest son did not always enjoy any special position. Aurangzeb was not the eldest son of Shah Jahan and even then he came to the throne.

It is to be noted that the Mughal Emperors in India did not recognise any Khalifa as a superior overlord. At the time of the succession to the throne, the Coronation ceremony was performed. It was not necessary that it must be performed at the capital of the empire. In the case of Akbar, it was performed in Gurdaspur District of the Punjab. Morad and Shahshuja proclaimed themselves

as kings while away from the capital. When the new king sat on the throne, he was saluted by cries of "Badshah Salamat". Very often, the new king took up a new title. Prince Saleem took up the title of Jahangir and Prince Khurram became Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb took up the title of Alamgir. The Khutba was read in the name of the king and coins were also struck in his name.

The Mughal Emperor enjoyed certain privileges. A body of soldiers under a high public servant guarded the king day and night. The king went to the mosque on Fridays for prayers in a Palki and all others followed him on foot. When the King went out on a journey or went out of the palace, kettle drums were beaten to announce that fact to the people. The King was the fountain-head of all honours and titles. He alone had the right to sit for Darshan in the morning. Taslim and Kurnish were due to the Emperor. In certain cases, the king alone was allowed to hunt and no other.

The Mughal kings worked very hard. They kept longer hours and enjoyed lesser holidays. The King transacted his business in four different ways. He transacted state business in public while sitting in the Diwan-i-Khas-o-Am. In the Ghul Khana, the King held confidential consultations with his ministers and other officials as he cared to summon. The Ghul Khana was a place of retirement for doing important work. Commanders of the expeditions were called to this place before they were sent to the front. Likewise, governors were summoned to this place before they were ordered to join their appointment. There was a superintendent of the Ghul Khana whose duty was to see that those who came to the Ghul Khana observed certain rules of etiquette. Persons guilty of an offence were fined and they were not allowed to leave till they paid the same. In the Ghul Khana, Akbar had his religious discussions also and Jahangir had his cups of wine. Sometimes, the King summoned a few of his highest officials inside his private apartments to discuss and dispose of important business with them. Once a week, the King held the court of justice. This he did on Wednesdays when the Diwan-i-Am-o-Khas was converted into a Court of Justice. The aggrieved persons were presented before the Emperor by the Superintendent of the Court and the King tried to give justice to the people.

According to Sarkar, "The Mughal Emperor had no regular council of Ministers. The Wazir and the Diwan were the highest persons below the Emperor, but the other officers were in no sense his colleagues. They were admittedly inferior to him and deserved

rather to be called secretaries than ministers. Nearly all their work was liable to revision by the Wazir and Royal orders were often transmitted to him through him." It was not necessary for the King to consult his ministers on all occasions. He could act even without them or against them. Neither the ministers nor the wazirs acted as a check on the authority of the King. The Mughal Government was a one-man rule and Aurangzeb was his own Prime Minister.

The Mughal Emperors had to play a double role. They had to govern all the people in their dominions as their king and also act as the missionary, defender and agent of the creed of a section of their subjects.

As was to be expected, there were many departments of the Government, but following were the most important:—

1. The Exchequer and Revenue under the High Diwan or Diwan-i-Ala.
2. The Imperial Household under the Khani-Saman or High Steward.
3. The Military Pay and Accounts Office under the Imperial Bakshi.
4. Canon Law, both Civil and Criminal, under the Chief Qazi.
5. Religious endowments and charity under the Chief Sadar.
6. Censorship of Public Morals under the Muhtasib.
7. The Artillery under the Mir Atish or Darogha-i-To-pkhanah.
8. Intelligence and Posts under the Darogha of Dak Chauki.
9. Mint under a Darogha.

The Wazir or Diwan: The wazir was the Prime Minister. He was always the head of the Revenue Department, but it was in his capacity of Diwan. However, all Diwans were not Wazirs. In the time of Akbar, the Prime Minister was called Wakil and the Finance Minister was called Wazir. Originally, the Wazir was the highest official of the Revenue Department, but in the course of time, he came to exercise control over other departments also. The Wazir controlled the army also when the king was either incompetent, or a minor or a pleasure-seeker. The post of Wazir was a civil one and it was only in abnormal time that he was expected to perform military duties.

The office of the Wazir got revenue papers and returns and des-

patches from the Provinces and the armies in the field. On many ceremonial occasions, he acted as the representative of the King. All orders of payments had to be signed by him and all payments were made through his department only. Under the directions of the Emperor, he himself passed orders. All questions concerning revenue affairs were settled by him and he consulted the Emperor only in important cases. He had two assistants known as the *Diwan-i-Am* or *Diwan of Salaries* and the *Diwan-i-Khalsa* or *Diwan of Crown Lands*. After the death of Aurangzeb, Wazir became virtually the ruler of the state.

Bakhshi: Bakhshi was the Pay Master. According to Ibn Hasan, Bakhshi's "influence extended to all departments of the Central Government." As all the officials, whether serving in the civil or military departments, were *Mansabdars* and "theoretically belonged to the military department", their pay bills were scrutinised and passed by the Paymaster. It was his duty to appoint persons who were to lead the vanguard, rearguard, centre and the wings. He also recruited the soldiers. It was his duty to keep an account of the number of horses which were to be maintained by the *Mansabdars*. He was called the *Postmaster General*.

Khan-i-Saman: He was the Lord High Steward and was thus incharge of the Emperor's department of manufactures, stores and supply required for military and household purposes. He accompanied the Emperor in his journeys and campaigns. He controlled the personal servants of the Emperor and was also incharge of the daily expenditure, food, stores, tents etc. of the Emperor. On account of the importance of the office, it was occupied by trustworthy and influential men. He exercised great influence. In certain cases, the *Khan-i-Saman* also became the *Wazir*.

Sadar-us-Sadur: He was the chief *Sadar* of the Empire. He was also called by the names of *Sadar-i-Kul* and *Sadari-Jahan*. This office was filled by persons who had a very lofty character. *Sadar-us-Sadur* was the connecting link between the King and the people. He was the guardian of the Islamic Law and the spokesman of the *Ulema*. According to Ibn Hasan, the function of the Chief *Sadar* seems "to have been limited to the use of his power for the award by the state of stipends and *Jagirs* to the *Ulema* and the needy." It was his duty to look into and decide cases relating to grants. He was the *Almoner* of the Emperor. He distributed the money for charitable purposes. There was a *Sadar* in every province. While

sending the Provincial Sadars to their charges, the Chief Sadar acquainted them with the names of those who held rent-free lands. Each Sadar was to obey the Chief Sadar and carry out his orders.

Muhtasib: He was the censor of public morals. It was his duty to enforce the commands of the Prophet and suppress all those practices which were un-Islamic. The punishment of heretical opinions, blasphemy against the Prophet and neglect of the five daily prayers and the observance of Ramzan by Mohammedans also lay within the province of censor. In the time of Aurangzeb, they were given the duty of demolishing newly-constructed temples. Sometimes, they were asked to fix the prices of the goods and enforce the use of correct weights and measures. The Muhtasib was required to go through streets with soldiers and demolish and plunder liquor-shops, distilleries and gambling dens.

Qazi-ul-Quzat, or Chief Qazi: The Chief Qazi was the highest judicial officer and was responsible for proper and efficient administration of justice. As the Khalifa of the age it was the duty of the Emperor to give justice to the people, but as he had no time, the work was given to the Chief Qazi. He was "the judge in religious suits only and tried them according to Muslim Law." The Qazis of the Cities, Districts and the Provinces were appointed by him. These Qazis were helped by the Muftis. Most of the Qazis were corrupt. According to Sarkar, "All the Qazis of the Mughal period, with a few honourable exceptions, were notorious for taking bribes."

Superintendent of Artillery: To begin with, he was a subordinate of Mir Bakhshi or Paymaster. As artillery became an important branch of the army, the Superintendent of artillery gained in importance. The Mir Atish was required to make arrangements for the defence of the imperial Palace Fort. He came into personal contact of the Emperor and thus commanded great influence. He was incharge of all kinds of Artillery.

Darogha-i-Dak Chaoki: He was the Superintendent of Intelligence and Posts. He was incharge of the Imperial posts. He had his agents everywhere. Horses were stationed at various stages for the use of the messengers. The latter brought news from every part of the country. The Superintendent was incharge of news-writers, Spies and news-carriers. He had to send weekly abstracts of the news to the Capital.

Other important officials were the Mir Bahri (Revenue Secretary), Mir Barr (Superintendent of Forests), Qur Begi (Lord Standard Bearer), Akht Begi (Superintendent of the Royal Stud), Mushrif (Chief Admiral and officer of harbours), Nazir-i-Buyutad (Superintendent of Imperial Workshops), Mustaufi (Auditor-General), Awarjah Nawis (Superintendent of daily expenditure at courts), Khwan-Salar (Superintendent of Royal Kitchen), and Mir Arz (Officer who presented petitions to the Emperor).

Provincial Administration: According to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, "The Administrative agency in the Provinces of the Mughal Empire was an exact miniature of that of the Central Government". The number of provinces varied from time to time. In the time of Akbar, their number was 15. In the time of Jahangir, there were 17 provinces. The number increased to 22 provinces in the time of Shahjahan. In the time of Aurangzeb, the number was 21 only.

The head of the province was known as the Sahib-i-Subah, Subahdar or Nazim. He was assisted by the Diwan, Bakhshi, Faujdar, Kotwal, Qazi, Sadar, Amil, Bitikchi, Potdar or Khizandar, Waqa-i-Navis, Qanungo and Patwari. Provinces were divided into Sarkars and Parganas. All the administration of the province was centralised at the capital town. The Mughals were essentially an urban people and no wonder they neglected the villagers. Village life was dreaded by them as a punishment. Villages were left free and were not interfered with so long as there was no violent crime or defiance of royal authority. The Subedar possessed both Civil and Military authority. He was the representative of the King in the Province. He held his court but could not sit in the Jharoka. He could not declare war or make peace without the premission of the Emperor. He heard appeals from the decisions of the Qazis and Mir Adls, but he could not inflict capital punishment without the approval of the Emperor. He was incharge of the provincial forces. It was his duty to maintain order, to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue and to execute the royal decrees and regulations sent to him. He was to punish rebellious zamindars and lawless men. He was to send reports regarding the state of affairs in his Province. He was to encourage the peasants to improve agriculture. He was to help the Shaikhs and Qazis.

The Subedars were transferred after intervals of two or three years. It was feared that if they continued to work at one place for

a long time, they might abuse their powers or become independent. In spite of this, the governors were cruel and rapacious. In some cases, they were punished by the emperor for their mistakes of omission and commission. The long distances from the capital of the Empire and the medieval means of transport and communication, enabled the governors to do whatever they pleased in their provinces.

Diwan: The Provincial Diwan was the second officer in the province. He was also the rival of the Subahdar. Both the Subahdar and Diwan were to act as a check on each other. The Provincial Diwan was selected by the Imperial Diwan or Diwan-i-Ashraf. It was his duty to carry out the orders of the Imperial Diwan and also to keep himself in touch with him. His duty was to collect revenue, try revenue cases and improve cultivation. He had control over the purse of the province and no payment could be made without his sanction. He was required to co-operate with the Subahdar in the administration of the province. If there was a difference of opinion between the Subahdar and the Diwan, the matter was referred to the Emperor.

The letter of appointment of the Diwan charged him with the following duties: "Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation in the villages. Watch over the imperial treasury that nobody may draw any money without due warrant. When due money is paid into the treasury from the chests of the fotehdars and other sources, give receipts (Qabz-ul-Wasul) to their agents. See that no official (Amil) exacts any forbidden cess (Abwab).

"At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original rough papers (*i.e.*, first notes) the extortions and peculations of the amils, and recover for the imperial treasury whatever may be due from them on this account. Report bad or dishonest amils to Government (*i.e.*, to the High Diwan) so that better men may be appointed to replace them.

"If any amil has let arrears (of revenue) accumulate for many years, you should collect the due amount from the villages in question by easy instalments at the rate of 5 per cent every season.

"The taqavi loan given last year by Government should be realized in the first season of the present year. If they fail to pay, or delay payment, Government will compel the diwan and the amin to make the amount good.

"Send the papers of your department to the imperial record office according to the regulations."

Faujdar : Faujdars were appointed to help the Subahdars. They were put in charge of important sub-divisions of the province. Their appointment and dismissal was in the hands of the Subahdars. They were commanders of the provincial troops. They helped the Subahdar to maintain law and order in the country and punish the rebellious zamindars. They were also to help the Amils in their work of revenue collection. According to Sarkar, the Faujdar "was only the commander of a military force stationed in the country to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber-gangs, take cognizance of all violent crimes, and make demonstrations of force to over-awe opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge or the censor."

Sadar : He was appointed by the Central Government and his main duty was to supervise the Sayurghals or land-free lands granted for religious and charitable purposes. He had separate office of his own. He was more independent than the Diwan. He was a man of piety and learning. He could grant lands and allowances on his own initiative. He was respected by the people on account of his qualities of head and heart. Qazis and Miradls worked under him.

Amil : Amil was a revenue collector and had many duties to perform. He was required to deal very effectively with the rebellious Zamindars even if that led to the land remaining uncultivated. It was his duty to see that the quality of land improved and waste land was brought under cultivation. He was to see that the work of measurement or Paimaish of the land was done rightly. He was to supervise the work of revenue collection. He was to examine the registers of the Karkuns, Muqaddams and Patwaris. He was required to submit monthly reports concerning the condition of the people. He was required to tour the country with a view to acquaint himself with the condition of the people.

Bakshi : He was the pay-master of the provincial forces. He worked under Mir Bakshi.

Bitikchi : He acted as a check on the Amil and enjoyed the same status as that of the Amil. He prepared abstracts of revenue every season and was required to send an annual report to the Central Government. He had to supervise the work of the Quanungos. He was required to be a good writer and a skilful accountant. He was also required to be a master of the customs and regulations of his district.

Pottdar or Khizandar: His duty was to receive money from the cultivators and keep the same in the treasury. Whenever a payment was made to him, he issued receipts and kept their account. He was not to make any payment without a voucher signed by the Diwan. There were other officers as the Karkoons, Qanungos and Patwaris. Patwari was in charge of the revenue accounts. The duty of Maqaddam was to keep order in the village and help the officials of the Government in the collection of state dues.

Kotwal: The duties of the Kotwal are given in detail in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Essentially, he was a police officer of the town, but he enjoyed magisterial powers in certain cases. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the city. He kept watch at night and patrolled the city. He kept a register of houses and frequented buildings. He examined weights and measures and discovered thieves. He made a list of property of those who had no heir and also of the dead and missing persons. He was to see that no woman was burnt against her will. He was to employ a spy from among the obscure residents and observe the income and expenditure of the various classes.

According to Sarkar, the Kotwal "should check the number of persons in the prison and ascertain answers of the charges against them. Then he should report to his official superior the cases of those prisoners whom he considers innocent and secure their liberation. In the case of the guilty persons who could pay, he could take orders for exacting suitable fines from them and then release them. In the case of penniless prisoners, the Kotwal should report and take action as commanded. A statement of all the cases of those deserving to be kept in prison should be sent to the officers of Canon Law, and the orders passed by the latter over their signatures should be carried out by the Kotwal. In the case of those deserving death, the Kotwal should, through proper officers, freely state their cases to the judge on the day of trial, receive the Qazi's signed sentence of death and execute the sentence."

Waqai Nawis: He was the recorder of occurrences in the province. It was with the help of this person that the Central Government was kept in touch with the affairs of the provinces. The following passage which is in the form of an advice to a Waqai Nawis, gives some idea of his duties: "Report the truth lest the Emperor should learn facts from another source and punish you. Your work is delicate; both sides have to be served. Deep sagacity

and consideration should be employed so that both the Shaikh and the Book may remain in their proper places. In the words of most of the high officers, forbidden things are done. If you report them truly, the officers will be disgraced. If you do not, you yourself will be undone. Therefore, you should tell the Lord of the Ward. In your ward forbidden things are taking place, stop them. If he gives a rude reply, you should threaten the Kotwal of the ward by pointing out the mis-deeds. The Lord of the Ward will then know of it. Although the evil has not yet been removed from the Ward, yet, if anyone reports the matter to the Emperor, you can easily defend yourself by saying that you have informed the master of the ward and instructed the Kotwal. In every matter, write the truth, but avoid offending the nobles. Write after carefully verifying your statement."

Sarkars or Districts : Every province was divided into many Sarkars or districts. The Faujdar was in charge of the Sarkar. He was to carry out the orders of the Governor and also keep himself constantly in touch with them.

Parganas or Mahals : Every Sarkar was divided into many Parganas or Mahals. In every Pargana, there was a Shiqadar, an Amil, a Potdar and a few Bitikchis. Shiqdar was in charge of the administration of the Pargana. His duty was to maintain law and order within his jurisdiction.

The Kotwal was the chief administrator of a town and his duties have already been explained above. Every city was divided into many wards or Mohallas. It has already been pointed out that neither the Provincial Government nor the Central Government interfered with the people living in villages. Every village was considered to be an autonomous commonwealth.

Administration of justice : The Mughal Emperor was the Khalifa of the age. As such, he was the fountain of all justice. According to Sarkar, he was "the highest court of appeal and sometimes acted as the first instance too." The Mir Arz presented the applications of the people before the Emperor. We are told that there were seven Mir Arzs in the time of Akbar. That was due to the pressure of work.

Mughal Emperors were lovers of justice. Akbar is stated to have declared that "If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgement against myself." According to Peruschi, Akbar was most zealous and watchful in the matter of administering justice.

"In inflicting punishments, he is deliberate, and after he has made over the guilty person to the hands of the judge and court to suffer the extreme penalty or the mutilation of some limb, he requires that he should be three times reminded by messages before the sentence is carried out." It is true that access to the Mughal Emperor was not easy. However, efforts were made to provide some sort of link between the Emperor and the aggrieved parties. Reference may be made in this connection to the golden chain of Jahangir which was hung for the benefit of the people. Other Emperors were also anxious to give justice to the people.

The Qazi-ul-Quzat was the highest judicial officer of the country. He was responsible for the proper and efficient administration of justice. However, according to Sarkar, there was "no system, no organization of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest, nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them." Cases were tried and disposed of by the Qazis, the Muftis and the Miradls.

The Qazis tried both civil and criminal cases of the Hindus and Muslims. While trying the cases of the Hindus, they were required to take into consideration their customs and usages. The Qazis were expected to be "just, honest, impartial, to hold trials in the presence of the parties and at the court house and the seat of Government, not to accept presents from the people where they served nor to attend entertainments given by anybody and everybody and they were asked to know poverty to be their glory." In spite of this ideal, the Qazis generally abused their powers and "The Qazis department became a byword of reproach in Mughal times."

According to Sarkar, "As the provincial Qazi's jurisdiction was very vast and he had no assistant or deputy locally appointed to share his burden, only a small part of the disputes in the province could be tried by him." No wonder most of the cases in the rural areas and even in the urban areas were decided by the Panchayats.

Foreign writers like Sir Thomas Roe point out that in the Mughal period there was no codified law as such. Likewise, there was no highest court of justice which could finally lay down the law for the country. The Mughals had three separate judicial agencies, all working at the same time and independent of each other. Those were the courts of religious law, court of secular law, and political courts. As regards the courts of religious law, those were presided over by the Qazis who decided cases according to Islamic law.

However, the Qazi was never, "considered authoritative enough to lay down a legal principle, elucidate an obscurity in the Quran or supplement the Quaranic law by following the line of its obvious intention in respect of cases not explicitly provided by it." The Qazis were helped by the Mufties who expounded the law. The Mufti was "urged to spend his days and nights in reading books on jurisprudence and the reports of cases from which one can learn precedents." The Miradls drew up and pronounced the judgement.

Muslim law in India did not grow and change according to the circumstances and needs of the country. It merely reflected the changes of juristic thought in Arabia or Egypt. Even Akbar did not interfere with the administration of criminal justice which was based on Islamic law.

As regards the courts of secular law, they were presided over by Governors, Faujdars and Kotwals. In the time of Akbar, Brahmans were appointed to decide the cases of Hindus. The Panchayats also fell under this category. The courts of secular law were not under the thumb of the Qazi. Political courts tried political cases like rebellion, rioting, theft, robbery, murders, etc. They were presided over by Subahdars, Faujdars, Kotwals, etc.

There were three groups of crimes, *viz.*, offences against God, offences against the State, and offences against private individuals. The four kinds of punishments were Hadd, Tazir, Qisas and Tashir. Hadd was a punishment for crimes against God. Tazir was punishable by public reprimand, dragging of the offender and exposing him to public scorn, boxing of his ears, scourging, etc. Qisas was in the nature of retaliation. The relative of the victim was allowed to demand retaliation or compensation. Tashir involved public degradation. It was in the form of shaving the head of the offender, putting him on an ass "with his face towards its tail, covered with dust, sometimes with a garland of shoes, placed round his neck," etc.

CHAPTER XI

ART AND LITERATURE IN MUGHAL INDIA

Buildings : It goes without saying that the Mughals were great builders. Many of the Mughal buildings have come down to us. Fergusson was of the opinion that Mughal architecture was of foreign origin. Havell criticised this view and contended that the inspiration of the Indian master-builders was not foreign. The Mughal Emperors were more Indian than foreign and consequently there was a fusion of cultures. There were no special features of Mughal architecture. According to Sir John Marshall, the architecture of India could not conform to any one standard. There were bound to be variations on account of the vast size of the country. Moreover, a lot depended upon the personal tastes of the Mughal emperors. Persian influence predominated up to the end of the reign of Akbar but after that the Indian architecture became essentially Indian and there was nothing in it which could be specifically pointed out as Persian. The pre-Mughal architecture was known for its massiveness and simplicity and the Mughal architecture was known for its decoration and delicacy.

Babar : Babar held a very poor opinion of Indian architecture. He had a mind to invite from Constantinople a pupil of Sinan, the famous Albanian architect, to assist him in his building projects. However, it appears that he gave up that idea. In spite of this, Babar built many buildings. To quote him, "In Agra alone, and of the stone-cutters belonging to that place only, I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons ; and in Agra, Sikri, Biyana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Koil there were every day employed on my works 1491 stone-cutters." Out of the many buildings built by Babar, only two have survived and those are the mosques in the Kabul Bagh at Panipat and the Jami Masjid at Sambhal.

Humayun : Although Humayun led a very stormy life, he found some time to construct certain buildings. There is a mosque at Fatehabad in the Hissar District of the Punjab. It is decorated with enamelled tiles in the Persian style. Humayun's palace at Delhi called Din Panah was built in a hurry and it appears that considerations of quality and durability were completely ignored by its builders.

Sher Shah: Sher Shah built a Mausoleum at Sahasram. There is a harmonious combination of Hindu and Muslim architectural ideas that gives the impression of a Buddhist Stupa, a Hindu temple and a Muslim tomb. According to the critics, the Mausoleum is intermediate between "the austerity of the Tughlak buildings and the feminine grace of Sher Shah's master-piece." The Mausoleum is situated on a terrace which is 30 feet high. It is about 3,000 feet square in the middle of a tank. It is "one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India unequalled among the earlier buildings in the Northern Provinces for grandeur and dignity..." Sher Shah Suri also built the Purana Qila at Delhi. The mosque inside the Purana Qila called the Qila-i-Kunhna Masjid is "a structure of such admirable architectural qualities as to entitle it to a high place among the buildings of Northern India."

Akbar: Akbar took great interest in the field of architecture. His spirit of tolerance is to be found in the style of architecture of his reign. The Hindu style was favoured in his palaces at the Agra fort and at Fatehpur Sikri. The Humayun's tomb was completed in 1565. It has four towers at the four angles of the main building. It has no coloured tiles and marble has been used in its construction.

The palaces of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri deserve special mention. Akbar laid the foundation of the new city in the honour of Salim Chisti in 1569 and many buildings were constructed during the next 12 years. The Jama Masjid and the Buland Darwaza are very famous. The Buland Darwaza is the highest gateway in India and it is one of the biggest in the world. It was constructed in 1602 to commemorate the conquests of Akbar in the Deccan. The Jama Masjid has been described as "the glory of Fatehpur." It was built in 1571. Other important buildings of Fatehpur are the House of Birbal, the Sonhala Makan or the House of the Princess of Amber, the palace of Turkish Sultana and the Diwani-i-Khas. According to Smith, Fatehpur is a romance in stone, inconceivable and impossible at any other time or in any other circumstances.

Reference may be made to the Humayun's tomb at Delhi. This was constructed under the supervision of Akbar's step-mother Haji Begum. This building is Persian in style. It is the earliest example in India of "a double-dome with slightly swelling, outlines standing on a high neck—a form of construction resembling the Mausoleum of Taimur and Bibi Khanam at Samarqand."

The forts of Agra and Lahore were planned and constructed under the personal supervision of Akbar. The walls of the Agra fort are 75 feet high and possess a circumference of a mile and a half. There are two gateways called Delhi Gate or Elephant Gate and Amar Singh Gate. Within this enclosure, Akbar constructed more than 5,000 buildings of red sandstone. Many of them were destroyed by Shahjahan. The principle of the construction of the forts of Agra and Lahore is the "beam and bracket." Every effort is made to avoid the use of arches. Jahangiri Mahal has fine ornate handi-work and carved stone brackets to support the beams. The Agra fort resembles the fort of Gwalior. "The Elephant Gateway, the Copulas of Amar Singh Gateway, the palaces arising out of the fort-walls, the planning of these palaces, and also some of the carved details all indicate that the Rajput citadel which had moved Babar to admiration some forty years before, was used freely as a model by his more fortunately placed grand-sons."

The Lahore fort was built at the same time as the Agra Fort, but it is more vigorous and less restrained than the Agra fort. "Elephants and lions's figure in the brackets and peacock at the friezes from which it may be inferred that Hindu craftsmanship predominated and the supervision of the Mughal overseers was of a very tolerant order."

The Allahabad fort was built a little later.

Akbar also built such buildings as the fort of Attock, mosques at Merta and other places. Akbar also designed his own tomb at Sikandara. It was begun in 1605 but was completed by Jahangir. According to Abul Fazl, "His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garments of stone and clay." According to Fergusson, Fatehpur Sikri was a reflex of the mind of a great man.

Jahangir: Jahangir did not take so much interest in architecture as his father did. As a matter of fact, he was more interested in painting than in constructing buildings. Nur Jahan erected the famous Itmad-ud-Dowlah tomb in the memory of her father. It is made of marble and possesses rare beauty. It is unique. It is one of the earliest buildings in which pietra dura was used. Precious stones of various colours were placed in a very delicate manner. Pietra dura work followed the Rajput pattern. It appears the old Indian architectural decoration style is the same as the many Sila Karma or precious stone in lay work.

As regards the tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore, it was built by Nur Jahan. It is to be noted that the tombs of Jahangir, Asaf Khan and Nur Jahan were very badly injured by the Sikhs.

Shah Jahan: Shah Jahan was one of the greatest of the builders among the Mughals. In his time, the arts of the jeweller and the painter were blended into one. The important buildings of Shah Jahan were the Diwan-i-Am and Diwan-i-Khas in the fort of Delhi, the Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid and the Taj. It is pointed out that the palace of Delhi is the most magnificent in the East. The Diwan-i-Khas is more highly ornamented than any other building of Shah Jahan. It was described by Shah Jahan as a "paradise on earth."

The mosques of Shah Jahan are of two kinds. The beauty of the Moti Masjid lies in its purity and simplicity. The perfection of proportions and harmony of constructive designs make it one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere. The Jama Masjid is more impressive than Moti Masjid. The interior of the Jama Masjid at Delhi is simple "lest the fineness of art should disturb the people assembled to pray."

The Taj was built by Shah Jahan in the memory of his beloved queen, Arjumand Banu, who died in 1630. We are told that prominent artisans were invited from various countries to help in designing and constructing the Taj. The final plan of the Taj was prepared after a lot of discussion and many variations. To begin with, a model of the Taj was prepared in wood and this was followed by the artisans. The Taj was constructed under the guidance of Ustad Isa and he was paid a salary of Rs. 1,000/- per month.

On the authority of Father Manrique of Spain, it is contended that the Taj was designed by Geronimo Veroneo, a Venetian. There is nothing impossible or surprising in Shah Jahan taking the advice from a Venetian architect. However, it is strange to maintain that the Taj was designed by a foreigner. Father Manrique did not get his information directly from the Venetian. No other European writer of the Mughal period mentions the fact that the Taj was designed by a foreigner. Even Peter Mundy does not make a mention of this. The same is the case with Tavernier and Bernier. None of them maintain that the designer of the Taj was a Venetian. Thevenot, a French traveller, who visited the Taj in 1660 wrote thus: "This superb monument is sufficient to show that the Indians are not ignorant of architecture, and though the style may appear

curious to Europeans, it is good taste and one could only say that it is very fine." Likewise, no contemporary Indian writer says that the Taj was designed by a foreigner. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, "It may be observed that bands of sculptors, lapidaries, inlayers and fresco-makers came from the different parts of His Majesty's dominions. The experts of each art together with their assistants busied themselves in the task." It is pointed out that even a critical examination of the building itself shows that it is in Asiatic style. As a matter of fact, there is more of Persian influence than of the European influence. Havell was of the opinion that there was nothing to support the view that the Taj was designed by a Venetian.

It took 22 years to complete the work of construction of the Taj. There are writers who give a different duration. It was estimated to have cost about Rs. 3 crores. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, "The cost of building several edifices which are detailed above, and which were completed in nearly 12 years under the supervision of Makramat Khan and Mir Abdul Karim, amounted to 50 lacs of rupees." It may be pointed out that the inscription at the entrance of the Taj is dated 1647 A.D. This also comes to about 17 years. The period of 22 years is given by Tavernier.

We are told that Shahjahan assigned to the Taj landed property which was expected to give an annual income of Rs. one lac. An equal amount was to be got from the rents of the shops, inns and bazars.

According to Percy Brown, "It may be noted that while the structural portions seemed to have been principally in the hands of Muhammadans, the decoration was mainly the work of Hindu craftsmen, the difficult task of preparing the pietra-Dura especially being entrusted to a group of the latter from Kanauj." (Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 564). Again, "The main dome by its shape is plainly of Timurid extraction, its remote ancestor being the dome of the rock at Jerusalem; on the other hand, the copulas with their wide caves are of indigenous origin being derived from the overlapping rings of masonry which formed the vaulted ceiling of the Hindu temple." According to Smith, the Taj is "the product of a combination of European and Asiatic genius," but this view is not accepted.

The Taj is the "finest monument of conjugal love and fidelity in the world." It is flawless in design and execution. It has been

described as a lyric in stone. Sir Edwin Arnold wrote the following regarding the Taj:

“Not architecture ; as all others are,
But the proud passion of an Emperor’s love.
Wrought into living stone, which gleams and soars
With body of beauty shrining soul and thought.”
Emperor Shahjahan himself described the Taj in these words:—
“Should guilty seek asylum here,
Like one pardoned, he becomes free from sin.
Should a sinner make his way to this mansion,
All his past sins are to be washed away.
The sight of this mansion creates sorrowing sighs
And makes sun and moon shed tears from their eyes.
In this world this edifice has been made
To display thereby the Creator’s glory.”

After the death of Shah Jahan, Mughal architecture began to decline. Aurangzeb was not interested in architecture. He built a small marble mosque in the fort of Delhi for his own use. A mosque was also built at Banaras on the ruins of the temple of Vishwanath in 1669. The Badshahi Mosque was built at Lahore in 1674. However, it is a poor imitation of the Jama Masjid at Delhi. After the death of Aurangzeb, Mughal architecture completely deteriorated. The buildings that were constructed in the 18th century show the bankruptcy of taste and poverty of design, finish and decoration.

Paintings in Mughal period : The origin, nature and development of Mughal painting is similar to Mughal architecture. It is a combination of many elements. The Chinese art which was influenced by the Buddhist Indian art, Iranian and Hellenic art, and Mangolian art, was introduced into Iran in the 13th century and it continued to flourish up to the 16th century in Iran. This art was carried by the Mughals into India from Persia. In the time of Akbar, it was completely absorbed by the Indian art. It is to be noted that the Indian painters differed in certain respects from the Western or Persian painters. The Hindu painters took their subjects and inspiration from the Indian classics, Vaishnava literature and the life of the people. The Persian or Western painters took their subjects and inspiration from the materialistic life of the court.

The Afghan rulers of India did not give any encouragement to painting. As a matter of fact, Firoz Tuglak prohibited the painting

of portraits and wall decorations in his own palace. However, painting received great encouragement in the time of the Mughals. Even the ancestors of the Mughals in India were great lovers of painting and no wonder Babar inherited an artistic taste. Babar was a great lover of beauty and art. He found great pleasure in flowers, springs and streams. He employed court painters and the paintings in the Alwar manuscript of the Persian version of Babar's Memoirs may represent the kind of work they produced.

Humayun developed a taste for painting when he was in exile in Persia. When he went back to Kabul, he invited in 1550 Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abdus Samad. These two painters gave lessons to Humayun and Akbar and were asked to illustrate the Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah. The early death of Humayun did not allow great works of painting to be completed.

Akbar: In the time of Akbar, painting made very great progress. The Emperor created a separate department of painting and placed the same under the control of Khwaja Abdus Samad. He took personal interest in the department and gave every kind of encouragement. This led to the growth of his school of painting which may be called the National Indian School of Painting. The painters were called from every part of India and even from outside. Although they belonged to different religions and castes, they had the common ideal of producing works of great calling. We are told that Akbar had an album of portraits. It is possible that Umar Shaikh's portrait of Babar was in this album.

It is stated that Abdus Samad was a native of Shiraz in Persia. He was given the title of Shirin-Kalam or "Sweet-pen." Akbar appointed Abdus Samad as the Master of the Mint at the capital. Later on, he was sent to Multan as Diwan or Revenue Commissioner. Although he was officially a Mansabdar of 400, he enjoyed considerable influence at the court. He was so skilful that he is stated to have written on a poppy-seed Chapter 112 of the Koran. It runs thus:—

"In the name of the most merciful God. Say, God is our God; the eternal God: he begotteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not any one like unto him."

Regarding the interest of Akbar in painting, Abul Fazl remarks thus in the *Ain-i-Akbari*: "He gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as means both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes and many painters have obtained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the

Daroghas and the clerks; he often confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship or increases the monthly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has specially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish. Most excellent painters are now to be found, and the master-pieces worthy of a Bihzad may be placed at the side of the wonder-works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc. now observed in pictures are incomparable, even inanimate objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, while the number of those who approached perfection, or those who are middling is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them."

Abul Fazl tells us that Akbar himself attached great importance to painting and gives the following reasons for the same: "It appears to me (Akbar), as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God, for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising the limbs one after another, must come to feel that he cannot bestow personality on his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life and thus increase knowledge."

The number of foreign painters at the court of Akbar was not very large and the majority of them were Hindus. The leading Muslim painters were Abdus Samad, Mir Saiyyad Ali and Farukh Beg. Among the Hindu painters were Daswant, Basawan, Sanwal Das, Tara Chand, Jagannath and others. As regards Basawan, he was an expert in painting of backgrounds drawing of features and distribution of colours. As regards Daswant, he belonged to a low caste but gave signs of greatness as a painter from his very childhood. He attracted the attention of Akbar who put him under the care of Abdus Samad. Unfortunately, when he was at the height of his glory, he became insane and committed suicide.

In the time of Akbar, the Chingiznamah, the Ramayana, Kalyadaman, Ayardanish, Zafarnamah, Naldaman and Razmnamah were illustrated.

Jahangir: Like his father Jahangir gave an impetus to the art of painting. He himself was a rich collector, a connoisseur and an art critic. Jahangir boasts of his own knowledge of painting in

these words: "As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought to me, either of the deceased artists' or those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye-brow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is and who has painted the eyes and eye-brows."

Sir Thomas Roe who visited the Mughal 'court in the time of Jahangir testifies to the fact that Jahangir was a great lover of painting. The great painters of Jahangir's time were Farruk Beg, Mohammad Nadir and Mohammad Murad. Aqa Riza was given the title of Nadir-uz-Zaman by Jahangir. Ustad Mansur had the title of Nadir-ul-Asar. It is true that the Hindu painters were not favoured by Jahangir, but Bishan Das, the Keshava brothers, Manohar, Madhav and Tulsi flourished at this time. It is stated that Bishan Das was "unequalled in his age for taking likeness." The favourite subjects of painting were buildings, flowers, animals, birds and natural objects. The art of painting became essentially Indian in the time of Jahangir. The Mughal School of Miniature Painting reached its climax in the time of Jahangir. "Akbar laid the foundation of the Mughal miniature painting, but it was his son Jahangir born of a Rajput princesses who by his knowledge and artistic intuition guided the new School of Indian Art to maturity and taught it by the influence of his own rare judgement to achieve success." According to Percy Brown, "With his (Jahangir) passing the soul of Mughal painting also departed: its outward form remained for a time, in gold and lavish vestments, it lived on under other kings but its real spirit died with Jahangir." (Mughal Painting, p. 86).

As regards Shah Jahan, he took more interest in architecture and consequently painting did not get any encouragement. The result was that not much progress was made in the field of painting in his reign. A few nobles patronised the painters and Asaf Khan was one of them. His house at Lahore was one of the finest mansions in the country and it was decorated by the painters. Dara Shikoh was a lover of painting and tried to patronise the same but his abrupt end gave a setback to painting. An album of Dara is to be found

in the library of the India office. The famous painters of the time of Shah Jahan were Mir Hasan, Anup Chitra and Chitramani.

In the time of Aurangzeb also, the painters did not get any encouragement. However, this does not mean that the art of painting disappeared altogether. The painters continued their work either under the patronage of the nobles or of their own account. Aurangzeb himself is said to have defaced the paintings in Sar Mahal at Bijapur. He is also stated to have white-washed the paintings in Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikandara. Many pictures have come down to us which show Aurangzeb taking part in certain battles. After the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire, the Mughal painters migrated to Lucknow, Patna, Murshidabad, Mysore and Hyderabad. However, their works were not of a very high order.

Music: The Mughals were great patrons of music. According to Lane Poole, the art of improving quatrains on the spot, quoting Persian classics, writing a good hand and singing a good song were appreciated in the time of Babar who himself was fond of music. He not only liked music but himself wrote poetry. Humayun was also fond of musicians and singers and had fixed Mondays and Wednesdays for that purpose. It is stated that when Humayun captured Mandu in 1535 and ordered a wholesale massacre of all the prisoners, he came to know that Bachchu, a musician, was among the captives. Not only his life was saved, he was also made a musician of the court. As regards the members of the Sur dynasty, Badaoni says that they "were enticed from the path of fortitude and self-restraint by all sorts of sense-ravishing allurements." Adil Shah was so great a patron of music that he gave Bhagat, a musician boy, Mansab of 10,000.

Akbar was also a great lover of music. According to Abul Fazl, "His Majesty pays much attention to music and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at the court, Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day of the week." Abul Fazl gives us a list of 36 singers and performers on various instruments. The name of Baz Bahadur, the ex-king of Malwa is one of them. It is stated that he was appointed a Mansabdar of 1,000 and he is described as a singer without rival.

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar was the master of "such knowledge of the science of music as trained musicians do not possess ;

and he had likewise an excellent hand at performing especially on the Nakarah (cattle-drum)." Akbar made a special study of Hindi vocalization under Lal Kalawant or Miyan Lal who taught him "every breathing and sign that appertains to the Hindi language." The Aina-i-Akbari contains details of the daily routine of performances by the palace band.

Mian Tansen was the best singer of Akbar's time. According to Abul Fazl, "A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years." Tansen was an intimate friend of Surdas. He got his musical education at Gwalior where Raja Man Singh had founded a school of music. Tansen became a Mohammadan and was buried at Gwalior. Unfortunately, he took to too much of drinking. He died at the age of 34 in 1589. Tansen is stated to have invented some new Ragas. It is maintained by some critics that Tansen "falsified the Ragas of which two, Hindol and Megh, have disappeared completely since his day." The other famous musicians were Baba Ram Das, Bauja Bawla and Sur Das. Baba Ram Das was second only to Tansen. A reward of one lakh of Tankas was given to him by Bairam Khan. In the time of Akbar, the different systems of music were fused together and a new Indian music came into being.

Like his father, Jahangir had an ear for music. He kept in his court a large number of musicians. According to William Finch, "Many hundred of musicians and dancing girls attend there day and night, yet as their several turns—every seventh day, that they may be ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his Mahal, he giving to every one of them stipend according to their worth." Jahangir was himself the author of many Hindi songs which were very interesting. Mohammad Salih and his brothers were great singers of Hindi songs. Jagan Nath and Janardhan Bhatt of Bikaner were great musicians.

Shah Jahan was also a lover of music. In the evenings, he used to hear the best of the songs of the musicians. Vocal and instrumental music was given every day in the Diwan-i-Khas. On occasions, Shah Jahan himself took part in music. According to J.N. Sarkar, the voice of Shah Jahan was so attractive that "many pure-souled Sufis and holy-men with hearts withdrawn from the world who attended these evening assemblies lost their senses in the ecstasy produced by his singing." Shah Jahan patronised musicians. Ram Das and Maha Patra were chief vocalists at the court of Shah

Jahan. On one occasion, Shah Jahan was so much pleased with the music of Jagannath "that he had him weighed against gold and gave him the amount as his fee."

It is pointed out that during the first 10 years of his reign, Aurangzeb was fond of music. He maintained a large number of singers at his court. According to Saqi Mustad Khan, "Sweet voiced singers and charming players on musical instruments were gathered in numbers around his throne, and in the first few years of his reign, he occasionally listened to their music." However, as Aurangzeb began to grow, he became an opponent of music and no wonder turned out the court musicians. Of course, the people were allowed to sing privately. As the court musicians were hit by the orders of the Emperor, they organised a funeral procession on a Friday when Aurangzeb was to go to the mosque for prayers. When Aurangzeb heard of their weeping, he enquired of the reason. He was informed that as the orders of the Emperor had killed music, they were taking her to the grave. The reply of Aurangzeb was that "they should pray for the soul of music and see that she was thoroughly buried." However, inspite of the orders of the Emperor, music continued to flourish as the members of the royal family, the nobility and the courtiers were not prepared to do without music.

Growth of literature under the Mughals: The Mughal period was productive of great literature. That literature was in Persian and Hindi. As regards *Persian literature*, Babar himself was a great scholar and knew thoroughly Arabic, Persian and Turki. He not only liked the writings of others, but himself contributed to the same. He wrote his Memoirs in the Turkish language. There is no hypocrisy in his writings. He took delight in the company of learned man and held discussions with them.

Humayun collected a large number of poets, philosophers and divines and took delight in their company. He was so much fond of books that wherever he went, he took a library of books with him. Jauhar, the author of *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, was a servant of Humayun.

Persian literature made great headway in the time of Akbar. Some of the writings of this period have historical importance and the others literary importance. The important historical works of this period were *Tarikh-i-Alfi* of Mulla Daud, the *Aini-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl, the *Masiri Rihimi* of Abdul Baqi,

the Tabqati Akbari of Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed, the Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Badaoni and Akbarnamah of Faizi.

Abul-Fazl was undoubtedly the ablest writer in Persian. Whatever the criticism of his literary style, he was absolutely free from impurity. Smith's view was that Abul Fazl's style was intolerable to him. "Simple facts are wrapped in a cloud of almost meaningless rhetoric, and an indelible impression is produced on the mind of the reader that the author lacked sincerity.. Nevertheless Blochmann entrusted the judgement of the author of Maasirul Umara that 'as a writer Abul Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and free from the technicalities and flimsy prettinesses of other Munshis (Secretaries), and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the stableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods are such that it would be difficult for any one to imitate them.' Few Europeans can hardly agree with that criticism."

The prose of Abul Fazl was vigorous and elegant. His prose seems to be inflated in verbose to western writers. He uses rare similes and metaphors with great ease and skill. The use of rhetoric sometimes creates confusion. It is stated that Abdullah Uzbek used to say that "I am not so afraid of the sword of Akbar as I am of the pen of Abul Fazl." The Akbarnamah and the Ain-i-Akbari are the two monuments of Abul Fazl's fame as a writer and a historian.

A large number of books were translated into Persian in the time of Akbar. Badauni translated the Ramayana of Balmiki into Persian. A portion of the Mahabharata was also translated. Ibrahim Sarhandi translated the Athrava Veda. Faizi translated into Persian Lilavati, a work of Arithematic.

Ghizali was a great prose writer. He left his native land in Persia on account of his persecution and went to the Deccan. From the Deccan, he went to Jaunpur and ultimately joined the Mughal service. He created such an impression that he was made a Poet-Laureate and he continued to be so till 1572. He was a Sufi by conviction. He was liberal in his ideas. He wrote the Israr-i-Maktub, Mirati-ul-Kainat and Naqshi Badid.

Faizi, the son of Mubarak and brother of Abul Fazl, was also appointed poet Laureate. His important books were Markazi Adwar, Sawati-ul-Ilham, Masnavi Nalao Daman and Mawarid-ul-Kala and Akbarnamah. Faizi was both a poet and a prose-writer. His style was chaste and pure. He expressed in noblest sentences the best language.

In the time of Akbar, Mohammad Husain Nazari wrote Ghazals. Saiyyid Jamal-ud-Din Urfi of Shiraz wrote Qasidas. His Qasidas were the best.

Jahangir himself was a great scholar and writer. His own book called Tuzki Jahangiri, is a work of great literary merit and historical importance. There is freshness, frankness and sincerity in this autobiography. The great writers of Jahangir's reign were Mirza Ghyas Beg, Naqib Khan, Mutmad Khan, Niamat Ullah and Abdul Haq Dehlvi. The important writings of his period were Masiri Jahangiri, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri and the Zubd-ut-Tawarikh.

As regards Shah Jahan, he patronised writers like Abul Hamid Lahori, Amin Qazwini, Inayat Khan and Mohammad Salih. Abul Hamid wrote the famous Padshahnamah. Amin Kazwini wrote a book with a similar title. Mohammad Salih wrote Amal Saligh. Shahjahannamah was written by Anayat Khan. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was a great scholar. It was under his patronage that books like the Upnishdas, the Gita and the Yoga Vashist were translated into Persian.

The Fatwa-i-Alamgiri was compiled under the patronage of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb did not like the writing of the history of his reign and no wonder Khafi Khan or Mohammad Hashim wrote Muntakhan-ul-Lubab in secret. The other important writings of this period were Alamgirnarah, Masiri-Alamgiri, Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri and Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh.

It is to be noted that Gulbadan Begum, daughter of Babar, wrote the Humayun Namah and Zebunnissa, daughter of Aurangzeb, wrote the Diwani-i-Makhfi.

Hindi literature: In the Mughal period, many writers contributed towards the growth of Hindi literature. Reference may be made to the works of Kabir in this connection. He wrote Dohas and Sakhis which are popular even today. They contain in a short space all the wisdom of the world.

Malik Mohammad Jayasi was the author of Padmavat. This book relates the story of Padmani, the queen of Mewar.

The policy of toleration of Akbar helped the growth of Hindi literature in his time. Important personalities like Mirza Abdur Rahim, Khani Khanan, Bhagwan Das and Man Singh wrote poetry in Hindi. Bir Bal got the title of Kavi Raya from Akbar. Abdur Rahim was not only a poet himself but he patronised other poets as well. His famous book is Rahim Satsai which is a collection of

Dohas. Karan and Narhari Sahai were the court poets of Akbar. Narhari Sahai was given the title of Maha Patra. Tulsi Das (1532-1623) was a contemporary of Akbar. He was the son of ordinary Brahmin parents. As he was born in an unlucky hour, he was not cared for. The child was picked up by a wandering mendicant who gave him sustenance and instruction in the life of Rama. The young child wandered from place to place with his adoptive parent. Most of the latter part of his life was spent at Banaras. His literary career after the age of 40 continued for another 40 years. The principle composition of Tulsi Das on which his fame depends is called *Ramcharitmanas* or "Lake of the deeds of Rama." It is a very large work. Its subject is the story of Rama who is regarded as a God manifested in the flesh and entitled to great reverence. The theology is so much similar to that of Christianity that many passages may be applied to Christianity by merely substituting the name of Jesus for Rama. According to Dr. Smith, "the morality of the poem is as lofty as the theology and there is not an impure word or idea in it from beginning to end. Rama's wife Sita is depicted as the ideal of womanhood. The poem is, to the Hindus of Northern India even more than the Bible to ordinary British Christian. 'In its own country it is supreme above all other literature and exercises an influence which it would be difficult to exaggerate.' That influence is all for good. The religion taught is that of the love of God—a personal God who loves and cares for his children and makes himself understood through his incarnation, Rama the saviour.

"The poem is written in archaic Hindi, the vernacular of Ajodhya and surrounding districts in the 16th century, recorded phonetically. It is consequently difficult for European students, and very few people of European birth are able to read it in the original with ease. Sir George Grierson, one of the few, is firmly convinced that the poem is "the work of a great genius." He admits that 'as a work of art it has to European readers its prolixities and episodes which grate against occidental tastes;' but, notwithstanding, he holds to the opinion that the poem is a masterpiece. He points out that the style varies with the subject, some passages being filled with 'infinite pathos', while others are expressed in the form of sententious aphorisms, so much favoured by Hindu authors. The characters, each of which has a well-defined personality, 'live and move with all the dignity of a heroic age.' The opinion of

other competent experts coincides with that of Grierson, and although my acquaintance with the original is extremely slight, I may say that I concur cordially."

Sir George Grierson pays the following tribute to Tulsi Das: "One of the greatest reformers and one of the greatest poets that India has produced—to the present writer, he is, in both characters, the greatest—he disdained to found a church, and contented himself with telling his fellow countrymen how to work out each his own salvation amongst his own kith and kin." Again, "Pandits may talk of Vedas and Upanishadas, and a few may even study them: others may say they find their faith in the Puranas, but to the vast majority of the opeople of Hindustan, learned and un-learned alike, their sole norm of conduct is the so-called Tulsikrita Ramayana."

Another important writer in Hindi was Sur Das, the blind bard of Agra. The name of Sur Das is included in Abul Fazl's list of 36 singers and musicians employed at the court of Akbar. Sur Das excelled in all styles. His famous book is known as "Sur Sagar." Sur has given a description of the sports of Lord Krishna in his childhood and also the beauty of Lord Krishna and his beloved Radha. He wrote in Brij Bhasa and employed imagery. The following couplet points out the greatness of Surdas:

"Sur is the Sun, Tulsi the moon,
Keshva is a cluster of stars,
But the poets of modern age are like roaming glowworms
giving light here and there."

During this period, Nand Das wrote the Raspanchadhyayi, Vitthal Nath the Charausi Vaishnava Ki Varta. Khumbhan Das was another great writer. He was a man of great renunciation. Once he was invited to Fatehpur Sikri by Akbar but he replied the same in these words:

"What have the saints got to do in Sikri? In going and returning shoes were torn out and the name of Hari was forgotten. Greetings had to be offered to those the slight of whose faces causes pain. Khumbhan Das says without Girdhar all else is useless."

Another famous Hindi writer was Ras Khan, a Muslim disciple of Lord Krishna. He wrote his famous book called 'Prem Vatika' about 1614. He wrote his Savayias and Kabittas in a very attractive style. Nabhaji wrote the famous book called Bhaktmal. This book refers to the important devotees and saints who were the followers of Lord Krishna and Rama. Keshva Das wrote Kavi

Priya, Ram Chandrika, Rasik Priya and Alankrit Manjari. It is to be noted that the poetry of Keshava was not easy to understand. He died about 1617 A.D.

Sunder, a Brahmin of Gwalior, wrote in 1631 the "Sundra Shringar." He also wrote the Simhansan Battisi in Braja language. He was given the title of Kaviraya and Mahakaviraya by Shah Jahan. Senapati was also a follower of Lord Krishna and he wrote the Kabitta Ratnakar. Another famous writer was Bhushan who was patronised by Shivaji and Chahatrasal Bundela. Bhushan was essentially a Hindu poet and his main purpose was to glorify Hinduism and create among the Hindus a spirit of bravery and fearlessness. He wrote the Shivaraja Bhusana, Chhatrasaldashaka and Shivavali. Matiram Tripathi's writings are famous for their similes. Bihari Lal Chaube wrote the famous "Bihari Satsai." He was patronised by Raja Jai Singh who gave him one gold Ashrafi for one Doha. The Dohas and Sorthas of Behari are the "daintiest pieces of art in any Indian language."

It is to be noted that Hindi literature began to decline from the time of Aurangzeb. The era of great poets ended. The other writings were not of very high merit. The urdu literature made some progress in the states of Golconda and Bijapur. Wali was a great poet and he wrote Ghazals, Rubaiyats and Masnavis in a very simple and natural style. When he visited Delhi, he attracted great attention. The other important Urdu writers were Hatim, Abru, Mazhar and Khan Arzu.

CHAPTER XII

LATER MUGHALS

Aurangzeb died in 1707 and before his death, he left a will by which he partitioned his Empire among his three sons. In spite of this, a bitter fratricidal war took place among the three sons of Aurangzeb. Nobody cared for the will of their father. Muazzam was the eldest son of Aurangzeb and he was the ruler of Kabul and the Punjab. Mohammad Azim was the second son and he was the ruler of Malwa and Gujrat. Kam Bakhsh was the third son and he was the ruler of the Deccan.

Prince Muazzam heard the news of the death of his father while he was at Jamrud in Afghanistan and he rushed to Delhi to contest for the throne. He was assisted by Munim Khan. His second son, Azim-ush-Shan, also hurried to Agra and occupied the same. Muazzam himself reached Agra in June, 1707 and occupied the Fort and took into possession about Rs. 24 crores.

Prince Mohammad Azam also declared himself Emperor and got coins struck in his own name. He also proceeded towards Agra to make a bid for the throne. However, he was defeated and killed along with his two sons. Prince Muazzam declared himself Emperor and took up the title of Bahadur Shah I. Kam Bakhsh also tried his luck. He too was defeated in a battle near Hyderabad and died in 1708.

Bahadur Shah (1707-1712): At the time of his succession to the throne, Bahadur Shah was over 63, and as such had passed the age when he could be expected to show initiative in any work. According to Irvine, Bahadur Shah was "man of mild and equitable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault". He was so generous that he got the nickname of Shah-i-Bekhabar or "the heedless King". He could not say anything to any one as he did not want to displease anyone. He was prepared to compromise even in most important political and administrative matters. He had promised Munim Khan the Prime Ministership, but the same was claimed by Asad Khan, his father's Prime Minister. The result was that Bahadur Shah tried to please both. Accordingly, he appointed Munim Khan as Revenue Minister and allowed Asad

Khan to continue as Prime Minister. This arrangement did not please either of the two parties and also led to administrative complications.

It was during his reign that intrigues began to increase in the court and he felt that he was too weak to suppress them. Three parties came into existence *viz.*, the Turanian, the Persian and the Hindustani parties. These parties were responsible for a lot of trouble in the time of the successors of Bahadur Shah.

Bahadur Shah had to deal with many problems which faced him at the time of the succession to the throne. As regards the Marathas, he released Sahu, the son of Sambhaji, and the grandson of Shivaji. Sahu had been imprisoned in the time of Aurangzeb and he had spent all his childhood in Mughal custody. He was released on the suggestion of Zulfikar Khan. He was also given the right to Chouth and Sardesh-mukhi of six provinces of the Deccan. The money was to be collected by the Mughal Officers and then handed over to Sahu. The release of Sahu was a great diplomatic move. This started rivalry amongst the Marathas. Tara Bai, the widow of Raja Ram, contested the claims of Sahu. There was a Civil War among the Marathas and that kept them busy throughout the reign of Bahadur Shah.

As regards the Rajputs, Bahadur Shah followed the policy of conciliation towards them. He withdrew the Jizya and acknowledged the independence of Mewar and Marwar. Friendly relations were established with the Raja of Amber. It is possible that Bahadur Shah would not have granted these terms to the Rajputs if the Sikhs had not revolted in the Punjab and given the Mughals a lot of trouble.

The Sikhs also created trouble at this time. After the death of Guru Govind Singh, Banda Bahadur became the leader of the Sikhs. He collected thousands of Sikhs from all over the province to fight the Muslims. Taking advantage of the absence of the Mughal Emperor in the Deccan, Banda was able to strengthen his position. He attacked the town of Sirhind. Wazir Khan, the Governor, put up a stiff resistance, but was killed. Sirhind was captured and plundered. The Sikhs carried out a wholesale massacre of the Muslim population of Sirhind and even children and women were put to the sword. The whole of the province of Sirhind from the Sutlej to the Jumna passed into the hands of the Sikhs. Saharanpur was also captured. Karnal also met a similar fate. The Sikhs reached the neighbourhood of Delhi and the report of their plunder

reached the Mughal Emperor. The Emperor proceeded against the Sikhs in person. The Fort of Lohgarh was besieged by the Mughal army and captured in November 1710. However, Banda escaped from the fort and retired to the hills. The Emperor retired to Lahore and died in February 1712. The Sikhs continued to give trouble during all this period.

Jahandar Shah (1712-13): After the death of Bahadur Shah I, there was a war of succession among his four sons and ultimately Jahandar Shah came out victorious with the help of Zulfikar Khan. According to Owen, Jahandar Shah "was an utterly degenerate representative of the house of Timur, Babar and Akbar, Frivolous, profligate, cruel and cowardly, servilely devoted to a favourite lady Lal Kanwar whose relatives he promoted wholesale to high honours, to the disgust of the old nobles and the able and experienced servants of the state, he soon became generally odious and despicable." (The Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 133). It is true that in his youth he was an active soldier, but later on, he sank himself into sloth and debauchery. He behaved like an upstart and left the affairs of the state into the hands of those who had practically no ability or experience whatsoever. After a reign of 11 months, he was strangled in the fort of Delhi by the order of Farrukhsiyar in 1713.

Farrukhsiyar (1713-19): At the time of his accession to the throne, Farrukhsiyar was a young man of 30. Although he was extremely handsome, he was utterly weak, thoughtless and devoid of physical and moral courage. "Like all weak men, he was swayed by the latest adviser and having resolved to do a thing could never hold to it long but soon sank into despair and went back into his own undertakings. Constitutionally incapable of governing by his own will and controlling others, he would not trust any able agent, but was easily inspired by a childish suspicion of his ministers and induced to enter into plots in their favour." All his life, Farrukhsiyar was conspiring to dispose of the Sayyid Brothers who were rightly known as "king-makers." However, no plot was ever executed, but the imperial bickerings had a very evil effect on the administration of the country.

Taking advantage of the trouble that followed the death of Bahadur Shah, the Sikhs under Banda had strengthened their position. In 1714, Abdul Samad was sent to Lahore as Governor and he was instructed to undertake the work of the suppression of the Sikhs. Unfortunately for Banda, there arose dissensions among the Sikhs.

Some of the Sikhs did not approve of the religious practices of Banda and consequently withdrew from his camp. The result was that the position of Banda became weak and he was hunted down from place to place. He surrendered in December 1715 and was taken a prisoner along with 740 followers. They were all brought to Delhi and put to death after savage tortures in 1716. "The Sikhs showed wonderful patience and strength of mind, and welcomed death as deliverance; not one of them accepted the offer of Islam to save his life. Banda himself and his little son of three years were brutally hacked to death on 19th June, 1716."

The Sayyid Brothers were sick of the constant plotting of Farrukhsiyar. No wonder, he was removed from the throne, blinded and imprisoned. He was strangled to death in April 1719.

The question has been raised as to how far the treatment meted out to Farrukhsiyar was justified. The contention of the Sayyid Brothers was that they did everything in self-defence and Farrukhsiyar deserved a worse fate. Others have denounced the Sayyid brothers for their ghastly act of blinding and strangling their master. However, according to Irvine, "The way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly harsh, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage; for that the Sayyids are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled for."

Rafi-ud-Darajat (1719): The Sayyid brothers put Rafi-ud-darajat on the throne on 28th February 1719. Although he was a youngman of 20 at the time of his accession to the throne, he was suffering from consumption. No wonder, he became a puppet in the hands of the Sayyid Brothers who carried on the administration in his name. In spite of this, he was deposed on 4th June 1719, and he died a few days after.

Rafi-ud-Daula alias Shah Jahan II (1719): The new king Rafi-ud-Daula was the elder brother of Rafi-ud-darajat. He was also suffering from consumption. He also was a puppet in the hands of the Sayyid Brothers. He ruled from June to September 1719 and died on 17th September 1719.

Mohammad Shah (1719-48): After the death of Rafi-ud-Daula in September 1719, Muhammad Shah was put on the throne by the Sayyid Brothers who wanted to rule through the medium of

an imperial puppet. Although he himself was put on the throne by the Sayyid Brothers, Muhammad Shah tried to dispose them of and he succeeded in doing so in 1722.

Sayyid Brothers: It is desirable to make a special reference to the rise and fall of the power of the Sayyid Brothers. They were two brothers, Hussain Ali and Abdulla. Hussain Ali was the Governor of Bihar and Abdulla was the Governor of Allahabad. Both of them were born in India and were known for their bravery. They came to power in the time of Farrukhsiyar and were responsible for his deposition. They were Shias and consequently were hated by the Sunnis. Farrukhsiyar tried to dispose them of but failed. On the other hand, they tried and disposed him of. It is the Sayyid Brothers who put Muhammad Shah on the throne.

It is remarkable to note that the Sayyid Brothers not only believed but also acted upon the policy of religious toleration. They were responsible for the abolition of Jizya and a conciliatory policy towards the Rajputs. They were responsible for the appointment of Raja Ratan Chand as Diwan. They were responsible for formation of a Hindustani party which included both Hindus and Muslims. The Rajputs were the strongest supporters of the Sayyid Brothers on account of their policy of reconciliation.

However, the Sayyid Brothers fell. The Mughal nobels were jealous of the positions occupied by the two brothers. The strangling of Farrukhsiyar shocked the people. Their Shia faith alienated the Sunni Muslims. Muhammad Shah, although their own nominee on the throne, was determined to finish their power. No wonder, a plot was formed against them under the leadership of Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sadat Khan. The conspirators were joined by many groups. There was a revolt. Hussain Ali was killed. Abdulla was defeated near Agra and made a prisoner. In 1722, he was poisoned.

It might have been expected that the disposal of the Sayyid Brothers would have strengthened the hands of Muhammad Shah. Unfortunately, that was not so. "Young and handsome, and fond of all kinds of pleasures, he addicted himself to an inactive life which entirely enervated the energy of the Empire." Muhammad Shah's reign was long and there were some redeeming traits in his private character. Unluckily, he did not take interest in the affairs of the state and the consequences were most fatal. Province after province became independent. Alivardi Khan set himself up as an independent

ruler in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Nizam-ul-Mulk made himself independent in the Deccan. Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk made himself independent in Oudh. Nadir Shah also invaded India in 1739.

Nadir Shah's invasion (1739): Nadir Shah was born in a humble family. He was brought up in the hard school of privations. He came to the forefront when he freed his country in 1732 from Shah Tahmasp. He himself usurped power in 1736 and became the ruler of Persia. He attacked India in 1739. The invasion was due to many causes. Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, had given a promise to Nadir Shah that he will not give refuge to fugitives from Persia. In spite of this promise, shelter was given to the Persians. When Nadir Shah complained of it, his envoy was detained. The wealth of India and the weakness of the Mughal Government were also partly responsible for Nadir's invasion.

Nadir Shah captured Peshawar and defeated Zakariya Khan, Governor of Lahore, at Wazirabad. His armies marched towards Delhi. To begin with, the Mughal Emperor ridiculed at the idea of Nadir's invasion. However, when it became a reality, the Mughal forces were moved to oppose the invader. The two armies met in February 1739 at Karnal. The Mughal forces were defeated and Nadir Shah was the victor.

Burhan-ul-Mulk cleverly managed to enter into a treaty with Nadir Shah. By that treaty, Nadir Shah was to accept an indemnity of Rs. 2 crores and retire to Persia. Unfortunately, certain differences arose between Burhan-ul-Mulk and Nizam-ul-Mulk and the result was that Nadir Shah raised his demands and marched to Delhi to realise the war-indemnity himself. The Khutba was read in the name of Nadir Shah in the mosques of Delhi. Unfortunately, a rumour was spread that Nadir Shah was dead and the inhabitants of Delhi attacked and murdered a few Persian soldiers. The result was that Nadir Shah ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi. The massacre continued for about 8 hours and about 30,000 persons were killed. Nadir Shah left Delhi after getting a lot of spoils. He carried with him the Kohinoor and the Peacock Throne. He also took Rs. 30 crores in cash. He left the Mughal Empire "bleeding and prostrate."

As regards the results of Nadir Shah's invasion, it cannot be denied that it gave a death-blow to the Mughal Empire and hastened its fall. Nadir Shah's invasion exposed the weakness and rottenness

of the Mughal Empire. No wonder, the Afghans from the North-West were encouraged to invade India in large numbers. This explains the large number of invasions of India after 1739. The prestige of the Mughal Empire was gone. Hopeless confusion prevailed everywhere. Kabul, Sind and Western Punjab were lost completely to the Mughal Empire. Muhammad Shah had to marry his daughter to Nadir Shah's youngest son. Nadir Shah was killed in 1747.

Ahmed Shah Abdali's invasion: (1748). Ahmed Shah Abdali or Durrani was an important general of Nadir Shah who is said to have paid him a tribute in these words: "I have not found in Iran, Turan or Hind any man equal to Ahmed Shah in capacity and character." After the murder of Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abdali declared himself king at Kandhar. He also captured Kabul. Ahmed Shah was invited to India in 1748 by Shah Nawaz Khan who had become the Governor of the Punjab. After sacking Lahore, Ahmed Shah proceeded towards Delhi. He was defeated and forced to retire to Kabul.

Ahmed Shah (1748-54): After the death of Muhammad Shah in April 1748, Ahmed Shah was placed on the throne. At the time of his accession to the throne, he was a youngman of 21 and had practically no experience in the field of administration. He lacked qualities of leadership. He was "vicious, dissipated, perfidious, pusillanimous and utterly worthless." He favoured Javid Khan, his chief eunuch who was allowed to become a leader of the court party which was "a cabal of women and eunuchs." Javid Khan came to be known as Nawab Bahadur and he dominated the whole of administration. Javid Khan plotted against Safdarjung, the wazir. No wonder, utter confusion prevailed in the administration.

In 1749, Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab but retired on getting a heavy indemnity. In 1752, he invaded the Punjab again. The Governor of the Punjab was defeated and Ahmed Shah marched towards Delhi. With a view to avoid the destruction at Delhi, the Mughal Emperor made peace by ceding the Punjab and Multan to Ahmed Shah.

In June 1754, Ahmed Shah was deposed and later on blinded.

Alamgir II (1754-9): After the deposition of Ahmed Shah, Aziz-ud-Din, the second son of Jahandar Shah, was put on the throne. He took up the title of Alamgir II. At the time of his accession to the throne, he was 55. As he spent almost all his life in prison, he had

practically no experience of administration and fighting. He loved books of history, said his prayers regularly and disliked pleasures. However, he was a very weak person and lacked the qualities which were necessary at that time. He was a puppet in the hands of his Wazir, Imad-ul-Mulk. The wazir was a man of no principle. He was extremely selfish. He put all the royal revenues into his own pocket and starved the royal family. He persecuted Ali Gauhar, the eldest son of the Mughal Emperor. Imad-ul-Mulk tried to form an anti-Maratha coalition with a view to drive out the Marathas from Northern India. However, he failed in his enterprise and the Marathas became stronger than before and Imad-ul-Mulk had to depend upon them.

In 1756, Ahmed Shah Abdali attacked India for the fourth time. Mughlani Begum was the Governor of the Punjab on behalf of Ahmed Shah Abdali. Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk had sent his troops to Lahore and brought Mughlani Begum as a prisoner to Delhi. Adina Beg Khan was appointed the Governor of the Punjab. Such an act on the part of Imad-ul-Mulk was an insult to Ahmed Shah and no wonder he thought of invading India to teach the wazir a lesson. As Ahmed Shah marched towards Lahore, Adina Beg Khan ran away. Ahmed Shah reached Delhi, occupied it and sacked it. There was a terrible massacre and the story of Nadir Shah was repeated. People committed suicide to save their honour. Ahmed Shah's army remained in Delhi for a month. He married his son Timur with the daughter of Alamgir II. Mathura was also sacked and plundered and a large number of innocent pilgrims were murdered there. Ahmed Shah himself married a virgin daughter of Mohammad Shah, and took along with him not only the two widows of Mohammad Shah but also other women of the royal family. He carried a booty of many crores.

The relations between Alamgir II and his wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, were far from satisfactory. Imad-ul-Mulk got him assassinated in November 1750. Muhi-ul-Millat, grandson of Kam Baksh, was made the Emperor with the title of Shah Jahana III. At the same time, Ali Gauhar, the son of Alamgir II, declared himself Emperor and took up the title of Shah Alam II.

In 1758, a large number of Sikhs assembled under Jassa Singh Kalal and succeeded in capturing Lahore. New coins were struck bearing the inscription "coined by the grace of Khalsa in the country of Ahmed, conquered by Jassa, the Kalal." However, the Sikhs

vacated Lahore in 1759 when Ahmed Shah Abdali came. In spite of this, the Sikh leaders remained in possession of large districts in the Punjab. The Sikhs again besieged Lahore and compelled Kabuli Mal, Governor of Ahmed Shah, to hand over to them the town and the fortress.

Shah Alam II (1759-1806) : Ali Gaur was in Bihar at the time of his father's death. Taking into consideration the state of affairs at Delhi, Ali Gaur who had become Shah Alam, did not venture to proceed to Delhi for 12 years. He reached Delhi in January 1772 and that also with the help of the Marathas. From 1760 to 1771, Shah Alam was under the control of the English. During this period, he tried to conquer Bihar and Bengal, but failed. In 1764, he was defeated in the battle of Buxar and taken prisoner. In 1765, he gave the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English Company and the latter promised to pay him an annual tribute of Rs. 26 lacs. The English Company recognised Shah Alam as the Mughal Emperor. In spite of the fact Shah Alam had a lot of money, he was not satisfied with his position because he was frequently insulted by the English. No wonder, he was anxious to go to Delhi. He also got messages from Delhi that he must come at once to save the honour of the royal family. This happened in January 1772.

In 1761 was fought the famous battle of Panipat between the Marathas and Ahmed Shah Abdali. The Marathas were defeated and their confederacy was broken to pieces. "The Peshawa's authority was broken and cohesion was lost." The Marathas got such a set-back that they were not able to recover for 10 years. Ahmed Shah Abdali did not follow up his victory and he returned to Kabul after nominating Shah Alam as Emperor and Imad-ul-Mulk as wazir.

In 1767, Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab and ordered Najab-ud-Daula to wait on him. On account of rising of the Sikhs, Ahmed Shah was forced to retire.

Throughout his long reign, Shah Alam remained a puppet in the hands of his ministers and the Marathas. He was blinded in 1788 and died in 1806. He had to go through many ups and downs of life. Delhi was captured in 1803 by Lake and Shah Alam became a pensioner of the British.

Akbar II (1806-37) : After the death of Shah Alam II, his son succeeded him as Mughal Emperor. Like his father, he was also a pensioner of the British. He was the head of the royal establishment

in the Red Fort of Delhi and enjoyed the imperial title only by courtesy. He died in 1837.

Bahadur Shah II (1837-57): After the death of Akbar II, Bahadur Shah II was allowed to retain the imperial title. However, he took part in the mutiny of 1857. He was tried by the British and deported to Rangoon where he died in 1862. Thus ended the Mughal dynasty.

Causes of the downfall of the Mughals.

(1) It is desirable to refer to some of the important causes of the downfall of the Mughal Empire. The most important cause was the religious policy of Aurangzeb. He alienated the sympathy and support of Hindus by committing all kinds of atrocities on them. He imposed Jizya on all the Hindus in the country. Even the Rajputs and Brahmins were not spared. He dismissed the Hindu officials from the state service and allowed only those to continue who were prepared to accept Islam. He carried out a systematic demolition of the temples of the Hindus. Thousands of artisans and labourers were employed to pull down all the Hindu temples and with their material, mosques were built. This must have been a little too much for the Hindus to put up with. No wonder, the revolt of the Satnamis took place. After the death of Raja Jaswant Singh, Aurangzeb tried to bring up his sons as Muslims. The brave Rajputs could not tolerate such an insult. Durga Dass managed to remove the sons and their mothers to Rajputana in spite of all the precautions taken by the Mughal Government. That led to the Rajput War which continued from 1679 to 1681. Although peace was made, Aurangzeb could not depend upon them. It proved to be a great handicap for him when he was busy in his Deccan Wars. Instead of depending upon the support of the Rajputs, he had to set apart Mughal forces to meet any possible trouble from their side. The execution of Guru Teg Bahadur was also a blunder. This led to the alienation of the Sikhs who became a strong military power under Guru Gobind Singh. Later on, these very Sikhs gave trouble to the Mughal Emperors. Although Banda was captured and put to death after a long resistance, the Sikh power was not crushed. It kept on growing day by day and ultimately the Sikhs were able to oust the Mughals from the Punjab. The same policy of religious persecution led to the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji. The persecution of Hindus hardened their character and they became the bitter enemies of the Mughals. According to Lane Poole, "His mistaken policy towards

Shivaji provided the foundation of a power that was to prove a successful rival to his own empire."

(2) The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was also partly responsible for the downfall of the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb was bent upon crushing the power of the Marathas. He found that the States of Bijapur and Golkanda were a source of help to the Marathas. The Marathas were employed in large numbers in these States. They occupied important places of trust and authority in civil administration. Maratha soldiers were welcomed in these States. Thus, they got not only military training and experience, but also money. Aurangzeb felt that if these States were annexed, the source of the strength of the Marathas will be stopped. Moreover, the rulers of these States were Shias and for a fanatical Sunni like Aurangzeb, there was no place for them in India. The Marathas were able to get a lot of booty by raiding these states. It was felt that if these states were annexed, it will not be easy for the Marathas to gain anything because they shall have to fight against the might of the Mughal Empire. With that object and mind, Aurangzeb himself went to the Deccan and annexed Bijapur and Golkanda in 1686 and 1687 respectively. Aurangzeb might have claimed credit for the destruction of the Shia states, but he had committed a great blunder in doing so. He should have followed a buffer state policy towards these kingdoms. He should have subordinated his religious zeal to statesmanship. If he had helped these states against the Marathas, he would have been able to keep the latter in check with much less expense and waste of energy.

After the annexation of Bijapur and Golkanda, Aurangzeb tried to crush the power of the Marathas. Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji, was captured and put to death. His son, Sahu, was also captured and made a prisoner. He continued in Mughal custody upto 1707. However, the Marathas carried on their struggle against the Mughals under the leadership of Raja Ram and Tara Bai. When Aurangzeb died in 1707, the power of the Marathas was still not crushed. They were stronger than before.

According to Dr. Smith, "the Deccan was the grave of his reputation as well as of his body." Aurangzeb had to remain away from the capital for a quarter of a century. The result was that the whole of the administration went out of gear. There was confusion everywhere. As the Emperor was busy in the Deccan, the provincial governors did not send the land revenue to Central Government.

At a time when more money was required for the Deccan Wars, very little was coming from the provinces. No wonder, when Bahadur succeeded to the throne, the treasury was empty. Moreover, the Mughal Government being a centralised despotism, the absences of the Emperor from the North for a long time encouraged centrifugal tendencies among the governors. After the death of the Aurangzeb, these tendencies continued to grow, and the result was that ultimately the various provinces became independent of the central authority. Oudh became independent under Saadat Khan. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa became independent under Ali Vardi Khan. Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, became independent in the Deccan. The Rohillas became independent in Rohilkhand. The Rajputs also asserted their independence. Thus, gradually, the Mughal Empire broke up. The failure of Aurangzeb in the Deccan Wars destroyed the military prestige of the Mughals. Too much of expenditure in the Deccan Wars made the Mughal Government bankrupt. The Deccan Wars can rightly be called the ulcer which destroyed the Mughal Empire.

(3) Aurangzeb was a man of suspicious temperament. He did not trust even his own sons. The result was that whenever he sent an expedition, he put two persons incharge of the same. The object was to put a check on the power of both. But that led to the division of responsibility. That was absolutely suicidal from the point of view of efficiency and success.

(4) The weak successor of Aurangzeb were also responsible for the downfall of the Mughal Empire. If they had been intelligent and brilliant, they could have stopped the decline that set in the time of Aurangzeb. Unfortunately, all of them were worthless. They were busy in their luxuries and intrigues and did nothing to remedy the evils that had crept into the Mughal polity. No wonder, Mughal Empire continued to decline and ultimately fell.

(5) Another cause of Mughal downfall was the gradual deterioration in the character of the Mughal kings. It is stated that when Babar attacked India, he swam all the rivers on the way. He was so strong that he could run on the wall of a fort while carrying men in his arms. Humayun and Akbar also possessed very hard characters. Unmindful of the difficulties that he had to encounter, Humayun was able to win back his throne after the lapse of many years. The same hardy character enabled Akbar to conquer the whole of northern India and a part of the Deccan. No amount of riding on horseback exhausted him. He could walk miles and miles on foot. He could

kill a lion with one stroke of his sword. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperors became ease-loving and cowardly. They went about in palanquins and were hardly fit to rule a country where the mass of the people detested the Mughal rule.

(6) Not only the Mughal Emperors degenerated, the same was the case with the Mughal nobility. When the Mughals came to India, they had a hardy character. Too much of wealth, luxury and leisure softened their character. Their harems became full. They got wine in plenty. They went in palanquins to the battlefield. Such nobles were not fit to fight against the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs. The Mughal nobility degenerated at a very rapid pace. According to Sir J.N. Sarkar, no Mughal noble family retained its importance for more than one or two generations. If the achievements of a noble man were mentioned in three pages, the achievements of his son occupied nearly a page and the grandson was dismissed in a few lines such as "he did nothing worthy of being recorded here." The Mughal nobility was taken from the Turks, the Afghans and the Persians and the climate of India was not very suitable for their growth. They began to deteriorate during their stay in India.

(7) Another cause of Mughal downfall was the deterioration and demoralisation in the Mughal army. The abundance of riches of India, the use of wine and comforts had very evil effects on the Mughal army. Nothing was done to stop the deterioration. The soldiers cared more for their personal comforts and less for winning battles. The impotence of the Mughal armies was declared to the world when they failed to conquer Balkh and Badakhshan in the time of Shah Jahan. Likewise, the failure of Shah Jahan to recapture Kandhar inspite of three determined efforts proved to the world that the military machine of the Mughals had become impotent. In 1739, Nadir Shah not only plundered the people of Delhi but also ordered their wholesale massacre. When such a thing is done by a foreigner, it only proves that the existing Government is helpless. Such a Government forfeits the right to exact allegiance from the people. The Mughal state was a police state and it contented itself with two duties only, *viz.*, maintenance of internal order and external peace and collection of revenue. When even this could not be done, the people lost all their respect for such a Government.

(8) It is pointed out that the Mughals suffered from intellectual bankruptcy. That was partly due to the lack of an efficient system of education in the country which alone could produce leaders of thought.

The result was that the Mughals failed to produce any political genius or leader who could "teach the country a new philosophy of life and to kindle aspirations after a new heaven on earth. They all drifted and dozed in admiration of the wisdom of their ancestors and shook their heads at the growing degeneration of the moderns."

(9) The growth of hostile and rival cliques in the court also undermined the strength of the Government. Hardly anybody seemed to be concerned with the problems facing the country. Every one was selfish and tried to gain his own end. Efforts were made to plot one against the other. Such an atmosphere is not congenial for checking the break-up of an Empire. "Each Section tried to poison the ears of the Emperor against the other, thwart its plans, stir up its discontented servants and even engage in active hostility to it when at a distance from the court. Rebels could not be opposed with all the armed strength of the Empire; they could always count upon secret supporters or atleast neutral make-believe opponents in the imperial court and camp."

(10) After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire faced financial bankruptcy. The beginning had already been made in the time of Aurangzeb who ruined the finances of the Empire by his Deccan wars. After his death, the system of farming of taxation was resorted to. Although the Government did not get much, the people were ruined. They were taxed to such an extent that they lost all incentive to protection. Shah Jahan had himself increased the state demands to one-half of the produce. According to William Foster, "All the writers of the time extol this plunder of his (Shah Jahan's) court, the liberality of his rule, and his personal popularity. At the same time, they did not conceal the fact that the splendid facade hid a crumbling interior. Such extravagant expenditure was a crushing burden upon the resources of the country; while the venality of the officials and the tyrannical caprice of the Mughal Governors added to the misery of the people who had little or no means, or obtaining redress." The financial collapse came in the time of Alamgir who was practically starved by his Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk. It is stated that Alamgir II had no conveyance to take him to the Idgah and he had to walk on foot. It is pointed out by Sir J.N. Sarkar that once upon a time no fire was kindled in the harem kitchen for three days and one day "the princesses could bear starvation no longer and in frantic disregard of Purdah rushed out of the palace to the city; but the fort gates being closed, they sat down in the men's quarters for a day

and a night, after which they were persuaded to go back to their rooms." Such a thing happened in 1755 and obviously such a Government could afford to live long.

(11) It goes without saying that the Mughal rule was alien to the Indian soil. It did not take its root in the soil of the country. It failed to evoke "such feelings as those which led the people of Maharashtra to follow and fight for Shivaji; it drew no strength from ancient tradition which has always exerted so marked an influence upon Hindu ideals and sentiments." Such an empire could depend only on its military strength and no wonder it vanished when the military strength of the Mughals weakened.

(12) In the time of Aurangzeb, the size of the Mughal Empire had become unwieldy. It became physically impossible for any one man to govern the same from one centre when the means of communication and transport were not so much developed as they are today. A centralised despotic Government was not suited to the needs of the times.

(13) Another cause of Mughal downfall was the neglect of the sea-power by the Mughals. The result was that it could not hold its own against the foreigners who were particularly strong on the seas.

(14) The Mansabdari system degenerated in the time of Aurangzeb and his successors. There was corruption and oppression all-around. According to William Norris, in the later years of Aurangzeb's reign, the treasury was empty, the wars were ceaseless, army was dis-organised and officers were discontented and disloyal. According to Bernier, "There were great ministers and generals, but the mass of the people were human sheep." Such people could not maintain an Empire.

(15) One might conclude by saying that "the Mughal state owes its decline and ultimate downfall to a combination of causes of which perhaps the most important one uncontrolled domination of a selfish and extravagant bureaucracy and an inequitable economic system which steadily impoverished the revenue producing classes of the population. These two evils in combination with religious persecution, engendered conditions which prevented the Empire from successfully resisting the attacks of external forces and rendered it an easy prey to internal treachery."

Legacy of the Mughals in India : (1) The Mughals ruled India for more than 200 years and consequently they left a lot in the form of their legacy in the country. The Mughals were great builders. They

built not only mosques, but also palaces, tombs and gardens. They have left to us the Taj Mahal, Agra Fort, the Red Fort at Delhi, Jama Masjid at Delhi and many other buildings. Even today after the lapse of hundreds of years, these guildings remind us of the glory of the Mughals. The Mughals have also left us their paintings and we can really be proud of them.

(2) The Mughals were great patrons of literature and a large number of books written in the Mughal period have come down to us. Reference may be made to the Akbarnamah and Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl. Tuzak-i-Jahangiri and Tuzak-i-Babri have their own charm. Gulbadan Bagum's Humayunnamah, Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed's Tabquat-i-Akbari, Badaoni's Muntkhab-ul-Tawarikh, etc. give us a lot of information about the Mughals. Tulsi Das's Ramayana is a product of the Mughal period. The Bhakti movement gave us a lot of literature. Books were written in Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi and Hindi. Reference may be made to the works of Kavi Ram Das, Ram Prasad, Sur Das, Tuka Ram and Tulsi Das in this connection.

(3) The Mughals left their legacy in the system of administration. Sir J.N. Sarkar points out that the Mughal system of administration was borrowed by the Hindu states outside the territory directly subject to Muslim rule. The Mughal system was copied by the vassal Rajahs of Jaipur and Bundelkhand. The Mughal system was also the model followed by some independent Hindu states of the time. Even a staunch champion of Hindu orthodoxy like Shivaji at first copied it in Maharashtra. It was only later in life that he made a deliberate attempt to give a Hindu colour to his administrative machinery by substituting Sanskrit titles for Persian ones at his court. In spite of this, most of the names of the Departments, records and subordinate officials in his kingdom remained Islamic. The Mughal system spread over practically all the civilised and organised parts of India. "Nor is it altogether dead in our own times. Traces of it still survive, and an observant student of history can detect the Mughal substructure under the modern British Indian administrative edifice. When in the late eighteenth century, a band of English merchants and clerks were unexpectedly called upon to govern a strange land and an alien race, they very naturally took over the Mughal system then prevailing among the people, made in it only the most necessary changes, and while retaining its old frame-work, they very reluctantly and slowly added such new elements as the safety and prosperity of the

country demanded from time to time. This was the true character of the Anglo-Indian administration of Bengal and Bihar under Warren Hastings. Under his successors, after many intervals of repose, the administration has again and again departed from its Mughal original. But the new has been built upon the old ; our present has its root in our past." The Mughals had divided the country into Subahs, Sarkars and Parganas. A similar division of the country is to be found in the form of provinces or states, divisions and districts.

(4) Another legacy of the Mughals is the growth of the Urdu language. This was the outcome of the contact between the Muslims and the Hindus. Although it was not patronised by the Muslim Emperors who used Persian as the court language, it made a lot of progress during the Mughal period.

(5) Hindu social manners, trades and modes of living were influenced by the Muslims in the Mughal period.

(6) The Hindus had been isolated from the world for centuries. The Mughals brought them into contact with the outside world. The result was that their outlook was widened and a spirit of progress entered their minds. The Mughal imperialism was responsible for the conquest of the whole of the country. Indirectly, it gave political unity to the country that created a feeling of oneness among the people.

(7) One may conclude with the following words of Lane Poole :
" A new vernacular, compounded of the languages of the Shahnamah and the Ramayana, a multitude of exquisite monuments of the Muslim faith inspired by analogies in far Western lands of Islam, but modified and if one may say so, sensualized by the grosser architecture of India ; a few provinces still owning Mohammadan rulers ; a large Muslim minority content to dwell among infidels and to obey the behests of the Christians from the distant islands of the West—such are the chief legacies of Islam to India."

Bibliography

- Abul Fazl : Ain-i-Akbari.
- Abul Fazl : Akbar Nama.
- Ahmed, Nizam-ud-Din : Tabqat-i-Akbari.
- Aziz, Abdul : Mansabdari System.
- Badaoni, Abdul Qadir : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh.
- Balkrishna : Shivaji, the Great.
- Banerji, S.K. : Humayun Padshah.
- Beni Prasad : History of Jahangir, 1922.
- Bernier : Travels in the Mughal Empire (1656-1668).
- Beveridge A. (Translated by) : Life and Memoirs of Gulbadan Begum.
- Binyon, L : Akbar (1932).
- Binyon, L : Court Painters of the Grand Moghals.
- Brown, Percy : Indian Painting under the Mughals.
- Caldecott : Life of Babur (1844).
- Cambridge History of India, Vol., IV.
- Dighe, V.G : Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion.
- Duff : History of the Marathas.
- Edwardes, S.M. : Babur, Diarist and Despot (1926).
- Edwardes and Garret : Mughal Rule in India.
- Erskine : Babur and Humayun.
- Farishta, Hindu Beg : Tarikh-i-Farishta, translated by Lt., Col. Briggs.
- Fergusson, James : History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.
- Forster, W. (Edited by) : English Factories in India.
- Fox-Strangways : Music of Hindustan.
- Fraser : Nadir Shah.
- Gladwin, F. : Reign of Jahangir.
- Grierson, G : Literature of Hindustan.
- Hasan, Ibn : The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, 1936.
- Havell, E.B. : Indian Sculpture and Painting.
- Hawkins' Voyages.
- Irvine, William : Army of the Indian Moghals.
- Irvine : Later Mughals.
- Ishwari Prashad : A Short History of the Muslim Rule in India.....

- Jahangir : Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.
- Keene : The Fall of the Mughal Empire.
- Kennedy : History of the Great Moghals, Vols. I & II.
- Lane-Poole : Medieval India.
- Lane-Poole : Babar.
- MacLagan, E : Jesuits and the Great Moghal, 1932.
- Malleson, G.B : Akbar, Oxford University Press, 1915.
- Manucci : Storia de Mogor (1653-1708).
- Modi, J.J : Parsees in the Court of Akbar, 1903.
- Moreland : India at the death of Akbar.
- Moreland : India from Akbar to Aurangzab.
- Mutamid Khan : Iqbalnama.
- Noer, Von : The Emperor Akbar.
- Owen : The Fall of the Moghal Empire.
- Qanungo K.R : Sher Shah (1920).
- Qanungo : Dara Shikoh.
- Ranade : Rise of the Maratha Power.
- Rawlinson : Shivaji, the Maratha.
- Ray, N.B : Successors of Sher Shah.
- Roe : The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Moghal, (1615-1619) as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence, edited by Forster.
- Rushbrook Williams : An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century.
- Saran, P : Provincial Government of the Mughals, 1941.
- Sardesai : Main Currents of Maratha History.
- Sardesai, G.S. : A New History of the Marathas, Vols. I to III.
- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath : India through the Ages.
- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath : Mughal Administration, M.C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1935.
- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath : Studies in Mughal India.
- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath : History of Aurangzeb.
- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath : Shivaji and his Times.
- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath : Fall of the Mughal Empire.
- Sarkar, S.C. and Datta, K.K : Modern Indian History, Vol. I., The Indian Press, Allahabad.
- Saxena, B.P : History of Shah Jahan of Delhi.
- Sen : Shivaji Chhatrapati.
- Sharma, Sri Ram : Mughal Government and Administration.
- Sharma, Sri Ram : Religious Policy of the Mughals.
- Sinha, H.N : Rise of the Peshwas.

Smith, V.A. : Oxford History of India.

Smith, V.A : Akbar, the Great Moghal, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926.

Smith, V.A : Hisotry of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon.

Srivastava, A.L : The Mughal Empire, Malhotra Brothers, Delhi, 1952.

Tavernier : Travels in India.

Terry : A Voyage to East Indies.

Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia (1608-67).

Tripathi, R.P : Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.

Vaidya, C.V : Shivaji, the Founder of Hindu Swaraj.

Voyages and Travels of John Albert de Mandelslo into the East Indies.

Index

A

Abdus Samad (Khwaja), 189.
 Abul Fazl, 195.
 Adam Khan, 48-9.
 Afzal Khan and Shivaji, 140-1.
 Agra Fort, 185.
 Ahmed Shah, 206.
 Ahmed Shah Abdali, 206-7, 160-2.
 Akbar, The Great, 42-81.
 Akbar, Condition of India at the time of accession of, 42-44.
 Akbar, and Second Battle of Panipat, 44.
 Akbar and Submission of Sikander Sur, 45.
 Akbar and Bairam Khan, 45-48.
 Akbar and Petticoat Government, 48.
 Akbar and Adham Khan, 48-49.
 Akbar and Uzbeg rebellion, 49.
 Akbar and Conquest of Gondwana, 50.
 Akbar and his wars with Rajputs, 50-54.
 Akbar and Conquest of Gujrat, 54.
 Akbar and Conquest of Bengal, 54-55.
 Akbar and Annexation of Kabul, 55.
 Akbar and Conquest of Kashmir, 55.
 Akbar and Conquest of Sindh, 55.
 Akbar and Conquest of Qandhar, 55-56.
 Akbar and Conquest of Ahmednagar, 56.
 Akbar and Conquest of Asirgarh, 56-57.
 Akbar as Founder of Mughal Empire, 57-58.
 Akbar and his policy towards Rajputs, 58-59.
 Akbar and his policy towards Hindus, 59-61.
 Akbar and the Development of his religious views, 61-69.
 Akbar and infallibility decree, 63-65.
 Akbar and Din-i-Ilahi, 65-69.
 Akbar and his Land Revenue System, 69-72.
 Akbar and Mansabdari System, 72-78.
 Akbar, an Estimate of his Character and Achievements, 78-81.

Akbar II, 208-9.
 Alamgir II, 206-208.
 Amil, 178.
 Architecture of the Mughals, 183-188.
 Architecture under Babar, 183.
 Architecture under Humayun, 183.
 Architecture under Sher Shah, 184.
 Architecture under Akbar, 184-185.
 Architecture under Jahangir, 185-186.
 Architecture under Shah Jahan, 186-188.
 Asirgarh, Conquest of, 56-7.
 Aurangzeb, 116-134.
 Aurangzeb, and War of Succession, 106-112.
 Aurangzeb and his accession to the throne, 116.
 Aurangzeb and his early measures, 116.
 Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla, 116-117.
 Aurangzeb and his Puritan Policy, 117-122.
 Aurangzeb and the Rajput Wars, 122-123.
 Aurangzeb and the Revolt of Satnamis, 123-124.
 Aurangzeb and Rebellion of Gokal, 124.
 Aurangzeb and the Bundelas, 124-125.
 Aurangzeb and the Sikhs, 125-126.
 Aurangzeb and Conquest of Bijapur, 126.
 Aurangzeb and Conquest of Golconda, 126-128.
 Aurangzeb and the Marathas, 128.
 Aurangzeb and Deccan Wars, 126-131.
 Aurangzeb and the Consequences of the Deccan Wars, 128-131.
 Aurangzeb and the English, 131-132.
 Aurangzeb and his sons, 132-133.
 Aurangzeb, an Estimate of his Character and Achievements, 133-4.
 Azam (Prince), 133.

B

Babar, 9-15.
 Babar, Condition of India on the Eve of Invasion of, 1-8.
 Babar, Early life of, 9.

Babar, Early raids in India of, 10-11.
 Babar and Battle of Panipat, 11.
 Babar and Battle of Kanwaha, 11-13.
 Babar and Battle of Chanderi, 13.
 Babar and Battle of Gogra, 13.
 Babar, Death of, 13.
 Babar, Memoirs of, 14.
 Babar, Estimate of, 14-15.
 Bahadur Shah and his War with Humayun, 19-20.
 Badaoni, 195, 66-8.
 Bahadur Shah I, 200-2.
 Bahadur Shah II, 209.
 Bairam Khan, 45-8.
 Baji Rao, 158-159.
 Bakshi, 174, 178.
 Balaji Vishwanath, 156-158.
 Balaji Baji Rao, 159-162.
 Balkh and Badakshan under Shah Jahan, 105-6.
 Basawan (Painter), 190.
 Bengal, Condition of, in 1526, 6.
 Bernier, 114.
 Bhakti Movement and Marathas, 136.
 Bitikchi, 178.

C

Chanderi, Battle of, 13.
 Chausa, Battle of, 21-22.
 Chunar, Siege of, 19.

D

Darogha-i-Dak Chaoki, 175.
 Dastan-i-Amir Hamza, 189.
 Daswant, 190.
 Deccan Policy of Shah Jahan, 100-103.
 Deccan Policy of Aurangzeb, 126-131.
 Delhi, Condition of, in 1526, 1-3.
 Din-i-Ilahi, 65-9.
 Diwan (Provincial), 177.
 Diwani-Ala, 173-4.
 Diwan-i-Khas, 184, 186.
 Diwan-i-Am, 186.
 Doureh, Battle of, 19.

E

Eknath, 136.

F

Faizi, 195.

Farrukhsiyar, 202-3.
 Farukh Beg, 190.
 Fatehpur Sikri, Palaces of, 184.
 Fatwai-Alamgiri, 196.
 Faujdar, 178.

G

Gogra, Battle of, 13.
 Gokal, revolt of, under Aurangzeb, 124.
 Gondwana, Conquest of, by Akbar, 50.
 Gujrat, Condition of, in 1526, 5.
 Gulbadan Begum, 196.
 Guru Teg Bahadur, 125-6.
 Guru Gobind Singh, 125-6.

H

Hawkins, 94.
 Hazur Daftar, 163.
 Hindi literature in Mughal Period, 196-9.
 Humayun, 16-26.
 Humayun, Difficulties of, 16-18.
 Humayun and Expedition of Kalanjar, 18.
 Humayun and Battle of Doureh, 19.
 Humayun and Siege of Chunar, 19.
 Humayun and War with Bahadur Shah, 19-20.
 Humayun and War with Sher Khan, 21.
 Humayun and Battle of Chausa, 21-22.
 Humayun and Battle of Kanauj, 22.
 Humayun and his efforts to regain his throne, 22-24.
 Humayun and causes of his failure, 24-25.
 Humayun, Estimate of, 25-26.

I

Infallibility Decree, 63-5.
 Itmad-ud-Daula Tomb, 185.

J

Jahandar Shah, 202.
 Jahangir, 82-96.
 Jahangir, Early life of, 82-83.
 Jahangir, and his early measures, 83-84.
 Jahangir, and revolt of Prince Khusrau, 84-85.
 Jahangir, and Nur Jahan, 85-89.
 Jahangir and War with Mewar, 89-90.
 Jahangir and Conquest of Kangra, 90.

Jahangir and Conquest of Kistwar, 90.
 Jahangir and War with Ahmednagar, 90-91.
 Jahangir and Affairs of Kandhar, 91-92.
 Jahangir and Bubonic Plague, 92-93.
 Jahangir and Revolt of Shah Jahan, 93.
 Jahangir, Death of, 93-94.
 Jahangir and Visit of Foreigners in his Reign, 94-95.
 Janangir, an Estimate of, 95-96.
 Jai Singh and Shivaji, 142-3.
 Jama Masjid, 184.
 Jodhpur, War of Sher Shah with, 33.
 Kam Baksh, 133.
 Kandhar, affairs of, under Jahangir, 91-2.
 Kandhar, Affairs of, under Shah Jahan, 103-5.
 Kanaauj, Battle of, 22.
 Kangra, Conquest of, by Jahangir, 90.
 Kanwaha, Battle of, 11-13.
 Kashmir, Condition of, in 1526, 5.
 Keshava Das and his writings, 198-9.
 Khani-Saman, 174.
 Khusrau (Prince), 84-5.
 Khan Jahan Lodhi, revolt of, under Shah Jahan, 98.
 Kistwar, Conquest of, by Jahangir, 90.
 Kotwal, 179.

L

Later Mughals, 209.-220
 Legacy of the Mughals in India, 214-216.
 Literature in Mughal Period, 194-199.

M

Mahals, 180.
 Malwa, Condition of, in 1526, 5-6.
 Malwa, Conquest of, 32.
 Mansabdari System, 72-8.
 Manucci, 114.
 Marathas, Rise and Growth of 135-168.
 Marathas, factors responsible for their growth, 135-136.
 Marathas and Shivaji, 137-151.
 Memoirs of Babar, 14.
 Mewar, Condition of, in 1526, 3.
 Mir Jumla, 116-7.

Mohammad Shah, 203-4.
 Mughal Administration, 169-182.
 Mughal Administration, sources of information of, 169.
 Mughal Administration, nature of, 169-170.
 Mughal Administration and position of the Emperor, 170-173.
 Mughal Administration and Wazir or Diwan, 173-4.
 Mughal Administration and Bakhshi 174.
 Mughal Administration and Khan-i-Saman, 174.
 Mughal Administration and Sadar-i-Sadur, 174-175.
 Mughal Administration and Muhtasib 174-75.
 Mughal Administration and Qazi-ul-Quzat, 175.
 Mughal Administration and Darogha-Dak Chaoki, 175.
 Mughal Administration in the Provinces, 176-180.
 Mughal Administration and justice, 180-182.
 Mughals, Causes of the Downfall of, 209-214.
 Mughals, Legacy of, 214-6.
 Multan, Conquest of, 32.
 Music in the Mughal period, 192-195.
 Mumtaz Mahal, 99.
 Muhtasib, 175.

N

Nadir Shah's invasion, 206.
 Nur Jahan, 85-89.

O

Orissa, Condition of, in 1526, 5.

P

Painting in Mughal Period, 188-192.
 Painting under Babar, 189.
 Painting under Humayun, 189.
 Painting under Akbar, 189-90.
 Painting under Jahangir, 190-191.
 Painting under Shah Jahan, 191.
 Painting under Aurangzeb, 192.
 Parganas, 180.

Persian literature in Mughal period, 194-196.

Peshwas, 156-168.

Peshwas and Balaji Vishwanath, 156-158.

Peshwas and Baji Rao, 158-159.

Peshwas and Balaji Baji Rao, 159-162.

★ Peshwas, Administrative system under the, 162-168.

Purana Qila, 184.

Q

Qandhar, Conquest of, by Akbar, 55-6.

Qandhar, affairs of, under Jahangir, 91-2.

Qazi-ul-Quzat, 175.

R

Rafi-ud-Darajat, 203.

Raisin, Conquest of, 32.

Rafi-ud-Daula, 203.

Rajputs, Wars of Akbar with, 50-54.

Rajput Policy of Akbar, 58-9.

Rajput War under Aurangzeb, 122-3.

Raja Ram and Mughals, 153-4.

★ Ram Das, 136.

Ras Khan and Prem Vatika, 198.

Roe, Sir Thomas, 94-5.

S

Sadar, 178.

Sadr-i-Sadur, 174-5.

Saiyyad Ali (Painter), 190.

Sanwal Das (Painter), 190.

Sarkar, 180, 35.

Satnamis, Revolt of, under Aurangzeb, 123-4.

Sayyid Brothers, 204-5.

Sahu, 156.

Shah Alam II, 208.

Shah Jahan, 97-115.

Shah Jahan and his Early life, 97-98.

★ Shah Jahan and Rebellion of Bundela Rajputs, 98.

Shah Jahan and Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi, 98.

Shah Jahan and Famine of 1630, 99.

Shah Jahan and Death of Mumtaz Mahal, 99-100.

Shah Jahan and war with the Portuguese, 100.

Shah Jahan and his Deccan Policy, 100-101.

Shah Jahan and War with Bijapur, 101-102.

Shah Jahan and his relations with Kandhar, 103-105.

Shah Jahan and Balkh and Badakshan, 105-106.

Shah Jahan and War of Succession among his sons, 106-112.

Shah Jahan, Art and Architecture under, 112-113.

Shah Jahan and the Golden Age of the Mughals, 113-14.

Shah Jahan and Foreign travellers of his reign, 114.

Shah Jahan, an Estimate of, 114-115.

Shambuji, 151-153.

Sher Khan and his Wars with Humayun, 21-22.

Sher Shah, 27-41.

Sher Shah, Early Life of, 27-29.

Sher Shah and Humayun, 29.

Sher Shah and Bengal, 29-31.

Sher Shah and Battle of Chausa, 21-22.

Sher Shah and Battle of Kanauj, 22.

Sher Shah and Conquest of Malwa, 32.

Sher Shah and Conquest of Raisin, 32.

Sher Shah and conquest of Multan and Sindh, 32.

Sher Shah and his War with Jodhpur, 33-34.

Sher Shah and his Administration, 34-35.

Sher Shah and his Army, 36.

Sher Shah and Finance, 36.

Sher Shah and Revenue Administration, 36-37.

Sher Shah and Justice, 37-38.

Sher Shah and Police System, 38.

Sher Shah and his Currency system, 38.

Sher Shah and Means of Communication, 39.

Sher Shah and Charity, 39.

Sher Shah and his Intelligence Department, 39.

Sher Shah and his religious policy, 39-40.

Sher Shah and his buildings, 40.

Sher Shah, an Estimate of his work, 40-41.

Shivaji, 137-151.
 Shivaji, early life of, 137-138.
 Shivaji, and his early conquests, 138-139.
 Shivaji and his struggle with Bijapur, 139-140.
 Shivaji and Afzal Khan, 140-141.
 Shivaji and the Mughals, 141.
 Shivaji and his attack on Surat, 141-142.
 Shivaji and Jai Singh, 142-143.
 Shivaji and his Administrative System, 144-148.
 Shivaji and the extent of his Dominion, 148-150.
 Shivaji, an Estimate of, 148-150.
 Shivaji and Hindu Empire, 150-151.
 Shivaji and Weaknesses in his system, 151.
 Sikhs and Aurangzeb, 125-6.
 Sind, Condition of, in 1526, 6.
 Sind, Conquest of, by Sher Shah, 32.

Sundar and Sundra Shringer, 199.
 Surdas, 198.

T

Taj, The, 186-8.
 Tara Bai and the Mughals, 154-6.
 Tara Chand (Painter), 190.
 Tansen and Music, 193.
 Tavernier, 114.
 Teg Bahadur (Guru), 125-6.
 Tuka Ram, 136.
 Tulsi, 197-8.

U

Uzbeg Rebellion, 49.
 Vaman Pandit, 136.
 Vijaynagar, Condition of, in 1526, 3-4.

W

Waqai-Nawis, 179-80.

CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF EUROPEANS IN INDIA

The Portuguese in India

It is a matter of common knowledge that Indian commodities were in great demand in European markets throughout the Middle Ages. These things used to reach Europe either completely by land or partly by land and partly by sea. However, difficulties began to arise on account of the rise to power of the Turks. As the land-route was practically closed, there arose the necessity of finding a new route to India.

The Portuguese led the way in this matter. Prince Henry of Portugal (1393-1460) who is commonly known as the "Navigator", did a lot in this field. He set up a regular school for the training of seamen on the scientific lines. He patronized all those who took up work of navigation. The result of the efforts of the Portuguese was that practically the whole of the coast-line of Africa came to be known to the Portuguese. They crossed the Equator in 1471 and reached the Congo river in 1481.

In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz was carried by storms past the Cape of Good Hope. He was patronized by King John II.

In 1497, Vasco Da Gama started on his expedition under the patronage of King Emmanuel. To begin with, he covered the whole of the route which had been followed by Diaz and crossed the Cape of Good Hope. He reached Mozambique. He got the help of an Indian pilot and set sail for India in April 1498. After a voyage of a month, he reached Calicut. He was cordially received by King Zamorin who gave him certain privileges also.

The arrival of Vasco Da Gama on the Indian scene was not liked at all by the Arabs. They started rumours of many kinds against the Portuguese. Finding the situation hard, Vasco Da Gama left India after a stay of about three months.

In 1501, Vasco Da Gama came to India for the second time and founded a factory at Cannanore and returned to Portugal in 1503. In spite of the opposition from the Arabs, the Portuguese were able to establish their trading centres at Calicut, Cochin, and Cannanore and treated the Arabs with cruelty and oppression.

After Vasco Da Gama left India, the Portuguese suffered. King Zamorin attacked the Portuguese in Cochin, but was defeated. This established the supremacy of the Portuguese.

De Almeida (1505-9): De Almeida was the first Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in India. He was not in favour of multiplying settlements on land. He wanted his countrymen to concentrate on the development of their naval power. According to him, "should it be known for certain that as long as you may be powerful at Sea, you will hold India as yours; and if you did not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore." This policy has rightly been called the "Blue water" policy. Both Almeida and his son were defeated and killed in 1509 by the Egyptians.

Albuquerque (1509-15): He was the second Viceroy of the Portuguese in India. Mr. Stephens refers to the four points on which his policy was based. In the first place, he desired to occupy certain important places for trading purposes, and to rule them directly. Secondly, he desired to colonize the selected districts by encouraging mixed marriages with the native inhabitants. In the third place, when Albuquerque could not conquer or colonise, he desired to build fortresses. Fourthly, when this was impracticable, he desired to induce the native merchants to recognise the supremacy of the King of Portugal and to pay him tribute.

✓ Albuquerque was a great conqueror. He conquered and annexed Goa in 1510. This place became the headquarters of the Portuguese Empire. He conquered Malacca in the Far East and fitted out an expedition for the Spice Islands. In 1515, he conquered Ormuz, an Island in the Persian Gulf. Albuquerque built a fort at Cochin with the permission of the Rajah.

He appointed a large number of Portuguese officers for the work of administration. While the Muslims were persecuted, the Hindus were welcomed in the various branches of the administration. Schools were established for them. The Panchayats of the Hindus were not discarded. Indian soldiers commanded by Hindu officers were welcomed. He also encouraged the marriages of the Portuguese with Indian women.

Albuquerque was a great man. He can really be called the founder of the Portuguese Empire in India. "He had traits in his character that appeal peculiarly to orientals; his valour, his strict veracity, his integrity and charitableness. He was feared and at

the same time loved. He was not a man to be daunted by one failure and never rested till he had achieved his resolve. A patriot every inch, his reputation for disinterestedness was very high." No wonder, he was called by his countrymen as Albuquerque, the Great. It is said that when he died in 1515, he was buried at Goa "amidst the regrets of Europeans and natives, by whom he was equally loved."

The power of the Portuguese kept on growing even after the death of Albuquerque. They got Diu and Bassein in 1534. Four years after, they conquered Daman. In the same year, they got permission to establish a factory at Goa. In 1545, the fort of Diu was attacked by the King of Gujrat but was successfully defended. In 1571, the rulers of Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Calicut combined together against the Portuguese. However, they failed to take possession of Goa.

From the beginning of the 17th century, the power of the Portuguese began to decline. This was particularly due to the fact that in 1580 Portugal was made a part and parcel of Spain in the time of Philip II of Spain. Spain herself was not doing well at that time. She could hardly be expected to defend the interests of the Portuguese. The result was that one by one the Portuguese lost many of their possessions. They were turned out from Amboyna by the Dutch in 1604. In 1622, Ormuz was snatched away by the Govt. of Iran. The Dutch got Malacca in 1640. They were also turned out from Ceylon in 1656. In 1739, the Marathas got Bassein. From the middle of the 18th century, the Portuguese have held in India only Goa, Daman and Diu. Only recently, the Government of India asked the Government of Portugal to discuss the question of the Portuguese possessions in India. As the Portuguese Government refused to do so, the Govt. of India has decided to close its Legation at Lisbon.

Causes of failure of Portuguese Empire in India : Many causes were responsible for the failure of the Portuguese Empire in India.

(1) After the death of Albuquerque, no strong person was sent by the Portuguese Govt. to India. The result was that the Portuguese Empire began to disintegrate in India.

(2) The Portuguese administration in India was corrupt. The salaries of the officials were low and consequently they felt no hesitation in accepting bribes from any quarter. The bulk of the Portuguese officials were selfish. Unmindful of the sufferings of the

people, they were bent upon making fortunes for themselves. The means did not matter to them.

(3) The religious policy of the Portuguese was also responsible for their ruin. The Portuguese introduced the Inquisition into India and they committed atrocities on those who were not Christians. They used all kinds of methods for the conversion of the people of India to Christianity. Their coercive methods created bitterness in the minds of the people. In 1540, all the Hindu temples in the Island of Goa were destroyed under the orders of their king. The Franciscan missionaries arrived in 1517 and Goa became the centre of an immense propaganda. The Portuguese authorities in India did not care for the people. The civil authorities at Goa wrote to their King in 1552 thus: "In India, there is no justice either in your Viceroy or in those who are to meet it out. The one object is gathering together of money by every means."

(4) The establishment of the Moghul Empire was also partly responsible for Portuguese failure. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Portuguese did not meet any great opposition. However, after the accession of Akbar in 1556, the Moghul power began to grow. The Moghuls were able to bring practically the whole of India under their control. Under these circumstances, there was no scope for the growth of the Portuguese power on the mainland of India.

(5) Portugal is a small country. Its resources were not sufficient for the conquest of a country like India. Moreover, the resources were divided between the Portuguese possessions in India and Brazil. After some time, the Portuguese started caring more for Brazil than for India.

(6) In 1580, Portugal came under the control of Spain. The result was that the Spanish interests predominated and the Portuguese interests were subordinated. Various restrictions were put on Portuguese enterprise in the interests of Spain. Lisbon which was once the depot of Europe, lost all its importance. Worthless Spanish officers were sent to the Portuguese possessions in India and these persons tried to make as much money as possible unmindful of its effects on the people of the country. These Spanish favourites ruined the Portuguese cause in the country.

(7) The rise of the Dutch and the English power in India created strong rivals in the country. They were more than a match for the Portuguese. The result was that by slow degrees the Portuguese

Empire in India failed.

The Dutch in India: The students of history are familiar with the revolt of the Netherlands against Philip II. It is also well known that inspite of all the efforts of Philip II, they were able to win their freedom. It was in the hour of their victory that the Dutch Company was started in 1592 by a group of Amsterdam merchants. Three years after, Cornelius Houtman set out for India and returned with large cargo in 1597. The Indian Archipelago was opened to the Dutch. The Dutch success was so great that many other Companies were started. In 1602, all the Dutch Companies were amalgamated into the Dutch East India Company. A Charter was also given. It gave a monopoly of eastern trade to the Company which was also empowered to wage war, make treaties, occupy territories and build fortresses.

The main object of the Dutch Company was trade. The Dutch concentrated their attention on the Spice Islands in the Far East. They tried to establish their exclusive monopoly. They made the chiefs of the islands accept the sovereignty of Holland. All other European nations were forbidden to trade with those islands. Every effort was made to maintain the monopoly of trade.

It is true that the Dutch and the English entered the East as friends. Both of them were the champions of Protestants against Catholic Spain and Portugal. However, differences arose between the two powers. The Dutch were determined to maintain their monopoly at all costs. The rivalry between the two countries increased to such an extent that in 1623 the Dutch were responsible for the massacre of Amboyna. After this tragedy, the English were forced to leave the spice islands and retire to the mainland of India. The Dutch had to pay an indemnity of £ 85,000/- in the time of Cromwell.

The Dutch conquered Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. In 1658, they acquired Ceylon. In India, they had Nagapatam on the Madras coast and Chinsurah in Bengal. From the beginning to the end, the Dutch position in India was insignificant.

The Danes in India: Encouraged by the other European merchants, the people of Denmark also thought of having a share in the Indian trade. For that purpose, they founded a settlement in 1620 at Tranquebar in the Tanjore District. In 1676, they occupied Serampore. However, the Danes did not find a foothold in India and consequently they sold their settlements in India to the British Govt. in 1845.

CHAPTER II

RISE AND GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

Like other Europeans, Englishmen also were desirous of getting the things produced in India and the Far East. After their victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588, their desire to trade directly began to increase. In September 1599, a resolution was passed under the chairmanship of Lord Mayor to form an association to trade directly with India. On 31st December, 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted a Charter to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The Charter authorised the London Company to traffic and trade freely "into and from the East Indies, in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from all islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, towns and places of Asia and Africa and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza to the Streights of Migellan". The Charter was given for 15 years and the same could be cancelled after giving a notice of two years. It is true that James I gave a new Charter which made the Charter of 1600 perpetual, but the same could also be ended by giving a notice of 3 years if it was proved that the continuation of the monopoly was injurious to the interests of the people at large.

To begin with, the London Company organised separate voyages. What was actually done was that a large number of persons contributed money for the expedition and distributed among themselves the profits of victory. There was no dearth of subscribers as the profits made by the Company were enormous. In certain cases, the profits were as high as 500 or 600%. Joint stock enterprises began in 1612. The first two voyages were directly towards the Spice Islands. The English Company set up a factory at Bantam and also did some trade there. However, it met bitter opposition at the hands of the Dutch. Captain Hawkins was sent along with the third voyage. He landed at Surat and from there went to the Court of Jahangir to get certain concessions for the English. Hawkins was received favourably at the Court and the English were given the permission to settle at Surat. However, the concession was cancelled

on account of the Portuguese influence at the Mughal Court.

In 1612, Captain Best defeated Portuguese fleet off Swally near Surat. The result of this victory was that the Portuguese influence declined and the English Company got the permission to set up a factory at Surat.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent to the Court of Jahangir by James I, King of England. He was successful in securing certain trading concessions for the English Company from the Mughal Emperor. This he did inspite of the opposition from the vested interests.

In 1622, the English captured Armuz from the Portuguese with the help of the King of Iran. The English also set up their trading stations at Aramgaon and Masaulipatam. The site of Madras was bought by the English Company in 1640. Permission was also obtained to set up a fortified factory called Fort St. George. In 1633, factories were set up at Balasore and Harihar Pore. In 1651, a factory was set up at Hugli. In 1661, London Company got the Island of Bombay from Charles II at a nominal rent of £ 10 a year.

In 1688, there was a dispute between the English traders in Bengal and Governor Shayista Khan. At that time, Sir Josiah Child was the Governor of the English Company and he persuaded James II, King of England, to declare war against the Mughal Government. The English failed miserably. They were no match for the might of Aurangzeb. The English factory at Surat was captured and the English were ordered to leave the Mughal territory. Ultimately, peace was brought about. The English got permission to come back. They also got from Aurangzeb the permission to build a factory on the site of Calcutta in 1690. In 1696, a fort was built at that place and the same was called Fort William. The English Company also bought the villages of Sutanati, Kalikata and Govindapur. Thus the city of Calcutta began to grow.

In 1714, the Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay sent a combined mission to the Court of Emperor Farrukhisiyar under John Surman. With the help of William Hamilton who had cured the Emperor of a disease, Surman was able to get three Firmans in July 1717. By these Firmans, the right of the Company to trade duty free in Bengal, in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 3000/- was confirmed. The English Company was also allowed to settle wherever they pleased and to rent additional territories round Calcutta. In the case of province of Haiderabad, the English

Company was allowed freedom from all the dues except the rent paid for Madras. In the province of Gujerat, a yearly sum of Rs. 10,000/- was accepted in satisfaction of all customs due at Surat. The rupees coined by the English Company at Bombay were made current throughout the Mughal Empire. It cannot be denied that the concessions obtained by Surman aided to the powers and prosperity of the English Company.

A reference may be made at this stage to the various changes made in the London Company itself. In 1615, the Company was authorised to issue commissions to its captains. In capital offences, a verdict was to be found by a jury alone. In 1623, the Company was authorised to grant commissions to its Presidents and Chief Officers for the punishment of offences committed by the servants of the Company on land. In capital offences, the trial was to be by a jury.

The London Company met with opposition from the Assada Company. This Company got a license to trade with the East Indies in 1635. It founded a settlement at Assada in Madagascar and carried on trade vigorously. It was able to inflict great losses on the London Company. Ultimately, a compromise was arrived at and the Assada Company was merged into the London Company.

London Company got a set back on account of the Civil War in England. However, she gained in the time of Cromwell. The Company got £85,000 as compensation for the massacre of Amboyna in 1623. The Charter of 1657 required the Company to have one continuous joint stock. According to Hunter, "The London Company was transformed from a feeble relic of the medieval trade-guild into a vigorous forerunner of the Modern Joint Stock Company". The Charter of 1657 provided that any would become a member of the Company by paying an entrance fee of £5 and by subscribing at least £ 100 to the stock of the Company. The member could vote in the general meeting only if he had stock worth £500. Those who held stock worth £ 1,000 or more could be elected as the members of the Committees. The term of the office of the Governor and Deputy Governor was reduced to 2 years.

A new Charter was issued to the Company by Charles II in 1661 after the Restoration. The Company was authorised to send ships of war, men and ammunition for the security of their factories. They could also erect forts. They could choose commanders and officers and give them commissions under their seal. They were to

exercise power and command over their fortresses. They were given power to appoint Governors and other officers. The Governor and his Council were given general judicial authority "to judge all persons belonging to the said Governor and Company or that shall live under them, in all cases, whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of this kingdom, and to execute judgment accordingly". Where there was no Governor, the Chief Factor and Council were empowered to send offenders for punishment either to a place where there was a Governor and a Council or to England.

The Charter of 1683 gave the Company full power to declare war and make peace with any other power. The Company was also given the power to raise, arm, train and muster sufficiently a strong army. The Charter also provided for the establishment of a Court consisting of one person learned in civil law and two assistants to be appointed by the Company.

The Charter of 1686 authorised the Company to appoint admirals and other sea officers. The Company was given a general power to coin any species of money.

The Charter of 1693 added £744,000 to the capital of the Company. No individual member was to be allowed to subscribe more than £510,000. For every one thousand pounds, the subscriber was given one vote, but no one could exercise more than 10 votes. The salaries of the Governors and Deputy Governors were fixed. The Charter of 1694 made the principle of rotation of offices compulsory. Neither Governor nor Deputy Governor could remain in office for more than two years. Eight Committees out of twenty-four were to be elected every year.

It is desirable to mention the case of East India Company *vs.* Sandys. In this case, the Company brought an action against Mr. Sandys on the ground that he had traded to the East Indies without their licence. The case ended in favour of the Company. The Company also detained the Redbridge which was lying in the Thames, but was believed to be bound for the East Indies. The action of the Company was challenged. It was contended that the Company had no such right to detain a ship. On 19th January, 1694, the House of Commons passed a resolution that "all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parliament." Although a resolution of Parliament had not the force of law, it had undoubtedly the effect of encouraging the interlopers. As the Company was determined

to stop them, there was bound to be trouble.

At this time, Mr. Montagu was the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was in need of money for the State, and was finding out ways and means for the same. The monopoly in trade was virtually put up for all action among all those who could give the Government £2,000,000 at 8% p.a. The London Company offered £700,000 which was insufficient. But a new Company was willing to subscribe the amount needed. The result was that a Bill was passed in 1698 by the British Parliament. The Act provided for a subscription of £2,000,000 Sterling as a loan to the State which in return was to grant "General Society" the exclusive right of trading to the East Indies. The London Company was to be given a notice of three years (expiring in 1701) to wind up its business.

In order to strengthen its position, the old company bought shares worth £315,000 in the new company. There was ruinous competition between the two companies for some time. The result was that the new company began to lose heavily. Ultimately, a compromise was arrived at in 1702. According to this compromise, "the Old Company was to maintain its separate existence for seven years, but the trade of the two companies was to be carried on jointly, in the name of the English Company, but for the common benefit of both under the direction of twenty-four managers, twelve to be selected by each company. At the end of the seven years, the Old Company was to surrender its Charters". The new Company was to carry on its trade in the name of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies". In March 1709, the London Company surrendered its Charters to Queen Anne.

THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

If other European nations were desirous of trading with India and having a share of the profits, the French also thought of trying their luck. It was in 1611 that King Louis XII of France granted letters patent to a Company for the monopoly of the eastern trade. However, this attempt ended in smoke. In 1664, a new Company was started under the guidance of Colbert and Louis XIV. The Government of France undertook to defend the territories of the French Company. The French Company was to concentrate on India. Madagascar was to serve as a half-way house. In December 1667, the first French factory was established at Surat by Francis Caron who was nominated as Director-General. Another French Factory

was established at Masaulipatam in December 1669. This was facilitated by a grant from the King of Golkanda which freed the Company from import and export duty. Caron was called back in 1672 and his place was taken by Francis Martin.

Martin was one of the real founders of the French Company in India. In the year of his appointment, he founded the settlement of Pondicherry under a grant from Sher Khan Lodi, the King of Bijapur. In spite of the fact that Martin did not get help from the Home Government, he was able to make Pondicherry as the premier settlement of the French on the Indian mainland. It is true that the Pondicherry had to be surrendered to the Dutch in 1693 on account of their superior forces, but the same was restored to the French in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick. Martin was once again appointed the Governor of Pondicherry. In 1706, Martin died.

The French had also their settlements at Chandranagar, Balasore and Qasim Bazar. On the Malabar coast, the French got Mahe in 1725. In 1739 they got Karikal on the Coromondal coast.

After the death of Martin, there was confusion in the affairs of the French East Indian Company for some time. However, after 1726, things began to improve. In 1735, Dumas became the Governor of Pondicherry. He got permission from Delhi to coin money. In 1739, he got Karikal as a reward for his support of a pretender to the throne of Tanjore. This is where the French Company stood when it came into conflict with the English East India Company in the 1740's.

CHAPTER III

ANGLO-FRENCH STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY IN THE DECCAN

Before describing the struggle for supremacy between the English and French East India Companies, it is desirable to explain their respective positions on the eve of Carnatic Wars. To put it briefly, the English East India Company was a private enterprise and consequently possessed a lot of initiative and vigour. It was a prosperous company and carried on a lot of trade. The despatches of the company point out to the large volume of trade carried on by it. Its officers were putting their very best into their jobs and the Englishmen were looking forward to their good prospects in the future. As compared with it, the French East India Company was more the "offspring of state patronage than the outcome of spontaneous mercantile activity." There was too much of control of the Government and that destroyed all initiative on the part of the officials of the French Company. The volume of trade carried on by them was not much and consequently the French Company was poor. Moreover, the only important settlement of the French was at Pondicherry. Chandranagore was no good. There was nothing to compare with Bombay. The English Company had a brilliant record of progress and growth and consequently the people of England looked upon the English Company with a feeling of pride. However, that was not the case that the French Company which failed to fire the imagination of the Frenchmen. It is obvious that the French were handicapped in their race for supremacy with the English Company. All the resourcefulness of Dupleix could not change the state of affairs.

First Carnatic War (1746-48): The French and the English Companies fought the three Carnatic wars in the Deccan and these wars sealed the fate of the French in the Deccan. As regards the 1st Carnatic War, it was merely an echo of the War of Austrian Succession which broke out in Europe in connection with the succession of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria. In spite of the pragmatic sanction, Frederick, the Great, of Prussia occupied Silesia. He ironically remarked that it would have been better for Maria Theresa's father to have left a few more battalions than the pragmatic

sanction which was nothing better than a waste paper. The news of the War of Austrian Succession reached India in 1744. However, rumours of war were persisting ever since 1740 and both the parties were making preparations to oust each other.

At this time, Dupleix was the Governor of Pondicherry. Finding his position not very strong, Dupleix is stated to have suggested to the Madras Governor to observe neutrality. Such a suggestion was not accepted by the English Governor. The latter was expecting reinforcements from the home Government and he expected to drive out the French from India with their help. Dupleix still persisted in his efforts to save the French. Ultimately, he appealed to Anwar-Ud-Din, the Nawab of Carnatic. The Nawab told both the English and the French Companies not to quarrel and thereby break the peace of the country. The English did not like the idea of challenging the authority of the Nawab of Carnatic and consequently submitted to the orders. The British troops along with its squadron reached India but Commodore Barnett died soon.

Dupleix had also sent a word to La Bourdonnais, Governor of Mauritius, asking him for help. The result was that La Bourdonnais hastened to India with a fleet and reached the Coromondal coast in July 1746. The French and British squadrons faced each other for some time but the English squadron left for Ceylon after some time. Finding his position strong, Dupleix asked La Bourdonnais to besiege Madras. When the latter did so, the English approached Anwar-Ud-Din, Nawab of Carnatic, to direct the French to leave Madras and maintain peace. However, Dupleix promised to hand over Madras to Anwar-Ud-Din if the latter allowed the French to conquer it. The Nawab agreed. Madras surrendered to the French in September 1746. Differences arose between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais. La Bourdonnais accepted a bribe of one lac pagodas and restored Madras to the English for £ 40,000. Dupleix repudiated the action of La Bourdonnais and recaptured Madras. When Anwar-Ud-Din asked for the restoration of Madras to him, Dupleix refused to do so. Consequently, the Nawab sent an army to fight against the French. That army was defeated in the battle of St. Thome or the battle of Adyar, a place near Madras. In this battle, the French were successful and the Nawab's army was defeated. The battle of Adyar is regarded to be one of the decisive battles of India. It demonstrated the superiority of disciplined infantry supported by artillery over cavalry.

Dupleix tried to capture Fort. St. David also, but he failed to do so. The English tried to capture Pondicherry, but the French defended the same successfully.

The first Carnatic war was ended by the Treaty of Aix-La Chapelle of 1748. The net result of this treaty was that the English got back Madras and the French got back Louisburg in North America. Although the treaty did not bring about any changes, yet according to Prof. Dodwell, this treaty marks an epoch in Indian history. To quote him, "it demonstrated the overwhelming influence of sea power, it displayed the superiority of European methods of war over those followed by Indian armies, and it revealed the political decay that had eaten into the heart of the Indian state".

The Second Carnatic War (1748-54): There are two aspects of the war between the English and the French. On the one hand, Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk died in May 1748. There was a struggle between his second son Nazir Jung and his grandson Muzzafar Jung. Both of them aspired to the headship of the Deccan. Muzzafar Jung joined hands with Chanda Sahib who wanted to be Nawab of Arcot. Chanda Sahib also opened negotiations with Dupleix. The latter recognized the importance of the future prospects if both Chanda Sahib and Muzzafar Jung were helped. It was not difficult to arrive at the advantages to be secured from the new move. Agreement was entered into and Muzzafar Jung and Chanda Sahib, helped by the French, defeated Anwaruddin in August 1749 in the battle of Amber. Anwaruddin was killed and his son Mohammed Ali took refuge in the fort of Trichnopoly. Chanda Sahib was able to establish his control over the rest of Carnatic. The siege of Pondicherry was not pressed vigorously. He wasted a lot of time in dealing with the Raja of Tanjore.

If the French had helped Muzzafer Jung and Chanda Sahib, the English helped Nazir Jung. Nazir Jung took the field in 1750. Muzzafar Jung was defeated, captured and imprisoned. However, there was a change of the wheel of fortune. Nazir Jung was deserted by his troops and was captured and put to death. At this time, Muzzafar Jung made Dupleix the Governor of the Company. He also gave him a Jagir which was worth £ 10,000 a year. Chanda Sahib was recognized the Nawab of Arcot.

The English Company refused to accept the changes suggested. Governor Saunders was the leader of those who were opposed to change. Clive appeared on the scene and occupied Arcot. All

efforts to dislodge him from Arcot failed. Even when Chanda Sahib sent half of his army under his own son to relieve Arcot, there was no better success than before. As half the army of Chanda Sahib was sent away from Trichnopoly to Arcot, the siege of Trichnopoly had to be given up. Chanda Sahib was himself defeated and killed. The whole of the Carnatic fell into the hands of the English.

Dupleix tried to recover his position, but could not. Victory after victory was won by the English against the French. A conference was held between the English and French Commissioners. However it failed in its objective. Soon after the conference, the war restarted. Before much could be done, Duplex was recalled in 1754, and he died in 1764.

Dupleix was succeeded by Godeheu. The latter arranged terms of peace with the English. By the new treaty, both the nations agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Indian States. Both the French and the English retained their old positions. However, the English got a town in Northern Circar. Bussy remained in the Deccan and continued to exercise his influence. It has been pointed out that by the treaty of 1755, Godeheu sacrificed everything for which Dupleix had fought. According to Dupleix himself, Godeheu "had signed the ruin of the country and the dishonour of the nation." The French agreed to give away all that they had captured so far. Whether the treaty was wise or not, one thing is certain that it made the English stronger. It also gave them a much needed rest before embarking upon the Third Carnatic War.

Third Carnatic War (1756-63): The peace between the French and the English companies in India was a short-lived one. The Seven Years' War started in Europe in 1756 and before long the two nations started fighting in India also. The French Government sent Count Lally as the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. With great difficulty, Lally reached India on account of the naval supremacy of the English. He had some success at the start. He was able to capture Fort St. David. He also called Bussy from the Deccan. This was a mistake on his part. As soon as Bussy left, the French influence ended. Salabat Jung went over to the English and gave them Northern Circars. Lally tried to get Madras but failed. He was forced to retire to Pondicherry and was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote in the battle of Wandewash in January 1760. It was a decisive battle. It sealed the fate of the French. Bussy was taken prisoner. Karikal fell in April 1760. Lally surrendered at Pondicherry in

January 1761. In April 1761, Jinji was captured. The French had lost practically everything. After the peace of Paris, there was an exchange of prisoners of war. Lally was returned to France but he was condemned and executed. The peace of Paris (1763) restored the French settlements to them but the French were not allowed to fortify them. It is true that in the time of Lord Wellesley, the French gave some trouble to the English, but it cannot be denied that the three Carnatic wars completely destroyed their chances of founding a French Empire in India.

Causes of English Success: It is desirable to discuss as to what factors were responsible for the success of the English Company and failure of French Company. To begin with, it may be pointed out that the English Company was a private enterprise. This created a spirit of self-reliance among the people. They knew that if they worked hard, they will be able to get profits and if they slackened, they were to be ruined. The result was that the English Company became prosperous. Its condition was so sound that it could give a loan to the Government. On the other hand, the French Company was merely a department of the Government. It lacked self-reliance and completely depended upon the Government which in itself was rotten during the 18th century. The corruption in the French Government was reflected in the French Company. Moreover, the French Government guaranteed a certain percentage of profit to the shareholders. This also was responsible for the destruction of initiative among those who were incharge of the French Company. On account of its private nature, the English Company gained in another way. The changes at home did not affect the fortunes of the English Company in India.

2. Another cause of English success was their naval supremacy. On account of this, the English could send help to India whenever they pleased. There was none to check them on the way. It was this factor that cut off the link between the French possessions in India and France. The French had to avoid the Englishmen on the way while coming to India. The result was that sometimes months and years were spent on the way. This happened particularly in the case of Count Lally. Although he started very early from France so as to be in India in time, he reached India very late on account of his forced halts on the way.

3. The English had their naval base in Bombay. The result was that they could keep their ships in safety in Bombay and could

start their operations at once as soon as an opportunity offered itself. They could also repair their ships there. The French had their naval base in the Isle of France which was very far off. The result was that they could not take immediate action.

4. The English had three important places in India, *viz.*, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. The result was that even if one of these places was conquered by the enemy, the other two remained. Even if two places were conquered by the enemy at one time, one place always remained with the English because the three places were far off from one another. All of them could not be conquered at one time. The French had only one important station in India and that was Pondicherry. The other places like Mahi and Chandranagar could be conquered at any time and were always at the mercy of the English. The result was that with the fall of Pondicherry, the French lost their all.

5. The French entered India from the wrong quarter. The Deccan was not fertile. It was absolutely unproductive. The result was that the military conquest of the Deccan by the French did not compensate them. Their enterprise was a failure. On the other hand, the English entered India from the right quarter. They started from Bengal. It had a very productive soil. There was a lot of gold with the people and consequently the English got a lot of money after the conquest. Moreover, through the Ganges River, the English could penetrate into the interior of the country from Bengal. In the absence of good roads, the rivers provided an easy means of communication and transport.

6. Another mistake of the French was that they subordinated the commercial interests to territorial ambitions. This made the French Company poor. All their money was wasted on wars. As the French Government at home was busy in Europe and America, it was not in a position to support the ambitious schemes of Dupleix. On the other hand, the English always kept their eye on the sea and never neglected their commerce. The Despatches from the Directors of the English Company always emphasised the importance of increasing trade. It is this fact that made the English Company prosperous and rich.

7. The English were fortunate in having many great men on their side. Lord Clive was more than a match for Dupleix. Lawrence was another. Sir Eyre Coote was still another. Neither Count Lally nor Bussy was a match for Sir Eyre Coote. Moreover,

the French officers often quarrelled among themselves. They could not work in cooperation. This brought disaster for them. It is well known that Dupleix and La Bourdennais could not work together on the question of Madras, and the latter left the former. On the other hand, the English always helped one another and that was the secret of their success.

8. The French Government at that time was absolutely rotten. It did not even appreciate the services rendered by the French officers in India. Consequently, there was no encouragement. It is well-known that while Lally was hanged, Dupleix was prosecuted and ultimately died as penniless. On the other hand, in spite of the defects in their officers, the British Government praised its officers. It is well-known that in spite of criticism against Lord Clive, a resolution was passed ultimately describing him as the founder of the British Empire in India. The same was the case with Warren Hastings. Although he was impeached, he was honourably acquitted and later on was accorded all the respect by his countrymen.

9. According to Dr. V.A. Smith, "Neither Bussy nor Dupleix singly, nor both combined had a chance of success against the government which controlled the sea-route and the resources of the Gangetic valley. It is futile to lay stress upon the personal frailties of Dupleix, Lally or lesser men in order to explain the French failure. Neither Alexander the Great nor Napoleon could have won the empire of India by starting from Pondicherry as a base and contending with the power which held Bengal and command of the sea."

10. According to Alfred Lyall, "The two primary conditions of success whether commercial or military in India were the establishment of strong points d'oppui on the coasts, and the maintenance of a naval force that could keep open communications with Europe. The English had gained the preponderance at sea, while the French had now lost their footing on land. The causes of their failure are to be found not in the ill luck or incapacity of individuals (for that might have been repaired) but in the wide combination of circumstance that decided against French her great contest with England at that period."

ESTIMATE OF DUPLEIX

Undoubtedly, Dupleix was one of the greatest of the Frenchmen who were sent to India by the French Company. It was he

who dreamt the dream of founding a French Empire in India. He critically analysed the political condition in India and came to the conclusion that by helping one state against the other, the French could add to their resources and ultimately set up an empire of their own in the country. It has already been pointed out that to begin with, he did very well. He was able to put Chanda Sahib on the Carnatic throne. He was also able to put Muzzafar Jung on the Deccan throne. When Muzzafar Jung died he was able to put Salabat Jung in his place. He got the Northern Circars from Salabat Jung. Bussy was stationed with Salabat Jung. It appeared that the French influence in South India was to be supreme. However, things changed. Clive appeared on the scene and captured Arcot. Chanda Sahib failed to carry out the instructions of Dupleix and wasted his time in Tanjore while he should have finished the opposition of Mohammed Ali in Trichonopoly at once. The delay on the part of Chanda Sahib gave the English time to prepare. The result was that ultimately Chanda Sahib was defeated and the plans of Dupleix miscarried.

It is true that Dupleix was as good a diplomat as Clive, but Clive was also a great soldier which Dupleix was not. The result was that Dupleix was no match for Clive. No wonder, while Dupleix failed, Clive succeeded.

It cannot be denied that Dupleix was handicapped throughout by lack of funds and an inadequate supply of soldiers. If he had enough of money, he could have recruited a large number of soldiers from the Indians, but the paucity of funds did not allow him to do so. It was impossible for anybody to fight with those soldiers whose salaries had been promised but not paid. The result was that the schemes of Dupleix could not be carried out.

Critics point out that the masters of Dupleix looked more to dividends and not to the prospects of a future French Empire in India. It is true that Dupleix was also partly to blame because he did not unfold his plans and their prospects to the home government, but even when he did so, nobody felt enthusiastic about them. The only result was that he was called back.

Dupleix will always remain a tragic figure in history. He was let down both by his fortune and by his countrymen. He rightly pointed out that "he had sacrificed his youth, his fortune and his life". He had spent money out of his own pocket to finance the wars.

According to Elphinstone, "Dupleix was the first who made an extensive use of disciplined sepoys, the first who quitted the ports on the sea and marched an army into the heart of the continent, the first, above all, who discovered the illusion of the Mughal greatness and turned to his own purpose, the awe with which weaker minds still regarded that gigantic phantom".

According to Malleson, Dupleix was a great administrator and diplomat with a wonderful capacity for organisation and great persistence and tenacity of purpose.

According to Roberts, "Dupleix is a striking figure and brilliant figure in Indian history. For even if we give up the old uncritical estimate, we need not deny his real claims to greatness. His political conceptions were daring and imaginative. He raised the prestige of France in the East for some years to an amazing height, he won a reputation among Indian princes and leaders that he has never been surpassed, and he aroused a dread in his English contemporaries which is at once a tribute to his personal power and a testimony to their sagacity."

CHAPTER IV

THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL FROM 1757 to 1772

After the death of Aurangzeb, the Moghul Empire began to disintegrate and various parts of the Empire became independent under different heads. In the case of Bengal, Ali Vardi Khan made himself independent by the year 1740. He was possessed of a lot of resourcefulness and uncommon ability. The Marathas gave him a lot of trouble but ultimately he made peace with them by handing over to them the province of Orissa. He also promised to pay a sum of Rs. 12 lacs a year as Chauth. He maintained friendly relations with the Englishmen. However, he did not allow them to fortify their settlements. He continued to rule up to 1756.

After the death of Ali Vardi Khan, his grandson called Saraj-ud-Daula became the Nawab of Bengal. He was a youngman of hardly 24. He was not only self-willed but also self-indulgent. Soon after his succession to the throne, the young Nawab came into conflict with the English in Bengal. There were many causes for this rupture. In anticipation of the breaking out of the Seven Years' War, the English in Bengal began to fortify their settlements. As they did so without the permission of the Nawab, the latter ordered them to demolish the same. However, the English refused to do so and this provided a ground of complaint to the Nawab. Moreover, the English took up the cause of Shaukat Jang who was a rival of Saraj-Ud-Daula. The English also gave shelter to a rich merchant of Bengal and refused to hand him over to the Nawab even when the latter made a demand to that effect. It was also found that the Englishmen were abusing the trade privileges which were given to them by the Government.

The result of all this was that Saraj-Ud-Daula captured the English factory at Kasim Bazar and also took possession of the city of Calcutta. 146 persons including one woman were captured and shut up in a very small room at night. The heat was so great and the space was so small that 123 of them were suffocated to death. Only 23 survived and one of them was Holwell. This incident is known as the Blackhole Tragedy.

There has been a lot of controversy as to whether the Black-

hole tragedy was a reality or a myth. It is maintained by some historians that the so-called Blackhole Tragedy never took place. It is pointed out that it is physically impossible to shut up 146 persons in a room which is only 22 ft. long and 14 ft. wide. Moreover, the contemporary muslim accounts such as Seir Mutaqhrein and Riyas-Us-Salatin do not mention this incident at all. It is pointed out that the story of the Blackhole tragedy was invented merely for the purpose of arousing the indignation of the Englishmen in India and that purpose was amply served. Holwell is the only person who makes a mention of this tragedy and he is hardly reliable. Probably, he did so for the purpose of getting promotion.

Whatever the truth, when the news of the Blackhole Tragedy reached Madras, the Englishmen were indignant. At once Admiral Watson and Clive were sent to Bengal to have the revenge for the Blackhole tragedy. They were able to capture Calcutta without much difficulty. Saraj-Ud-Daula attacked Calcutta and there was an indecisive battle. However, peace was restored and the Nawab restored the privileges of the English Company. The latter were also allowed to fortify Calcutta. As the Seven Years' War had broken out, the English captured Chandranagore from the French.

Although outwardly Clive had made peace with Saraj-Ud-Daula, he was determined to have revenge for the Blackhole Tragedy. He set up a conspiracy against the Nawab. Rai Durlab, the Treasurer of the Nawab, Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-Chief of the Nawab's forces, and Jagat Seth, the richest banker of Bengal, were induced to revolt against the Nawab. The details of the conspiracy were settled through Amin Chand. It was decided that Lord Clive was to march atonce to Plassey. Mir Jafar was to desert the Nawab and join Clive with all the forces under his command. The Nawab was to be deposed and Mir Jafar was to be put in his place.

However, when all the details were settled, Amin Chand threatened to divulge the whole conspiracy unless he was paid a sum of Rs. 30 lacs. He also wanted that amount to be entered into the treaty. When Clive came to know of this demand, he was upset. But he made up his mind to deal with Amin Chand in the way he deserved. He got two copies of the treaty prepared. One was on white paper and the other was on Red paper. In the treaty on the white paper there was no mention of the payment of Rs. 30 lacs to Amin Chand. The treaty on the red paper provided for that amount. When Clive asked Admiral Watson to sign on the false treaty, he

refused. The result was that Clive himself forged the signatures of Watson on the false treaty. This action of Clive has been universally condemned but he defended it on the ground of expediency.

When everything was ready, Clive wrote a letter to Nawab Saraj-Ud-Daula complaining of the grievances of the Englishmen in Bengal. He marched towards Plassey at the head of his army. To begin with, the situation seemed to be very serious for Clive. He was advised not to fight. However, he made up his mind to give battle to the enemy. His artillery created confusion in the ranks of the enemy. At this time, Mir Jafar joined Clive. As soon as this happened, the battle was over. Clive got a cheap and decisive victory. Saraj-Ud-Daula ran away to Murshidabad and from there to Patna. However, he was captured and put to death by Miran, the son of Mir Jafar.

The result of the battle of Plassey was that Mir Jafar was put on the throne of Bengal. He gave 24 Parganas and Rs. one crore to the Company. He also gave presents to other English officers of the Company. The share of Clive was £334,000.

According to Admiral Watson, the battle of Plassey was of "extraordinary importance not only to the Company but to British nation in general." The importance of the battle to the English has been described in these words by a contemporary: "Many of those who would have totally lost the fruits of long labour and various hardships, and who must have been beggars if subject to any other power, are again easy in their fortunes, and some of them have already transported their effects to their native Country; the proper return for the assistance they derived from her Maternal affection; and as these events have distinguished the present age and present administration, so their effects will probably be felt in succeeding times. The Company, by an accession of territory, has an opportunity of making an ample settlement; which under proper management, may not only be extremely serviceable to her, but also to the nation; and having a revenue from these lands, the mint at Calcutta, and the lease of saltpetre at Patna, which amounts on the whole to one hundred thousand pounds a year, there is a provision against future dangers upon the spot, and without further expense."

The defeat and humiliation of the Governor of an Indian Province by the English Company added to its prestige and strength. Moreover, the battle of Plassey demonstrated the utterly corrupt

political life in Bengal. It also shows that the Hindus were absolutely dissatisfied with the Muslim rule in the province and were prepared to make common cause with anybody who may be able to end the Muslim rule. However, when all has been said, it cannot be maintained that the battle of Plassey firmly established the British power in India or in Bengal. The British had still to fight for another 50 years or more to secure that position.

Mir Jafar (1757-1760): Mir Jafar was the Nawab of Bengal from 1757 to 1760. He was neither brilliant nor active. He had not the capacity to carry on the administration of the province with his own hands. Throughout this period, he was merely a figurehead and the real power was in the hands of Clive. Moreover, he was surrounded on all sides by difficulties. He had no money in the treasury. When he ascended the throne, he had not enough even to meet his previous commitments. As a matter of fact, the English Company had to agree that one—half of the amount should be paid by 31st of October 1757 and the “remainder to be paid within the compass of three years by equal payments every six months.” At first, the Company received Rs. 72,71,660. On 9th August 1757, Rs. 16,55,358 were received by the Company. On 30th August, 1757, gold, jewels and cash amounting to Rs. 15,99,737 were received by the Company. The other members of the Calcutta Council got huge amounts. The result of all this was that Mir Jafar was worried by the problem of finance. He had no money even to pay the soldiers and some of them mutinied. The English Company also pressed him for the payment of the instalments but he expressed his inability to do so.

Mir Jafar made a mistake in trying to crush such Hindu officers as Durlabhram and Ramnarain. This led to a lot of discontentment in the country. Through the efforts of Clive, a reconciliation was brought about between Mir Jafar on the one hand and Durlabhram and Raja Ramnarain on the other.

Mir Jafar had to meet the danger from the Dutch. The real cause of the Dutch trouble was their jealousy of the British influence in Bengal. Although they had remained neutral when the English and the Nawab fought, they were feeling worried about their own future in the province. “The Dutch were in fact in the same position in Bengal now, as the English would have been in, in South India, had Saunders done nothing to counteract the schemes of Dupleix. Bisdorn and Vernet, the Dutch leaders, have therefore the

same justification for attempting to overthrow the English supremacy as Saunders and Clive have for contesting that of the French in the South."

In 1759, 6 or 7 Dutch vessels with 300 European and 600 Malayan soldiers appeared in the Ganges. The English also got ready to meet them. The Dutch were defeated at Bidderra by Colonel Forde. The Dutch fleet was also defeated and captured. They made peace with the English. They acknowledged themselves as the aggressors and agreed to pay costs and damages. At this stage, Miran, the son of Mir Zafar, also appeared on the scene. He was indignant against the Dutch. However, he, "received their deputies; and after severe altercation, forgave them and promised ample protection in their trade and privileges on the following terms: that they shall never meditate war, introduce or enlist troops, or raise fortifications in the country; that they shall be allowed to keep up one hundred and twenty-five European soldiers, and no more, for the service of their factories of Chinsura, Kassimbazar and Patna; that they shall forthwith send their ships and remaining troops out of the country; and that a breach of any one of these articles shall be punished with utter expulsion."

After the battle of Bidderra, the Dutch were not able to make any headway in India. Their existence in India was absolutely dependent on the goodwill of the English.

Invasion of Ali Gohour: Ali Gohour was the eldest son of the Moghul Emperor Alamgir. He revolted against his father and invaded Bihar. He was assisted by Mohammad Quli Khan, the first cousin of Shuja-Ud-Daula of Oudh and the Subedar of Allahabad. Ali Gohour advanced up to Patna and besieged the same. However, he was defeated by Clive. For this help, Clive got from Mir Jafar the revenues of the land south of Calcutta. This came to be known as Clive's Jagir. In 1760, Ali Gohour who had become Emperor Shah Alam, attacked again but was again defeated. According to Sarkar, "all of his hopes of independence crushed, and in utter penury and lack of supporters, the sovereign of the Delhi Empire now sued for the mercy of the English."

Deposition of Mir Jafar: There were many causes which were responsible for the deposition of Mir Jafar in 1760. His treasury was empty and he had no money to pay either to the company in the form of instalments or bribes to the servants of the Company. The

servants of the Company also thought that if there was a change of Government in Bengal, there was every likelihood of their getting presents or bribes from the new successor. The invasions of Ali Gohour and the Dutch had also cost Mir Jafar a lot of money. When the Marathas attacked Bengal, he had again to ask for the English help. However, every intervention on the part of the English company "made the control of the Company over Bengal more unmistakable and the restraining of its servants more difficult ; while the burden of maintaining these troops formed a heavy drain on the company's resources, and Mir Jafar, whose treasury was exhausted, could not defray those charges."

The situation in Bengal became desperate after the death of Miran, the son of Mir Jafar. Mir Kasim, the son in law of Mir Jafar, began to aspire to be the Nawab of Bengal. He had already given a proof of his intelligence as the Faujdar of Rungpur and Purniah. He was able to win over the Calcutta Council. He entered into a treaty with the English Company in September 1760. By this treaty, he agreed to give to the English Company the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong. He also agreed to pay immediately the arrears of money due from Mir Jafar to the English Company. He also promised to pay Rs. 5 lacs towards the Carnatic wars. He agreed to pay £ 50,000 to Vansittart, £ 27,000 to Holwell and £ 25,000 to the other members of the Calcutta Council.

When all this was settled between the Calcutta Council and Mir Kasim, Vansittart went to Murshidabad to secure the consent of Mir Jafar. The latter strongly objected to the new arrangement. However, he found that his objections were of no avail. He declared, "His life would not be worth a day's purchase once Mir Kasim had been recognised and he would rather retire to Calcutta than continue to be the Nawab on such terms." Mir Jafar left the throne and went away to Calcutta. There he began to live as a pensioner of Mir Kasim. It cannot be denied that the deposition of Mir Jafar was, "in breach of a treaty founded on the most solemn oaths." The members of the Calcutta Council deserve all the condemnation. They were bound to support him by "the most solemn ties." His deposition was "an indelible stain upon our national character." Perhaps, Mir Jafar deserved this fate. He himself had betrayed his master in 1757.

Mir Kasim (1760-63): It is admitted on all hands that Mir Kasim was the most efficient of all the Nawabs of Bengal from 1756

onwards. He had given a proof of his administrative ability as a Faujdar. He was a man who could win over people by his personality. His contemporaries have praised his qualities of head and heart. According to Vansittart, "he discharged the Company's debt and the heavy arrears of his army, retrenched the expenses of his court which had consumed the income of his predecessors and secured his own authority over the country by reducing the power of the Zamindars who were before continual disturbers of the peace of the province." Ghulam Hussain has paid a tribute to Mir Kasim in these words: "In unravelling the intricacies of affairs of government and especially the knotty mysteries of finance; in examining and determining private differences; in establishing regular payment for his troops and for his household; in honouring and rewarding men of merit and men of learning, in conducting his expenditure exactly between the extremities of parsimony and prodigality; and in knowing intuitively where he must spend freely and where with moderation,—in all these qualifications, he was an incomparable man indeed and the most extraordinary prince of his age."

Mir Kasim made a very good beginning. He suppressed the rebellious Zamindars of Bengal and Bihar who had challenged the authority of the Nawab on previous occasions. He forced the old officers to give up the money which they had misappropriated. He levied some Abwabs or additional cesses. He tried to organise his army in the same way as Europeans did. He made arrangements for the manufacture of fire-locks and guns at Monghyr. He transferred his Capital from Murshidabad to Monghyr as the former was dangerously near to Calcutta. He removed Ramnarain from the Deputy Governorship of Bengal and took possession of his accumulated wealth.

However, he was not given a fair chance by the English who has put him on the throne. As time went on passing, the relations between the Nawab and the English began to worsen and the cause of all that trouble was the question of Dustuck. By a Firman of 1717, the English Company had been given the privilege of free sea—borne trade. However, the servants of the Company had taken advantage of the chaotic condition in the country and started abusing the privilege by extending the same to their private trade of all kinds. According to Verelst, "a trade was carried on without payment of duties in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents and Gomasthas, not contented with injuring the

people, trampled on the authority of Government, binding and punishing the Nawab's officers wherever they presumed to interfere." Warren Hastings warned his countrymen that they were "erecting themselves into Lords and oppressors of the country." The members of the Calcutta Council displayed, according to Macaulay, "the strength of civilization without its mercy." Mir Kasim brought to the notice of the Calcutta Council the injustice of the abuse of powers by the servants of the Company who were making huge fortunes for themselves at the expense of the state revenues. When he could not find any other way out of the difficulty, he abolished all the trade duties and thereby put his own subjects on the same footing as the Englishmen were.

However, this was too much for the Englishmen. They could not tolerate such a thing from a person whom they themselves had put on the throne and who was their own creature. They demanded the reimposition of duties. Mir Kasim refused and the situation began to deteriorate. The matters were precipitated by Mr. Ellis who was the head of the English factory at Patna. According to Ramsay Muir, Mr. Ellis deliberately aimed at war "in order that the obstacle to the private traffic of himself and his friends might be removed."

In June 1763 Major Adams was sent to fight against Mir Kasim. Many battles were fought with the Nawab's troops and most important of them were those at Katwah, Giria, Suti and Udaynala.

When Mir Kasim found his cause hopeless, he proceeded towards Patna. In despair, he ordered the Indian prisoners to be put to death and some of them were Raja Ramnarain, Raja Rajballabh etc. Then came the turn of the European prisoners. He ordered his officers to kill all the European prisoners. However, their reply was as follows: "No. Turn them out with arms in their hands and we will fight them to death. We are soldiers and not executors." However, that work was done by a German named Walter Rheinhardt. He is also known by the name of Somru. He ordered his soldiers to mount the roofs of the prison and fire on the prisoners. The result was that not a single man was saved.

Even before the defeat of Mir Kasim, Mir Jafar had already been declared as the future Nawab of Bengal. This had been done in July 1763. The new Nawab agreed that "the English shall carry on their trade by means of their own Dustucks, free from all duties,

taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country excepting the salt on which a duty of two and a half per cent is to be levied on the Rowna or Hoogly market price ; wherein, it is further agreed, that the late Perwannahs issued by Kossim Ally Khan granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years shall be reversed and called in and the duties collected as before." Mir Jafar also promised to make compensation for all losses incurred by the English Company. However, his throne was not a bed of roses. The evils of Dustucks began to increase. Even the revenues of the state could not be collected.

Battle of Buxar: After his defeats in 1763, Mir Kasim went away to Oudh. Emperor Shah Alam was also in Oudh. The Nawabs of Oudh looked forward to Bengal for their expansion and consequently a conflict between the Nawab of Oudh and the English was inevitable. Mir Kasim helped the Nawab Wazir of Oudh by suppressing the rebels of Bundelkhand. It was agreed between the parties that "on the Vezir's crossing the Ganga and entering the enemy's country, Mir Kasim from that day and for so long as the expedition might last, would pay him for the expenses of his army eleven lacs of rupees per month." Some adventurous Frenchmen also joined. To begin with, there were some indecisive engagements. However, in October 1764, there took place the famous Battle of Buxar. Munro defeated both Mir Kasim and Nawab Vezir of Oudh. Shuja-Ud-Daula was finally defeated in May 1765 and Oudh was completely prostrated at the feet of the English. The Moghul Emperor came over to the side of the English and Mir Kasim spent the rest of his days as a wanderer.

Historians have attached great importance to the battle of Buxar. According to Broome, on the battle of Buxar depended the fate of India. According to Sir James Stephen, the battle of Buxar deserves far more credit than the battle of Plassey as the origin of the British power in India. It was a fiercely contested battle. The English lost 847 killed and wounded. The enemy left behind 2,000 as dead. It was not merely the Nawab of Bengal but the Emperor of all India and his titular Prime Minister who were defeated. If the battle of Plassey enabled the English Company to put a puppet on the throne of Bengal, the battle of Buxar did much more. It gave the English an opportunity to bring under their control the North-Western frontier of the Subah. According to Ramsay Muir, "Buxar finally rivetted the shackles of Company's rule upon Bengal."

It may be noted that Mir Jafar remained the Nawab of Bengal for the second time from July 1763 to February 1765. When he died in 1765, the Calcutta Council put his second son named Najam-Ud-Daulah on the throne of Bengal. However, all power passed into the hands of the English Company. By the arrangement of February 1765, the new Nawab agreed to maintain troops only for the support of his dignity, the maintenance of internal peace and the collection of the revenues. The English got the right of controlling the appointment of the officers of the Nawab. At this time, the condition of Bengal was chaotic. There was anarchy, confusion, bribery, corruption and extortion everywhere. This was the state of affairs when Clive came to India in 1765 as the Governor of Bengal for the second time.

Clive's second Governorship of Bengal (1765-67): The period of second Governorship of Bengal by Lord Clive is remarkable for the successful handling of the political and administrative problems which confronted the Company in 1765. His masterly handling of the situation silenced all opposition and created an atmosphere of calm and quiet at least for some time.

The administrative reforms were rather difficult. The covenanted servants of the English Company were demoralized by the conditions under which they had been working and the facility with which they were able to make fortunes. A kind of a tradition had grown that on the occasion of every change in the government in Bengal, presents should be made to the servants of the Company. On the occasion of the accession of Najam-Ud-Daulah, the son of Mir Jafar, in 1765, presents were got even from the Ministers. The worst thing about the whole affair was that all this was done in the face of the specific orders from the Company prohibiting the acceptance of presents and requiring its servants to sign covenants agreeing not to accept them in future. The servants were under the impression that as Clive himself had accepted presents in the past, he will not be able to take action against them. However, they were mistaken in their calculations. Clive was determined to carry out the orders of the Company. He forgot altogether that he himself was enjoying £ 30,000 a year from the Jagir. Clive demanded of all the civil and military servants of the Company to enter into covenants to the effect that they would not accept presents. This they did under the impression that the zeal of Clive would cool down after some time and he would modify his own orders accordingly. However, the

servants of the Company found that Clive was faithful in the performance of his duties towards the Company.

When Clive came to Calcutta, he found that there was a great lack of senior servants of the Company. The reason was that the salaries of the Company's servants were hopelessly low and efficient persons were not available on those terms. He found the junior servants occupying all the important jobs and making profits by selling their passes to the Indian merchants. Clive found that the office of the Secretary of a Department was held by a writer of three years' standing. The Paymaster of the army was merely a writer. The same was the case with the office of an accountant. The intention of Lord Clive was to regulate the private trade in such a way that out of the profits higher salaries may be given and efficient persons may be forthcoming. Although Clive was in favour of raising the salaries of the servants of the Company, he failed in his objective on account of the opposition of the Court of Directors of the Company. The result was that he had to resort to some questionable methods in order to give effect to his own scheme.

Salt was a monopoly of the Company and Lord Clive decided to administer the same and employ the profits arising out of it for the payment of additional allowances to civil and military servants. Out of the profits, the Governor was to receive £17,500 per annum, a Colonel in the army or a member of the Council £7,000, and persons occupying lower ranks were to get less money.

The starting of a trading company with the object of giving higher salaries to the servants of the Company was contrary to the orders of the Company. Clive was under the impression that the Company would ignore this action of his. However, when the Directors came to know of it, they immediately ordered its abolition. But, Lord Clive kept those orders suspended so long as he was in Bengal and hoped to procure their reversal on his return to England. As the Directors insisted, the Company had to be wound up. According to Dodwell, "in this matter Clive had been unduly blamed. His proposals amounted in reality to the continuation of the monopoly which had been customary and the assignment of the revenues so raised to the payment of establishment." Lord Clive was condemned for what Lord Cornwallis was praised later on. The mistake which Clive made was probably one of tactics.

There was a strong resistance to his reforms from the servants of the Company. When Clive thundered against the rapacity and

oppression universally prevalent and declared that "every spark of sentiment and public spirit was lost and extinguished in the inordinate lust of unmerited wealth," they failed to understand as to how Clive himself was above board. An association was formed by them. Clive's entertainments were boycotted. Memorials were prepared. However, when the servants of the Company found that Clive was adamant, they submitted to their lot. The result of this was that Clive was able to clear the Aegean stables of Company's establishment.

Lord Clive had to deal with the military side of the administration also. While doing so, he had to face a difficult situation. For many years, the English Company had been trying to cut down the Bhatta or field allowances of his military officers. Those allowances were made to make good the extra cost of living in the field as compared with the living in garrison. The origin of the double Bhatta could be traced to the Carnatic Wars where Chanda Sahib and Mohd. Ali paid Bhatta to the French and English officers. Likewise, Mir Jafar paid double Bhatta to the English soldiers. Mir Kasim did likewise. However, when the English Company got the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the duty of paying double Bhatta to the soldiers fell on the shoulders of the Company. No wonder, the Directors of the Company sent instructions to reduce expenditure on that account.

Lord Clive prepared a comprehensive scheme in this connection. The Directors of the Company were divided into three Brigades, each consisting of one regiment of European infantry, one Company of artillery, six battalions of Sepoys, and one troop of black cavalry. One Brigade was stationed at Monghyr, another at Bankipore and the third one at Allahabad. Clive laid down that the officers in the cantonment at Monghyr or Patna were to draw half Bhatta as the officers did at Trichnopoly. When they took the field, they were to draw Bhatta while within the limits of Bengal and Bihar, but if they crossed into Oudh, they were entitled to double Bhatta. For a Captain, that amounted to reduce three, six, twelve rupees a day.

A combination was formed among the military officers to resist the enforcement of the new regulations. It was decided to resign simultaneously their commissions. They were encouraged to take this action by Sir Robert Fletcher. However, Lord Clive was determined to crush all opposition and carried out the new regulation. He at once accepted the resignations of those who offered them and got

this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate under the sanction of Subah, every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign Powers can be effectively crushed, without any apparent inter-position of our own authority and all real grievances complained of by them can, through the same channel, be examined into a redress. Be it therefore always remembered that there is a Subah and though the revenues belong to the Company, the territorial jurisdiction must still rest in the chiefs of the country, acting under him and this Presidency in conjunction."

Roberts says that even Clive would not have denied the charge that the system set up by him was not perfect. But he remarks that "Clive could not afford to indulge in counsels of perfection; he had to deal with actualities. He admitted that the Nawab had only 'the name of shadow of authority,' yet "this name this shadow it is indispensably necessary that we should venerate." Verelst tells us that it was impossible to take over the full government of the province. In the first place, the number of servants of the company required for the task of administration was very limited. However, they were quite ignorant of the task of administration, for they were merely writers in the Company's service.

From 1765 to 1772, the actual administration was in the hands of two Indian officials known as Naib Diwans, the Company itself being the actual Diwan. Mohammad Raza Khan was in Bengal and Raja Shitab Rai was in Bihar. In 1769 were appointed British Supervisors who were given "a controlling though not an immediate, power over the Collectors." The evil of the system was that while the Company itself was in serious financial straits, its servants were returning to England with big fortunes.

Becher, Resident at Murshidabad wrote thus in 1769: "It must give pain as an Englishman to have reason to think, that since the accession of the company to the Diwani, the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted. This fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards its ruin, while the English have really so great a share in the administration."

Moreover, the Directors strongly suspected that the Naib Diwans were intercepting a large part of the revenue which would have filled the Company's treasury. Hastings was appointed in 1772 definitely with a view to end the Dual system. The Court of Directors had decided "to stand forth as Diwan." He was in fact selected

to take the place of the three supervisors. "We now arm you with our full powers," wrote the Directors of the Company, "to make a complete reformation." Although he was given definite instructions on most points, it is to a certain extent true, as Lord Thinlow says, that he was ordered "to destroy the whole fabric of the double government—he was to form a system for the government of Bengal, under instructions to general, that I may fairly say the whole plan was left to his judgement and discretion."

Formally, the abolition of the Dual government did no more than that the company should hence-forth collect the revenues through the agency of its own servants. But in reality, it meant becoming responsible for the whole civil administration. Hastings hardly exaggerated it when he described it as "implanting the authority of the company, and the sovereignty of Great Britain, in the constitution of this country." The first step was the abolition of the offices of Naib Diwans of Bengal and Bihar, and the prosecution of Mohd. Raza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai for peculation. After undergoing a long trial and being kept in custody for rather more than a year, they were both acquitted. The trial was merely a formal affair designed indirectly to remove them. Although Warren Hastings was opposed to it, it served the purpose. "The retrospections and examinations are death to my views," said Hastings.

Thus it was that the Dual System which was set up by Clive, was abolished by Warren Hastings. It was not intended to last for ever. It was a stop-gap. It was a make-shift arrangement which aimed at tiding over the difficulties confronting the English in 1765. It was the creation of the genius of the Englishmen who believe in bit-by-bit advance. It was the policy of muddling through, which, though often misunderstood, serves its purpose in the long run.

Foreign policy: Clive had also to deal with Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Emperor Shah Alam. It has already been pointed out that both of them were at this time in the hands of the English and were asking for favours. Oudh lay defenceless before the British armies. On his arrival, Clive found that Vansittart had already promised Oudh to the Moghul Emperor. To Clive, it seemed to be a foolish step. It would have been impossible for Shah Alam to maintain his hold over Oudh. Negotiations were opened with Sirah-Ud-Daula and ultimately the treaty of Allahabad was signed in August 1765. By this treaty, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh was confirmed in his kingdom with the exception of the Districts of Kora and

Allahabad, Chunar and the Zamindari of Benaras including Ghazipur. The Nawab Wazir also agreed to pay Rs. 15 lacs as war indemnity. He also entered into a defence alliance with the English Company by which the latter agreed to help him for the defence of his frontiers and the former promised to pay the cost of maintenance. The Nawab Wazir also agreed to allow the English Company to carry on trade duty-free throughout the whole of his dominions.

The result of the above provisions was that Oudh was created into a buffer state. The soundness of the policy of Clive with regard to Oudh can be proved from the fact that right up from 1765 to 1856 this policy was continued by the successors of Clive. According to Ramsay Muir, "it was a matter of fixed policy to maintain a close alliance with Oudh which was useful as a bulwark against the threatening power of the Marathas.

Lord Clive also made the settlement with Shah Alam. He was given the Districts of Kora and Allahabad which was secured from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. The English Company also promised to pay Rs. 26 lacs a year as a tribute. In return for all this, the Moghul Emperor granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English Company. It was also provided that Clive's Jagir after 10 years was to go to English Company.

The settlement with the Moghul Emperor was criticised from many quarters. It was pointed out that Lord Clive was over-generous to a political fugitive. Men like Sir Eyre Coote advocated a British march to Delhi and the conquest of India in the name of Shah Alam. It is true that from the military point of view, such a conquest was a possibility, but Lord Clive regarded that venture to be dangerous. According to him, to go further was a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd that no Governor and Council in their sense could even adopt it. The soundness of Clive's judgements was proved by the fact that it was with great difficulty that the Company was able to defend its existing frontiers against the foreigners. Had the British frontiers been extended unnecessarily in 1765, the problem of defence would have become hopeless.

Clive left India in 1767 when he was absolutely broken in health. He entered Parliament and was greatly admired to begin with. However, his critics started troubling him. In 1773, Colonel Burgoyne moved a resolution in Parliament with Lord Clive "through the influence of the powers with which he was entrusted as a member of the Select Committee and Commander-in-Chief of the British forces

did obtain and possess himself of the sum of £ 234,000, and that in doing so the said Robert Clive abused the power with which he was entrusted to the evil example of the servants of the public and to the dishonour and detriment of the state." The resolution was not passed in this form. After a lengthy debate, the following resolution was unanimously carried; "that Robert Clive at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country."

Estimate of Clive: A critical examination of the work done by Clive in India shows that his services to the British Empire in India were great. He was responsible for the capture and defence of Arcot in 1751. In collaboration with Lawrence, he was able to frustrate all the designs of Dupleix. He learnt his soldiering from General Lawrence and his diplomacy from Governor Saunders. In 1756, he cooperated with the Marathas to put down the pirate stronghold of Ghariah. By his victory of Plassey, he laid the foundations of the British power in Bengal and provided the basis for further expansion into the interior of the ~~Company~~ ^{Country}. During his second Governorship of Bengal, he established Oudh as a Buffer state. He was not only a great warrior but also a great administrator and statesman. Lord Chatham compared Lord Clive with Frederick the Great, of Prussia. According to Burke, Lord Clive settled great foundations, when he "forded a deep water with an unknown bottom, he left a bridge for his successors over which the lame might hobble and the blind might grope their way." According to P. E. Roberts, "inspite of his faults, there was the stamp of grandeur on all the words and actions of Clive." His headlong valour on the battlefield, his splendid daring and audacity in a political crisis, his moral courage in facing disaffected and mutinous subordinates, his force and fire in debate, all justified the lofty verdict of Lord Macaulay that our Island has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great, either in arms or in council."

Reference may be made to two views which, however, do not do justice to Clive. According to Sir Charles Wilson, "There is little trace of skilful combination in his plans, and on some occasions he appears to have neglected the most obvious military precautions. To seek the enemy, and on finding him, to attack with headlong valour seems to have been his guiding principle, and his successes were due rather to his personal intrepidity, and to his power of inspiring large masses of men with confidence than to studied plans or dexterous monouvres." Horace Walpole referred to Clive in these

words: "Though Lord Clive was so frank and high-spirited as to confess a whole folio of his Machiavellism, they were so ungenerous as to have a mind to punish him for assassination, forgery, and treachery and it makes him very indignant."

Lord Clive who was the founder of the British Empire in India, was also the architect of the ruin of the people of Bengal. "The corruption, the oppression and the mal-administration under which they groaned for years were in no small measure due to him. His lust for gold amounted to a mania which proved contagious and Bengal was rifled of its treasures by a set of rapacious adventurers whom none could control. He reduced the Nawab to a figurehead, deprived him of the power and means of doing good and shirked responsibility himself. There was nothing new or original in his plans; he followed in the footsteps of Dupleix and Bussey and his success was due to a fortuitous combination of circumstances and treachery than to genius." We might conclude with the following words of Dr. V.A. Smith: "It appears to me impossible for the imparital historian to deny that Clive was too willing to meet Asiatic intriguers on their own ground; too greedy of riches, and too much disposed to ignore delicate scruples in their acquisition. That verdict undoubtedly tarnishes his military and precludes the historian from according to him the unqualified admiration which his heroic qualities seem to exact. His most outstanding characteristic was an inflexible will which guided his conduct to success in all affairs, whether military or civil. His military genius and his gift for leadership were abundantly manifested both in the Peninsula and in Bengal. His abilities as a statesman were exhibited chiefly in his second administration when he confronted extraordinary difficulties with unflinching courage."

Bengal from 1767-1772. According to Roberts, two men of mediocre ability bridged over the interval between the departure of Clive and the appointment of Warren Hastings as the Governor of Bengal. Those two persons were Verelst (1767-9) and Cartier (1770-2). Under their weak rule, the people of Bengal suffered terribly. The defects of the double government of Bengal added to their sufferings, English left everything to be done by the Nawab and the latter did nothing. The people suffered on account of the mistakes of omission and commission of the Company and the Nawab. It is stated that many cultivators left their fields and became vagabonds and dacoits.

The servants of the Company carried on their private trade

and made fortunes for themselves. They also continued to enjoy the monopoly of trade in salt, betelnuts and other articles. There was none to interfere with the private trade of the servants of the Company and their Gomashtas. The government realized the seriousness of the situation but seemed to be helpless.

At the top of it, there came the great famine of 1770. Practically, one-third of the population was swept away. The famine was in a very violent form in Bihar. Raja Shitab Rai, the Deputy Governor, reported that more than fifty poor wretches died every day in the streets of Patna and sometimes the number of deaths was three times as great. Sir W.W. Hunter has described the effects of famine in these words: "The husbandmen sold their cattle; they sold their implements of agriculture; they devoured their seed-grain; they sold their sons and daughters till at length no buyers of children could be found. They ate the leaves of the trees and the grass of the fields; and in June 1770, the resident of the Darbar affirmed that the living were feeding on the dead".

When troubles come, they come in battalions. Famine was followed by fever and small-pox in a virulent form. The streets of Murshidabad were littered with heaps of the dying and the dead. Instead of helping the people of Bengal, the servants of the Company exploited the situation to the maximum. They sold the things as dear as they could. There was no remission of land revenue. If a certain portion could not be collected from certain individuals on account of their deaths, the deficiency was made up by charging the same from others. The result was that the people had to undergo untold sufferings. Nothing better could be expected from the merchants of London. This state of affairs continued till 1772 when Warren Hastings took up the reigns of office as the Governor of Bengal.

CHAPTER V

WARREN HASTINGS (1772-85)

Warren Hastings joined the English East India Company as a writer at the age of 18. Later on, he was appointed the Resident of Kassim Bazar where he showed that he was a man of parts. When that place was captured by Siraj-ud-Daula, he was captured but he managed to escape. In 1761, he was made a member of the Calcutta Council. He went home for a few years and came back as a member of the Madras Council. After the retirement of Cartier, he was appointed the Governor of Bengal in 1772. After the passing of the Regulating Act, he became the Governor-General of Bengal.

When Warren Hastings took up office as Governor of Bengal, he had to face many difficulties. There was chaos in the country. There was practically no administration. The servants of the Company were doing havoc to the people. While the Company was getting nothing and its treasury was empty, its servants were making fortunes. There was no administration of justice worth the name. Everything required overhauling. In addition to these troubles, the Marathas were a source of danger. The Emperor Shah Alam had left the protection of the British and gone to the Marathas. Haider Ali in the Deccan was another threat. Warren Hastings had to meet all these difficulties.

Warren Hastings' Reforms: (1) **Administrative Reforms:** Warren Hastings carried out a large number of reforms and those may be dismissed under four heads *viz.*, administration, revenue, commercial and judicial. As regard administrative reforms, Warren Hastings decided to put an end to the dual system of Government in Bengal as established by Lord Clive in 1765. The Company was to take over the responsibility of the administration of the province. They were to stand forth as Diwans and collect the revenue through the agency of their own servants. Mohd. Raza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai who were the deputy Nawabs of Bengal and Bihar were tried for peculation and removed from their offices. However, they were honourably acquitted but the object was achieved. The treasury was shifted from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The young Nawab of Bengal was put under the control of Munni Begum, the

widow of Mir Jafar. His pension was reduced from 32 lacs to 16 lacs.

Revenue Reforms: Although the Company had got the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, it had not taken over the work of collection of land revenue into its own hands. The work had been left in the hands of functionaries called Amils. The Amils were no better than contractors and the tenants suffered a lot. Although supervisors had been appointed in 1769, no improvement was made. Warren Hastings appointed a Committee and its President toured certain parts of Bengal to collect information. His conclusion was that the Company must directly collect the revenue. Consequently, Warren Hastings appointed collectors for revenue collection and administration. They were to be helped by native officers. Settlement was made for 5 years with the highest bidders. To supervise the whole organisation, a Board of Revenue was established at Calcutta. (The system of farming out the land to the highest bidder for 5 years was found to be defective and consequently in 1777 the old system of bidding for a year was resorted to.)

As the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam had left the protection of the British, Warren Hastings stopped the payment of 26 lacs of rupees every year. He also took over the districts of Kora and Allahabad from the Moghul Emperor and sold them to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh for Rs. 50 lacs. He made the accounts of revenue simple and intelligible and made many provisions for the protection of the Ryots. He also cut off from the list a large number of Abwabs. The Baniyas were prevented from lending money to the Ryots.

Commercial Reforms: He prohibited the use of Dusticks by the servants of the Company and thereby added to the revenues of the Company. A large number of customs houses or Chowkies were hampering the growth of trade in the country and consequently he abolished them. In future, there were to be only 5 customs houses at Calcutta, Hugli, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca. The uniform reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in duties of all goods except salt, betelnut and tobacco, was ordered. The result of all these reforms was that trade improved. Warren Hastings boasted that "goods passed unmolested to the extremities of the province."

Judicial Reforms: Warren Hastings carried out a large number of reforms in the judicial sphere. In 1772, he provided for the collection in each district of a provincial Court of Diwani Adalat for all civil cases. Over this court presided the collector.

Provision was made for appeal to the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta which consisted of the Governor and at least two members of the Council. Provision was also made for criminal courts. In the Faujdari Adalat sat the Kadi and Mufti of the District with two Moulvis to expound the law. It was the duty of the Collector to see that in criminal cases evidence was duly submitted and weighed and the decision was not only fair and impartial but also given in the open court. The Faujdari Adalats were supervised by the Sadar Nizamat Adalat which was presided over by the Daroga Adalat appointed by the Nazim. The Daroga Adalat consisted of the Chief Kadi, the Chief Mufti and three Moulvies. The proceedings of the Sadar Nizamat Adalat were supervised by the Governor and the Council.

Provision was made for the improvement of procedure in the courts. The courts were not only to keep their records of proceedings but also send the same to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The head farmers of the Parganas were empowered to try cases so that the Ryots may not have to travel long distances in search of justice. Provision was made for arbitration by consent. In case of marriage, inheritance, caste and religious usage, the decision was to be given according to the Koran for the Mohammadans and Shastras for the Hindus. The decisions of the Mofussil Adalats were final up to Rs. 5,000/-. In other cases, an appeal could be taken. Faujdari Adalats were not allowed to pass death sentences. Fines over Rs. 100/- were to be confirmed by the Sadar Adalat. Dacoits were to be executed in their own villages and their families were to be made slaves. Their villages were to be fined and the police officers who captured them, were to be given rewards. Warren Hastings made certain changes in 1774. The three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were divided into six divisions and in each of these divisions a Council consisting of 4 or 5 covenanted servants of the English Company was created. Each division consisted of many districts and a Diwan or Amil took the place of the Collector. The latter Council collected revenue but also acted as a judge. Provision was also made for the Provincial Court of Appeal.

A further change in the judicial system was made in 1780. Provision was made for the establishment of a court of Diwani Adalat in every division. This court was to be presided over by the Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat. He was to be an Englishman and a covenanted servant of the Company. The Provincial Courts of Appeal were deprived of their judicial powers. Up to Rs. 1,000/-

the decisions of the Court of Diwani Adalat were to be final and if the amount involved was more, an appeal could be taken to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.

There was constant conflict between the Supreme Court of Calcutta and the executive and consequently Warren Hastings appointed Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, as the sole judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Impey held this office for two years when he was made to resign on account of criticism at home. However, he was able to introduce a large number of reforms which improved the administration of justice in the Mofussil.

In 1781, it was provided that Superintendents of Diwani Adalats were also to act as magistrates. They were to assist those persons who were suspected to have committed crimes. After arrest, they were to be sent to the nearest Mofussil Faujdari Adalat for trial.

Warren Hastings created a new department at Calcutta. Its head was known as the Remembrancer of Criminal Courts. He was to receive all the reports and returns from the Mofussil Faujdari Adalats. His duty was to analyse those reports and prepare extracts from them. However, that work was not very useful.

Warren Hasting's Oudh policy: Warren Hastings continued the buffer state policy towards Oudh. He was determined to continue good relations with the Nawab on account of the danger from the Marathas. In 1772, he concluded the treaty of Banaras by which Kora and Allahabad were sold to the Nawab of Oudh for Rs. 50 lacs. If the Nawab paid a subsidy, the English Company was to lend him the aid of British troops whenever required.

The Rohilla War: The people of Rohilkhand were frequently attacked by the Marathas and consequently their ruler entered into a treaty with the Nawab Wazir of Oudh in 1772. It was agreed between the parties that if the Marathas invaded Rohilkhand, the Nawab Wazir was to help the Rohillas and get Rs. 40 lacs as the price of his help. The very next year, the Marathas invaded Rohilkhand, but retired on account of the approach of British and Oudh troops. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh demanded money and the Rohillas evaded it. Ultimately, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh contracted with the English Company to bear all the expenses of war and to pay Rs. 40 lacs in addition if he were given military help to conquer Rohilkhand. Warren Hastings accepted the proposition. British troops were sent. Rohilkhand was conquered. Hafiz Rahmat Khan, their leader, was killed. About 20,000 Rohillas were turned out from the country. The

soldiers of the Nawab committed atrocities on the innocent people of Rohilkhand and the country was annexed to Oudh.

Hasting's policy towards Rohilkhand has been severely condemned and was one of the points in his impeachment. Undoubtedly, Warren Hastings was moved by two considerations. He wanted more money for the Company and this he could get from the Nawab of Oudh. Rohilkhand occupied a strategic position and its occupation by Oudh would protect Oudh from the attacks of the Marathas. If a policy is judged by its results, Hastings Rohilla policy was more than justified. Rohillas were not strong enough to protect themselves from the attacks of the Marathas and it would have been a folly to allow them to fall into the hands of the Marathas. That would have seriously jeopardised the safety of Bengal itself. However, it is pointed out that the Rohillas had done nothing against the Company and consequently there was no moral justification for the English help to Oudh merely for the sake of money. The British arms were prostituted for hire. Moreover, such an action was against the instructions of the Directors. Such an interference created an unfortunate precedent. Anybody could hire the services of British troops on payment of money.

Trial of Nand Kumar: Nand Kumar was a highly influential Brahmin of Bengal. He not only moved in higher circles but also indulged in higher politics. He had been found guilty of carrying on intrigues with those Zamindars who had revolted against the English Company.

When differences arose between Warren Hastings and the members of his Council, Nand Kumar tried to take advantage of them. He accused Warren Hastings of having been bribed to dismiss Mohd. Raza Khan and of having sold several public offices. Philip Francis read the paper of accusation in the presence of Warren Hastings. Nand Kumar also required to be heard in person in support of his accusation. Warren Hastings refused to be confronted with Nand Kumar at his own Council Board. He refused to allow his Councillors to sit in judgement over him. He dissolved the meeting and departed. In his absence, the other members of the Council called in Nand Kumar and decided to go on with the charges.

However, Nand Kumar was suddenly arrested and committed to prison on a charge of forgery. The Council of the Governor-General protested and remonstrated, but a jury of the Supreme Court found Nand Kumar guilty of forgery and he was sentenced to be hanged and was actually hanged.

The legality of the trial and conviction of Nand Kumar has been questioned. Supreme Court has been accused of committing "a judicial murder." Courts point out that both the trial and conviction were illegal. There is a controversy whether the English statute of 1728 relating to forgery was applicable to Calcutta or not.

It was also pointed out that there was a conspiracy between Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Warren Hastings. The conviction and execution of Nand Kumar were the outcome of their conspiracy. However, it is pointed out that Nand Kumar was not tried by the Chief Justice alone but by other judges of the Supreme Court as well. He was held guilty not only by all the judges of the Supreme Court but also by the members of the jury. However, it cannot be denied that the judges of Supreme Court examined the defence witnesses in such a way that the whole of the defence of Nand Kumar collapsed. That was an unusual procedure to adopt. Moreover, the judges of the Supreme Court rejected the application of Nand Kumar for leave to appeal to the King-in-Council. Although this was a very suitable case for leave to appeal, the same was refused. All these facts pointed out to the malafides of the judges of the Supreme Court.

According to P.E. Roberts, "It is very doubtful whether the Supreme Court had any jurisdiction over the natives and there is practically no doubt at all that the English law making forgery a capital crime was not operative in India till many years after Nand Kumar's alleged forgery had been committed."

Case of Chet Singh: Balwant Singh was a vassal of the Nawab of Oudh. He was the first Rajah of Banaras. In 1775, Banaras was transferred to the Company by the Nawab of Oudh and consequently the English Company became the over-lord of Chet Singh. He paid annually rent and his lands to the Company and the same could not be enhanced. However, he was bound by law, custom and written agreement to help his new masters in times of difficulty. In 1778, Warren Hastings asked for a special contribution of Rs. 5 lacs from Chet Singh and the latter paid the same. Next year, a similar demand was made and was complied with after hesitation. In 1780, Chet Singh was asked to give two thousand horses. The Rajah pleaded his inability and offered to provide one thousand horses. Although Hastings lowered his demand, the Rajah did not comply with the same. The Rajah

had also not paid his regular tribute. Warren Hastings was in great financial difficulty. He imposed a fine of Rs. 50 lacs on Chet Singh and marched to Banaras to realise the same. Chet Singh submitted to Warren Hastings who got him arrested. However, the Rajah managed to escape. There was rioting and bloodshed. Situation was brought under control with some difficulty. Ultimately, the Rajah was deposed and his nephew was put in his place. The latter was required to pay tribute at double the rate.

Warren Hasting's treatment of Chet Singh has been severely condemned. It is pointed out that Chet Singh was not bound to help the English Company if the latter was in financial difficulty. Moreover, Warren Hastings was too exacting. His conduct was unjust, improper and high-handed. It was tyranny pure and simple. The very purpose for which Warren Hastings took all the trouble, was defeated because the treasury of Chet Singh was looted by the troops and nothing fell into the hands of Warren Hastings.

Begums of Oudh: The Nawab Wazir of Oudh owed a lot of money to the English Company and he was not in a position to pay. Warren Hastings wanted money very badly. The Nawab Wazir told Warren Hastings that he could pay the money only if he was allowed to resume the Jagirs and treasures held by his mother and grand-mother, who were known as the Begums of Oudh. Although both the Jagirs and treasures were guaranteed to the Begums by the Calcutta Council by the treaty of Chanar of 1781, Hastings allowed the Nawab of Oudh to take possession of them. The Nawab hesitated to take action against his own mother and grand-mother but he was forced to do so by Warren Hastings. The result was that British troops were sent to do the job. The palace of the Begums was surrounded. The two eunuchs, who acted as stewards, were tortured in every possible way and ultimately were forced to part with the money. With the money thus secured, the Nawab Wazir was able to pay off the debts of the Company.

Dr. V.A. Smith defended the action of Warren Hastings on the ground of expediency. According to him, "Urgent necessities of the time justified Hastings in cancelling treaty obligation and putting a certain amount of pressure on the Begums to make them disgorge." He also stated that the treatment meted out to the Begums was mild according to the Indian standards. Moreover, Warren Hastings had no personal knowledge of coercive measures adopted by the troops of the Company. However, such a defence

is insufficient to convince any impartial reader. It has been proved that Warren Hastings was the moving spirit throughout the period when the tragedy was being enacted. As a matter of fact, it was Warren Hastings who forced the hands of Nawab Wazir when the latter hesitated to take action against his mother and grand-mother. The doctrine of urgent necessity cannot be put forward to justify all the acts of high-handedness on the part of the English troops and the civil servants. According to Sir Alfred Lyall, "The employment of personal severities under the superintendence of British officers in order to extract money from women and eunuchs is an ignoble kind of undertaking; to push him (Nawab) and actively assist in measures of coercion against women and eunuchs was conduct unworthy and indefensible." Moreover, there is nothing to prove that the Begums of Oudh were in league with Chet Singh. If such was the case, it was the duty of Hastings to put forward evidence in his possession to support this allegation.

Regulating Act and Council: The Regulating Act was passed in 1773 and it provided for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Calcutta and Governor General's Council. This Council was to consist of four members and the Governor General was given a casting vote only in the case of a tie. Out of the 4 members, 3 of them came from England and those were Clavering, Monson and Francis. Only Barwell was in India at the time of his appointment. From the very beginning, the three members who came from England, started opposing Warren Hastings. The result was that on many occasions Warren Hastings was over-ruled and he was made to do things which he did not approve of at all. The majority of his Council condemned the Rohilla War. The British Resident at Lucknow was called back. Likewise, the Councillors recognised the claims of the Begums of Oudh to the Jagirs and the treasure. The same Council allowed Nand Kumar to denounce Warren Hastings in the Council itself.

The condition of Warren Hastings was so very difficult in his Council that on one occasion he instructed his agent to tender his resignation to the Company. However, things became better after the lapse of time. In 1776, Monson died a natural death. In 1777, Clavering died of dysentery. In 1780, Warren Hastings wounded Francis in a duel and the latter left for England. It has rightly been said that "the members of the Council died, sickened and fled away."

Warren Hastings and Supreme Court^{Court}-Council:

The Regulating Act had also set up a Supreme Court of Calcutta. Unfortunately, the powers of the Supreme Court were not clearly defined and that led to a conflict of jurisdiction between the Supreme Court of Calcutta and the courts of the Company. There were frequent tussels between the two authorities. In the case of Rajah of Cossijurah, the two authorities came into open conflict. In this case, the Supreme Court issued a writ of Capius against the Rajah for his arrest. The only way the defendant could save himself was by means of furnishing security. Instead of doing that, the Rajah concealed himself and thereby avoided the service of the writ, and the same was returned without service. Warren Hastings was informed by the Collector that the Rajah was a Zamindar and was concealing himself to avoid the service of the writ and consequently the revenue of the Company was not being collected. Warren Hastings consulted the Advocate-General and directed the Rajah not to appear or plead before the Supreme Court or in any way submit to its jurisdiction. A general notification was issued by the Government that Zamindars were not subject to the jurisdiction of Supreme Court unless they accepted the same by their own consent.

The Supreme Court took up the challenge and issued another writ to sequester the land and property of the Rajah. Sixty men, headed by a sergeant of the Supreme Court, were sent to execute the writ. The Rajah complained that the persons deputed by the Supreme Court entered his house, beat and wounded his servants, broke open and forcibly entered his Zenana, stripped his place of religious worship of its ornaments and prohibited his farmers from paying his rents.

The Governor-General and the Council instructed the Rajah not to obey the process of the Supreme Court and ordered the troops of the Company to intercept the party of the Sheriff and retain them in custody. As a matter of fact, the troops of the Company caught hold of the party of the Court and brought them to Calcutta. The Supreme Court took action against the Advocate-General and the officers who had seized the Sheriff's party. The result was that the Advocate-General was put into prison.

Baboo Cossinaut brought an action against the Governor-General and the members of the Council individually for trespass. To begin with, the Governor-General and the members of his Council appeared before the Supreme Court, but later on they retired and

refused to submit to any process which the Supreme Court might issue. A petition was signed by the prominent British inhabitants of Bengal and sent to British Parliament against the exercise of its powers by the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The result was the passing of the Amending Act of 1781. One of the objects of the new Act was to give relief to certain "persons imprisoned at Calcutta under the judgement of the Supreme Court and also indemnifying the Governor-General and Council and all officers who have acted under their orders or authority in the undue resistance made to the process of the Supreme Court." The Act of 1781 reduced the powers of the Supreme Court and the conflict between the Supreme Court and the Courts of the Company was avoided.

✓ **Foreign policy of Warren Hastings: First Maratha War (1778-82):**

In 1772, Narayan Rao became the Peshwa after the death of Madho Rao. However, he was murdered at the instigation of Raghoba who himself wanted to become the Peshwa. Nana Farnavis took up the cause of the posthumous son of Narayan Rao against Raghoba. The latter asked for English help. By the treaty of Surat (1775), Raghoba agreed to give to the Government of Bombay Salsette and Bassein as the price of English help. This was done without the knowledge of the Governor-General. The English attacked Salsette and defeated the Marathas at Arass. Both the Governor-General and the Calcutta Council disapproved of the treaty of Surat. A new treaty was concluded called the treaty of Purandar (1776). By this treaty, the English agreed to give up the cause of Raghoba on the condition that they were allowed to keep Salsette. However, the Directors of the Company approved of the Treaty of Surat and war had to be continued. The English were defeated and had to conclude the Convention of Wargaon by which they promised to surrender Raghoba, restore all acquisitions made by them and give British hostages. Warren Hastings refused to ratify the convention. Goddard marched from Bengal to Surat. He captured Ahmedabad and made an alliance with the Gaekwar of Baroda. He was defeated when he advanced towards Poona. Major Popham captured Gwalior, the capital of Scindia. Colonel Gamac was successful in surprising the camp of Sindhia. A confederacy was formed against the English in 1779 and it included the Nizam, Haider Ali and the Marathas. However, Warren Hastings was able to bribe the Rajah of Nagpur and make peace with Scindia.

Ultimately, the treaty of Salbai was signed in 1782. By this treaty, the English had to restore all their conquests except Salsette. Raghoba was given a pension. According to Smith, the treaty of Salbai was one of the great landmarks in the history of India. However, Hastings' Maratha policy has been condemned. It is pointed out that they got no more than what they had already got by the treaty of Purandar. The loss of men and money was superfluous. From the point of view of the Marathas, the treaty of Salbai was a great mistake. It was brought about by the nervousness and selfishness of Scindia. If war had been continued, history might have been written otherwise. The peace which was established by Warren Hastings with the Marathas was a stroke of diplomacy which was invaluable to him in his Southern wars.

Second Mysore War (1780-84): Before we discuss the Second Mysore War, it is desirable to refer to the First Mysore War (1766-69). It was in 1766 that the Nizam, the Marathas and the English formed a strong coalition against Haider Ali. It was out of the question for him to resist all the three and consequently he was able to dispose of the Marathas and Nizam. Then with the help of the Nizam, he attacked the English forces, but he was defeated in 1767 by Colonel Smith. At this stage, the Nizam left Haider Ali and went over to the side of the English. The latter made peace with the Nizam and agreed to pay tribute to him for the Northern Sircars. The English Company also entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Haider Ali.

Haider Ali carried fire and sword throughout the Carnatic and reached the neighbourhood of Madras. The Madras Government was frightened and consequently entered into a treaty with Haider Ali. It was provided that both the parties were to restore the places conquered by each. The treaty also provided for reciprocal assistance in a defensive war. It was in this way that the first Mysore war ended.

As regards the Second Mysore War, its immediate cause was the capture of Mahe and other French settlements in India by the English Company. Haider Ali protested, but the English Company ignored the same. He thought of having his revenge, and declared war against the Government. During the course of the war, Haider Ali "swept with the broom of desolation" the whole of Carnatic. An English brigade under Colonel Baillie was surrounded and forced to surrender. In 1780, Haider Ali captured Arcot. Sir Eyre Coote

defeated Haider Ali in 1781 at Porto Novo. There was another small success for the British at Sholingur. The English also captured Negapatam and Trincomali. At this time, a French fleet under Suffrein appeared and recovered Trincomali. Haider Ali reconquered Cuddalore from the English. Unfortunately, he died in 1782 in the midst of war.

After the death of Haider Ali, Sultan Tipu carried on the war. However, Tipu did not possess the stuff of which his father was made. War dragged on for sometime more and ultimately signed the treaty of Mangalore in 1784. By this treaty, both the parties agreed to a mutual restitution of conquests and exchange of prisoners.

Estimate of Warren Hastings: It goes to the credit of Warren Hastings that from an ordinary writer of the Company, he rose to the position of the Governor-General of Bengal. In spite of the difficulties which he had to encounter in the country, he was able to accomplish a lot. It should not be forgotten that whatever he accomplished in India was done in spite of the opposition in India and the lack of support at home. His colleagues in the Council were always ready to outvote him and harass him in any manner they could. He had to fight many wars and that also at a time when he was practically getting no help from the mother country as the latter was busy in a life and death struggle in North America. All the European states tried to exploit the situation created by the American War of Independence. While the Home Government lost the American colonies, it goes to the credit of Warren Hastings that he was able to consolidate the British position in India.

It is true that he made many mistakes of omission and commission and for those mistakes he was impeached on his return to England. The trial lasted from 1788 to 1795. In spite of the inconvenience and expense to which he was subjected by the impeachment, he was ultimately honourably acquitted.

According to Lord Macaulay, Warren Hastings "dissolved the double Government. He transferred the direction of affairs to the English hands. Out of a fruitful anarchy, he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The only quarter in which Britain lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions of both European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our Company in the East greatly augmented."

In his reply to his impeachment, Warren Hastings declared thus: "The valour of others acquired, I enlarged and gave shape and consistency to the dominion which you held there; I preserved it; I sent forth its armies with an effectual but an economic hand, through unknown and hostile regions to the support of your possessions; to the retrieval of one (Bombay) from degradation and dishonour; and of the other (Madras) from utter loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were of your formation or that of others, not of mine. I wandered over enemies."

Warren Hastings was the oldest of the able men who gave to Great Britain her Indian Empire. He was a versatile genius. He had a limitless energy and strong determination. He was the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining confidence of the princes of India.

According to another writer, Hastings applied unreserved the energy, boldness, tenacity and resource which enabled him to grapple successfully with his enemies. He may be described with justice as the Indian Pitt, the Chatham of the East.

We may conclude with the following words of Roberts: "Hastings was perhaps the greatest Englishmen who ever ruled. A man who with some ethical defect possessed in a super-abundant measure, the mobile and fertile brain, the tireless energy and the lofty fortitude which distinguishes only the supreme statesman."

Pitt's India Act (1784): This Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1784. It provided for a Board of Control. A kind of dual control was established from the home Government. This system continued up to 1858. The Pitt's India Act was changed in 1786 with a view to give special powers to Lord Cornwallis.

Sir John Macpherson (February, 1785—September, 1786): When Warren Hastings left India in 1785, Sir John Macpherson, the senior member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, became the Governor-General of Bengal. During the term of his office, he carried out many reforms, with a view to effect economies in the expenditure of the Company. At this time, Mahadaji Scindia was very strong. He got control over the Moghul Emperor and was able to get from him the provinces of Agra and Delhi. He demanded Chouth even from the English Company, but the same was refused. Macpherson was relieved by Lord Cornwallis in 1786.

CHAPTER VI

LORD CORNWALLIS AND SIR JOHN SHORE

Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793): Unlike Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis belonged to a highly respectable family of England. Before his appointment as Governor General of Bengal, he had acted as the Commander-in-Chief of the British armies in North America in the American War of Independence. It was he who had surrendered at York Town and thereby brought to a close the war of American Independence. He accepted the office of the Governor-General with great hesitation. It was for his sake that the Pitt's India Act was amended in 1786 so that he may combine in himself the powers of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief. He was also given the power to over-rule the members of his Executive Council. Throughout the period of 7 years when he acted as Governor-General, he enjoyed the confidence of the Board of Control and the Prime Minister of England. No wonder, he was able to accomplish a lot. The work of Cornwallis can be discussed under two heads; foreign policy and internal reforms.

Foreign policy: As regards his foreign policy, he was determined to follow a policy of non-intervention into the affairs of the Indian states as laid down in the Pitt's India Act. It may be pointed out that the Pitt's India Act contained the following clause: "Whereas to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, honour and the policy of this nation, the Governor-General and his Council were not without the express authority of the Court of Directors or of the Select Committee, to declare wars or commence hostilities or enter into any treaty for making war, against any of the country princes or states in India." In pursuance of this policy, Cornwallis refused to help the son of Shah Alam to recover his throne of Delhi. He gave a stern warning to Mahadaji Scindia against interfering into the affairs of Oudh. However, he could not avoid a war against Sultan Tipu.

Third Mysore War (1790-92): Lord Cornwallis entered into an alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas with a view to fight against Tipu. In 1788, Cornwallis got Guntur from the Nizam

and the latter asked for British troops to recover certain territories from Tipu by the treaty of Mangalore. The English had recognised the right of Tipu to those districts now claimed by the Nizam. In spite of this, Cornwallis agreed to give troops to the Nizam against Tipu. This made Tipu furious. He attacked Travancore which was in alliance with the English Company and the war began.

To begin with, the things did not go in favour of the English Company in spite of the help from the Marathas and the Nizam. In 1790, Cornwallis himself took the command. He captured Bangalore and defeated Tipu but was forced to withdraw on account of shortage of supplies. In 1792, Cornwallis captured the hill forts of Tipu and advanced upon Seringapatam. The Marathas completely destroyed the Mysore territory. Finding his position helpless, Tipu sued for peace and the treaty of Seringapatam was concluded in 1792. By this treaty, Sultan Tipu had to give up half of his territory. He was to pay a war indemnity of $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. He was to surrender two of his sons as hostages. The English, the Nizam and the Marathas divided the acquired territory among themselves. The English got Malabar, Coorg, Dindigal and Bar-amahal. The Marathas got territory on the north-west and the Nizam on the north-east of Mysore.

Critics point out that Cornwallis could easily depose Sultan Tipu and annex the whole of Mysore. Had he done so in 1792, no necessity for the fourth Mysore War would have arisen in the time of Lord Wellesley. However, Cornwallis was wise in not doing so. He followed a policy of caution. The Marathas and the Nizam might have betrayed him. Such an act would not have been approved of by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. War with France was imminent and the home authorities were asking for peace. Cornwallis was eager to take over the management of the whole country of Mysore and so he deliberately stayed his hands. Moreover, if Cornwallis had taken away the whole of the territories of Sultan Tipu, he would have been forced to share the same with the Marathas and the Nizam. No wonder, Cornwallis wrote thus: "We have effectually crippled our enemy without making our friends too formidable."

Reforms of Cornwallis: Lord Cornwallis carried out a large number of reforms. Those related to the services of the Company, the judicial system and the revenue settlement of Bengal.

Reform of Public Services: The servants of the English

Company were both inefficient and corrupt. They spent a lot of their time in carrying on private trade. They were corrupt because they got very low salaries. Cornwallis was determined to see that the servants of the Company become honest and upright. He was able to induce the Directors to pay good salaries to the servants of the Company. He reduced the number of offices but increased the salaries of others. He demanded whole-time service from the servants of the Company. Private trade was completely prohibited. Cornwallis refused to oblige those Englishmen who came to India with chits from the Directors and the Members of the Board of Control. On one occasion, he refused to oblige so great a person as Dundas, President of Board of Control.

While making appointments, he gave the best jobs only to the Europeans in general and the Englishmen in particular. He was convinced that the Indians were unworthy of trust and they could not be allowed to fill in any but the humblest offices in the Government. The exclusion of the Indians from all effective share of the Government of their own country was almost without a parallel. Cornwallis treated the Indians with scorn. He stigmatized the whole nation as unworthy of trust and incapable of honourable conduct. The Cornwallis system was calculated to debase rather than uplift the people fallen under the dominion of the Company. Cornwallis would have got the same amount of loyalty, efficiency and uprightness from the Indian officers as he got from the Europeans and Englishmen if he had given them the same salaries.

Judicial Reforms. Cornwallis carried out his judicial reforms in 1787, 1790 and 1793. The reforms made by him in Bengal Bihar and Orissa served as a model for Madras and Bombay.

The main object of the reforms of 1787 was economy. The number of districts was reduced from 36 to 23 and for each district an Englishman who was a covenanted servant of the English Company, was made the Collector. The latter was not only to collect revenue, but was also to act as a magistrate and judge. The Collector was required to perform the three duties separately in three different capacities and not to combine them and exercise them all at one time. While sitting in the revenue court, he was not to exercise the powers of a magistrate and vice-versa. Appeals were to be taken to the Board of Revenue at Calcutta from the decisions of the Maal Adalats. The final appeal in revenue cases was to be taken to the Governor-General-in-Council.

As regards civil cases, an appeal could be taken to the Sadar Diwani Adalat if the amount involved was more than Rs. 1,000/-. Ordinarily, the decision of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was final. However, if the amount involved was more than 5,000/-, an appeal was to be taken to the King-in-Council.

Provision was made for the creation of the office of the Registrar. The collector as a judge of the Mofussil Diwani Adalat was given the power to forward the cases up to Rs. 200/- to the Registrar. The decisions of the Registrar became valid only when they were countersigned by the collector as a judge.

The one great defect of the system of 1787 was the concentration of too many powers in the hands of the Collector. Those powers were not only uncontrollable but in actual practice uncontrolled. The combination of the functions of the collector, magistrate and judge in the hands of one person was against the theory of separation of powers. The judiciary could not be independent of the executive.

Cornwallis made certain reforms in the criminal justice of the country in 1790. The Sadar Nizamat Adalat was shifted to Calcutta. It was provided that that court was to meet at least once a week to transact business. It might meet more than once. It was required to keep a regular record of the work done by it. It was given the authority to recommend cases to Governor-General and Council for mercy. The control of the Nawab over the Sadar Nizamat Adalat was completely abolished. This work was to be done by the Governor-General and Council with the help of Chief Kadi and two Mufties.

Lord Cornwallis provided for the establishment of four Courts of Circuit. The three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were divided into four divisions and for each of those divisions a court of Circuit was provided. Each Circuit Court was presided over by two covenanted servants of the English company. It was held by the chief Kadi and Mufties who were appointed and removed by the Governor-General in Council on the ground of misconduct or incapacity for the performance of their functions. Each Circuit Court was required to move in its division for the disposal of cases. The decisions of the Circuit Court were to be executed by the magistrates. In the case of punishment of death or perpetual imprisonment, the decision of the Circuit Court had to be confirmed by the Sadar Nizamat Adalat.

The Collector of the District was made a magistrate. He was given the duty of apprehending murderers, robbers, thieves, house-breakers and other disturbers of peace. If after preliminary enquiry, the Collector found that there was no *prima facie* case against the accused, he acquitted him. If he found the accused guilty in a petty case, he convicted him also. But in serious cases, it was his duty either to put the accused in a Faujdari Jail to stand his trial before the Circuit Court or let him off on bail till the time the Court of Circuit met at the District Headquarters. There were certain cases in which the Magistrate was not allowed to let off the prisoners on bail, *e.g.*, murder and robbery.

Cornwallis had found that on account of low salaries the judicial officers were taken from the dregs of the society. They were also tempted to accept bribes. Cornwallis provided for liberal salaries so that men of character and ability may join the judicial service. He defended the additional expenditure on the ground that it was necessary for the administration of justice.

Other changes were made by Cornwallis in 1793. The Maal Adalats or Revenue Courts were abolished and all revenue cases were transferred to the ordinary civil courts known as Diwani Adalats. Provision was made for the establishment of a Court of Diwani Adalat in every district of the three provinces. Every such court was to be presided over by a covenanted servant of the company. At the time of taking office, the judge was required to take a prescribed oath. Diwani Adalats tried both civil and revenue cases, but they had nothing to do with criminal cases. Ordinarily, cases were to be tried according to Hindu law or Mohammadan law. However, if there was no specific provision on any point, the same was to be disposed of according to justice, equity and good conscience.

A Regulation of the same year made the servants of the Company liable before the courts of Justice. It was provided that the natives of India were to be allowed to bring cases against British subjects in the Diwani Adalats if the amount involved was not more than Rs. 500/-. If it was more than Rs. 500/-, the suit had to be filed in the Supreme Court at Calcutta.

Even those cases in which the Government was a party were to be tried by the ordinary civil courts.

Provision was made for four Provincial Courts of Appeal for the three Presidencies. Their headquarters were to be at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna. Every provincial court of appeal

was to be presided over by three covenanted servants of the English Company. These courts were given both original and appellate jurisdiction. Their decisions were final in cases involving Rs. 1,000 or less. If the amount was more, an appeal could be taken to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.

The Sadar Diwani Adalat was to hear appeals involving more than Rs. 1,000. Up to ~~Rs.~~ 5,000 its decisions were final. If the amount involved was more, an appeal could be taken to the King-in-Council. The Sadar Diwani Adalat was also given the power of supervising and controlling the working of the lower courts.

Provision was made for the appointment of Munsiffs to try petty cases involving not more than Rs. 50/-. The number of Munsiffs was to depend upon the volume of work. The proceedings of the Munsiffs were to be submitted to the Court of Diwani Adalat for approval. They did their work honorarily and consequently there were complaints of corruption and bribery.

In 1793, Cornwallis abolished the Court fees which were previously paid by the litigants. His view was that arrears of work were due to the dilatoriness and inefficiency of administration of justice. The Collector was deprived of his magisterial powers. The result was that he was to do only the work of rent collection.

Cornwallis tried to regulate the legal profession. It was provided that lawyers in future were to charge only moderate fees prescribed by Government. If they violated this law, they were liable to be disqualified. Formerly, the system of issuing Regulations was not systematic and consequently it was difficult to ascertain the exact law of the country. It was provided that in future all the regulations issued in any year were to be printed and put in one volume. This facilitated reference.

Cornwallis deserves high praise for the judicial reforms carried out by him. Although he was criticized for adding to the expenses of administration, he defended the reforms on the ground that those were absolutely necessary for the efficient administration of justice and the peace and prosperity of the country. His view was that as the English Company was getting a lot of money from the people of India in the form of revenue, it was criminal to make economy in the administration of justice. However, his system suffered from certain shortcomings. He avoided the appointment of Indians to jobs of responsibility and position in the judicial hierarchy. Indians were appointed only as Munsiffs. This policy continued up to

the time of Lord William Bentinck, when the same was reversed.

Police Reforms: Formerly, the Zamindars exercised police powers. It was their duty to maintain law and order and arrest the suspected persons. They also commanded the local police forces. The reform made by Cornwallis was that they took away the police powers of the Zamindars. He also divided the districts into small areas and each of such areas was placed under a Darogha or Superintendent under the supervision of the representative of the Company in the district. The police services were Europeanised with fixed salaries and functions.

Permanent Settlement of Bengal (1793): Another great achievement of Cornwallis was the permanent settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. When in 1765, the English Company secured the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, it was found that the Ryot or the cultivator paid a fixed share of the produce of his land either in cash or in kind to the Zamindar. The latter was merely the collector of revenue. However, his office gradually had become hereditary. Thus, the zamindari which was originally a contract agency, became something resembling a landed estate. Zamindar received the revenue, paid 9/10 to the Viceroy and kept 1/10 to himself. He inherited his zamindari, and could sell or give away his office on obtaining permission and could demand compensation if the state deprived him of it. He was responsible for maintaining peace within his jurisdiction. In 1765, the work of collection of revenue was left in the hands of the natives, but in 1769, British supervisors were appointed to control them. Things did not improve inspite of this change. In 1772, Warren Hastings set up the quinquennial Settlement but the same was discontinued in 1777 on account of the failure of the experiment. The old system of annual settlements was resorted to. In 1784, an Act of Parliament directed the Court of Directors to abandon the annual settlements and frame permanent rules for the collection of land revenue.

When Lord Cornwallis came to India, he found "agriculture and trade decaying, zamindars and Ryots sinking into poverty and money-lenders the only flourishing class in the community." The Directors of the Company were also alarmed at the steady deterioration of the revenue collection. It was found that annual collections left the Zamindars in arrears and did not benefit any class. They recommended a moderate permanent assessment as more beneficial both to the Government and the people. They condemned the

employment of temporary renters and farmers who had no interest either in the state or in the Ryots. They oppressed the latter as much as they could. Cornwallis got these instructions but felt that it was not possible to carry them out. Certain changes had already been brought about in revenue administration with the object of decentralization. The Board of Revenue controlled the collectors who were incharge of land revenue collection. In 1787 and 1788, annual settlements were made by the Collectors. In 1789, a decennial settlement was made.

It was found that there were two schools of thought with regard to the revenue settlement. The school led by James Grant emphasized the fact that the Zamindars had no permanent rights, whether as proprietors of the soil or as officials who collected and paid the rent. The state was not bound by any definite limit in its demands from them. The other school of thought was led by Sir John Shore. Its view was that the proprietary rights in the land belonged to the Zamindars and the state was entitled only to a customary revenue from them. For an accurate settlement, the proportion of rent actually paid and the actual collections and payments made by Zamindars and farmers should both be ascertained. He was in favour of a direct settlement with the Zamindars for 10 years. There were other officials who were in favour of a permanent settlement with the Zamindars. Cornwallis was of the opinion that a decennial settlement will have all the disadvantages of an annual settlement. It would not give the Zamindars sufficient inducement to ensure the clearance of the extensive jungles in the provinces. Sir John contended that a permanent settlement would result in an unfair distribution of the assessment particularly when there was no survey. In 1790, the rules for the decennial settlement were published and it was stated that at the end of that period, the settlement would probably be made permanent. In accordance with the orders of the Court of Directors, the settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was made permanent in March 1793. The settlement was made as high as possible. As a matter of fact, it was practically double of what it was in 1765. "It was possible to raise it so high because it was declared to be final and permanent."

It is to be noted that the permanent settlement was not a hastily devised measure. It did not emanate solely from Cornwallis. Many of the permanent officials recommended such a change. The new settlement was based on the information acquired during many

years of enquiry. It had also the full support of the home authorities as it was sanctioned by Pitt, Prime Minister of England, Dundas, President of Board of Control, and the Court of Directors.

Provisions: The permanent settlement created a limited proprietary right in the land in the Zamindars. All rights of the state in the nature of *Nazaranas* and permission to sell fees were given up. Magisterial powers were taken away from Zamindars. They were left with no police work. As long as they paid a revenue to the Government in time, they were left free in their relation with their tenants. If they did not pay the land revenue, a part of their land was to be disposed of to recover the land revenues.

Estimate: Historians have passed conflicting judgements with regard to the merits and demerits of the Permanent Settlement. According to Marshman, "it was a bold, brave and wise measure. Under the genial influence of this territorial charter, which for the first time created indefeasible rights and interests in the soil, population has increased, cultivation has been extended and a gradual improvement has become visible in the habits and comforts of the people." According to R.C. Dutt, "If the prosperity and happiness of a nation be the criterion of wisdom and success, Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement of 1793 is the wisest and most successful measure which the British nation had ever adopted in India." He further added that the Permanent Settlement was "the one act of the British nation within the century and a half of their rule in India which has most effectually safeguarded the economic welfare of the people." On the other hand, Holmes condemned the Permanent Settlement in these words: "The Permanent Settlement was a sad blunder. The interior tenants derived from it no benefit whatever. The Zamindars again and again failed to pay their rent charges, and their estates were sold for the benefit of the Government." In spite of these judgements, it is desirable to discuss the merits and demerits of the settlement separately.

Merits: (1) The state was assured of a certain amount of land-revenue from the people. It was not to depend upon the results of annual bidding. If a Zamindar did not pay the land revenue, the same could be realised by selling a portion of the land.

(2) The landlords knew that they had to pay a specific amount of money as land revenue to the Government. If they put more labour and capital in the land and got more profit out of it, they stood to gain because Government share was not to increase pro-

portionately. It was absolutely fixed whether the landlords cultivated their lands more or less. At the time of the settlement, many parts of the land were covered with jungles and the same were cleared after the settlement.

(3) Cornwallis thought that the Permanent Settlement of Bengal would play the same part in creating a loyal class which the establishment of the Bank of England had played in the case of William and Mary. The Zamindars who were made the owners of land could be counted upon to defend the rule of the English Company against their rivals and opponents. It was found that these very zamindars were loyal to the British Government during the days of the Mutiny. No wonder, Setton Carr observes that the political benefits of the settlement balanced its economic defects.

(4) The Permanent Settlement gave popularity and stability to the British Government and thus helped to make the province the healthiest and most flourishing in India.

(5) The Permanent Settlement set free the ablest servants of the Company for judicial work. Formerly, they had to waste a lot of their time every year in offering the collection of revenue to the highest bidder and realising the same amount.

(6) The Permanent Settlement avoided the evils of periodical settlements which, inspite of long intervals, produced economic dislocation, evasion, concealment of worth and the deliberate throwing of land out of cultivation.

(7) It is true that the Government could not increase the land revenue in the future but it gained in an indirect manner. As the people became richer, the Government got money by taxing them in other ways.

(8) A permanent land tax is inexpensive, uniform and certain. It has all the advantages mentioned by Adam Smith in his *Canons of Taxation*.

Demerits : (1) The immediate effect of the Permanent Settlement on the Zamindars was disastrous. Many of them could not realise the land revenue from their tenants and consequently could not pay the money to the Government in time. The result was that their lands were sold.

(2) Contrary to the expectations, the landlords did not take much interest in the development of their lands. They became merely absentee landlords living in Calcutta or at the district towns on the income derived from the tenants. It has rightly been pointed

out that although Cornwallis intended to create a class of English landlords in Bengal, what he actually created was a class of Irish landlords.

(3) The Permanent Settlement ignored the rights of the tenants. They were left absolutely at the mercy of the landlords who could oust them at any time. The landlord could charge any amount of money from the tenants he pleased. It is true that Cornwallis had laid down that "the Zamindar should keep a register of his tenants and grant them Pattahs or leases, specifying the rents they were to pay, and that in case of any infringement of these rules, the Ryot was to seek a remedy in an action against him in the Civil court," but unfortunately the registers were not kept and the Pattahs were rarely given. The remedy of the civil court was a very expensive one and the poor tenants felt that they could not take advantage of it. This state of affairs continued till the Government came to the rescue of the tenants and safeguarded their interests by passing tenancy legislation.

(4) The Government lost for ever a share of the unearned increment. The deficit was estimated at $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores.

(5) Bengal did not possess cadastral records till 1893 and consequently there was expensive litigation between the tenants and the landlords.

Setton Carr sums up his criticism thus: "The Permanent Settlement somewhat secured the interests of the Zamindars, postponed those of the tenants and permanently sacrificed those of the state." According to P.E. Roberts, "Had the Permanent Settlement been postponed for another 10 or 20 years, the capacities of the land would have been better ascertained. Many mistakes and anomalies would have been avoided, and the reforms brought about by Cornwallis himself in the civil service would have trained up a class of officials far more competent to deal with so vast a subject."

Cornwallis completed work of Hastings: Dr. Aspinall rightly remarks that it is no disparagement of Cornwallis' work to point out that he completed what Hastings had begun. In 1772, Warren Hastings had abolished the double Government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa which was set up in 1765 by Lord Clive. The judicial and police reforms of Cornwallis completed that constitutional change.

Warren Hastings had come to the conclusion that the servants

of the Company were not likely to become honest in their work unless their salaries were increased and their private trade was prohibited. In 1774, he had prohibited the members of the Supreme Council from engaging in trade and had increased their remuneration by means of a commission. In 1781, he introduced fixed salaries for the members of the Committee of Revenue and a commission of one percent of net revenue. Cornwallis was able to take the reform a step further. He extended the improved scales of pay and allowances to all the senior servants. However, he was not in a position to extend the prohibition of trade to all officials.

Warren Hastings had realised the danger of entrusting power into the hands of the Indian officials who were as a rule corrupt. He had made the Collector the Superintendent of the District Criminal Court. To substitute English for Indian judges was merely the next step. The appointment by Warren Hastings of Indian magistrates, charged with the supervision of the Mofussil police and with the duty of arresting and committing for trial, did not prove a success. Consequently, these offices were abolished by Warren Hastings. While doing so, he gave the magisterial powers to the judges of the civil courts.

The separation of revenue administration from civil jurisdiction which was accomplished by Cornwallis, was foreseen by Warren Hastings who began the change in 1780. The judges whom he appointed in charge of new civil courts were not at all connected with revenue work. The bifurcation of functions was only partial because the collectors were still authorised to decide cases relating to revenue and consequently the jurisdiction of the civil judge and the collector was continually clashing. It is probable that if Warren Hastings had stayed longer in India, he would have remedied the situation in the same way as Cornwallis did in 1793.

In the matter of substituting English criminal law for Mohammadan law, Cornwallis went only a little further than Warren Hastings. The latter was of opinion that until the constitution of Bengal "shall have attained the same perfection" as the English, "no conclusion can be drawn from the English that can be properly applied to the manners and state of this country." The only legislative change made by Warren Hastings was to give very severe punishments to dacoits and their families. In many cases, the Supreme Council intervened to alter the unsuitable punishments prescribed by Mohammadan law. Undoubtedly, Cornwallis

made more use of the legislative power than Warren Hastings did. But even he was cautious in making changes in the Mohammadan criminal law. Although he had very strong views regarding the superiority of the criminal law of Great Britain, he did not radically alter the Mohammadan criminal law. Generally, Cornwallis carried on the work which Hastings had started. He met with much less interference, criticism and obstruction than his predecessor did.

The Code of Civil Procedure of Cornwallis was based on the earlier Codes which Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey had compiled and for which Sir James Stephen had a word of praise.

It is for these reasons that it has been stated that "if the foundation of the civil administration had been laid by Warren Hastings, the structure was raised by Lord Cornwallis."

Sir John Shore (1793-1798): It is true that Lord Cornwallis was opposed to the appointment of a civil servant of the English Company as the Governor-General of Bengal, but when in 1793 Cornwallis left India he was succeeded by Sir John Shore who was a senior member of the Supreme Council and was also intimately connected with him in connection with the land reform. During the term of his office, Sir John Shore followed the policy of neutrality as laid down in the Pitt's India Act. This policy was carried to such an extreme that it lowered the prestige of the English Company in India. According to Sir John Malcolm, "It was proved from the events of this administration that no ground of political advantage could be abandoned without being instantly occupied by an enemy; and that to resign influence, was not merely to resign power, but to allow that power to pass into hands hostile to the British Government." The most important event of Sir John Shore's time was the attack of the Marathas on the Nizam and the defeat of Nizam in the battle of Kharda in March 1795. The Nizam begged for British help but the same was refused by Sir John Shore on the ground that such help was likely to entangle the English Company into the internal affairs of the Indian States. Such a treatment made the Nizam bitter and he had to submit to humiliating terms of the Marathas. However, the Nizam was able to recover his position on account of dissensions among the Marathas and on the whole the Nizam did not lose much. Anyhow, the Nizam was not in a mood to forget and forgive the British betrayal of his cause.

Sir John Shore interfered in the affairs of Oudh. The Nawab died in 1797 and was succeeded by a son of worthless character. To

begin with, Sir John sanctioned the succession. However, when he came to know that the son was the offspring of a menial servant, he reversed his decision, and set up a brother of the late Nawab on the throne. He also entered into a treaty with the new Nawab. By the new treaty, the English Company was made responsible for the defence of Oudh. The Nawab was to pay an annual subsidy of 76 lacs of rupees. He also gave up the Fort of Allahabad to the English Company. He bound himself to hold no communication with any foreign state. This treaty was probably due to the fear of the attack of Zaman Shah of Kabul who was in the Punjab at that time.

In 1795, there occurred a dangerous mutiny of the European officers of Bengal who threatened to seize the administration. The situation was so serious that Sir John Shore was forced to make many concessions to the rebels. On account of his failure to deal with the situation, Sir John Shore was called back in 1798 and was succeeded by Lord Wellesley.

CHAPTER VII

LORD WELLESLEY (1798-1805)

Lord Wellesley was appointed the Governor-General of Bengal at the age of 37. He was one of the greatest of the British rulers of India. The only persons who can stand comparison to him are Lord Clive, Warren Hastings and Dalhousie. In the matter of actual achievement, he beat all of them.

Condition of India in 1798: When Lord Wellesley came to India as Governor-General, the condition of India was very critical. The Nizam was angry because the English Company had not helped him when he was attacked by the Marathas in the time of Sir John Shore. He was organizing a body of regular troops under a French officer named Raymond. He was not in a mood to come to terms with the English Company. The Marathas were also feeling a sense of importance on account of their victory over the Nizam. They had huge resources and were controlling practically the whole of Central India. Scindhia had a powerful army which was trained and commanded by a Frenchman called Perron. Undoubtedly, the key positions occupied by the French officers in the Indian states were a source of real danger to the English Company. Sultan Tipu had not forgotten the humiliation to which he was subjected by Lord Cornwallis when he was forced to give up half of his territory, pay a huge war indemnity and also surrender his two sons as hostages. He was the deadly enemy of the English Company and openly so. He was carrying on negotiations with the French Governor of Mauritius and Reunion. He had employed French officers to drill his soldiers and train them. There was the danger of the invasion of Napoleon. He was already on his way to the East.

Thus, the political situation in the country was not an easy one. The English Company had not much of resources and it was left to the intelligence, bravery and resourcefulness of Lord Wellesley to tackle the situation in a masterly manner. Within the next 7 years, Lord Wellesley was able to defeat and humble the enemies of the English Company. Many of them submitted without striking a blow. However, before he could finish his work, he was forced to resign in 1805.

The one thing to be noted with regard to Lord Wellesley is that when he came to India, he felt that the policy of non-intervention was not at all practicable. That was due to the political condition in the country. On account of the absence of a paramount power, each state could do whatever it pleased. There was no guarantee of peace. There was no supreme power to which an aggrieved state could appeal for help. Under the circumstances, Lord Wellesley came to the conclusion that either the English Company must become the Supreme power in the country or quit the country. There was absolutely no half-way. It was with this conviction in mind that Lord Wellesley started his work.

Subsidiary system: One of the great master-strokes of Lord Wellesley was the application of the system of subsidiary alliances to a large number of Indian States. It was in this way that he was able to add to the resources of the English Company, oust the foreigners from the Indian States and make the English Company the arbiter in the affairs of the Indian States. However, it is wrong to say that Lord Wellesley was the author of the system of subsidiary alliances.

According to Sir Alfred Lyall, there were four stages in the evolution of the subsidiary system. To begin with, the English Company contented itself with lending a military contingent to help some Indian princes. This was done by Warren Hastings when he lent British troops to the Nawab of Oudh to fight against the Rohillas. The second stage came when the English Company took the field on its own account. It was usually assisted by the army of some Indian prince who was not strong enough to do the job single-handed. In the third stage, the English Company asked the ruler of the State to give them money so that troops may be maintained for the defence of the state. Such a treaty was made by Sir John Shore with the Nawab of Oudh in 1797. The Nawab promised to pay a sum of Rs. 76 lacs a year. A similar treaty was made with the Nizam by Lord Wellesley.

The English Company was not satisfied with the subsidies paid by the Indian rulers. In many cases, they were too irregular to be depended upon. The result was that the English Company thought of another form of subsidiary system under which the Indian state was made to give up a part of its territory so that out of its revenues the troops may be maintained.

It is rightly pointed out that the English were not the originators of the system of subsidiary alliances. According to Ranade, "the

idea (of subsidiary system) was in fact a mere reproduction on a more organised scale of the plan followed by the Maratha leader a 100 years in advance when they secured the grant of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the Imperial authority at Delhi." Some writers give credit to the French. It is pointed out that it is men like Dupleix who started the system of giving help to the Indian rulers for money or other reward. However, it cannot be denied that it was Lord Wellesley who perfected the system of subsidiary alliances.

Under the subsidiary system, the ruler who entered into a subsidiary alliance, was to give money or some territory to the English Company for the maintenance of a contingent force. He was also to agree to deal with foreign states only through the English Company. He was to have no direct correspondence or relations with them. If the ruler had any dispute with any other state, he was to make the English Company his arbitrator. He was to turn out from his state all non-English Europeans whether they were employed in the army or civil administration. The English Company was to undertake to defend that state from external attack or internal trouble. It is clear that the subsidiary state surrendered its political independence in return for British protection.

Merits of the system: (1) It cannot be denied that the subsidiary system added to the resources of the English Company and it was partly with the help of these resources that the English Company was able to establish itself as the paramount power in the country. The Indian States entering into subsidiary alliances gave money or territories out of whose revenues troops could be maintained by the English Company. These troops were always at the beck and call of the English Company. The result was that although outwardly the troops were maintained with the money of the Indian States for their defence, actually they added to the resources of the English Company. It is well-known that the Nizam entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English in the time of Wellesley. With the money got from him, an army was maintained and put under the charge of Sir Arthur Wellesley. That army was used in various campaigns in which Lord Wellesley was engaged.

(2) The system of subsidiary alliances enabled the English Company to throw forward their military frontier in advance of their political frontier. Although the English Company was not burdened with the responsibility of the administration of the states joining the subsidiary system, its influence was enhanced.

(3) The evils of war were kept at a distance from the territories of the English Company. The territories under the English Company did not suffer because the battles were fought in most cases in the territories of the states joining the subsidiary alliance.

(4) The system of subsidiary alliances did not arouse the jealousy of other European nations. The reason was that outwardly the independence of the states was maintained.

(5) The English Company was able to exclude the influence of the French from the Indian States. Whenever a state entered into a subsidiary alliance, the ruler had to drive out all Europeans who were not Englishmen.

Demerits of the system : (1) The one great demerit of the system was that the amount of money demanded from the rulers of the Indian states was out of all proportion to their resources. The result was that the rulers of the states paid the money to the Company even at the expense of the welfare of their people. All kinds of methods were adopted to collect the money so that the English Company may not have an excuse to demand territory from that state. However, in certain cases even when the subsidy was paid regularly, the English Company forced the ruler to hand over certain territory for the maintenance of the army. This was done by Wellesley when he forced the Nawab of Oudh to give Gorakhpur, Rohilkhand and the Doab for the maintenance of troops by the Company.

(2) The subsidiary system resulted in the internal decay of the protected states. It destroyed the initiative of the ruling princes. It made them dependent on the English Company. The result was that the Indian princes led lives of vice and corruption on account of the assurance that the English Company was always there to help them in times of trouble. The people of the states were deprived of the natural remedy of revolution. They had no chance of success even if they dared to revolt against their corrupt ruler.

(3) The Court of Directors did not approve of the subsidiary system because it created jealousy among the Indian States against the English Company. Moreover, the Directors were also opposed to the policy of annexing territories.

On the whole, the system of subsidiary alliances helped the English Company to tide over their difficulties and emerge as a great power in the country.

Fourth Mysore War (1799) : It has already been pointed

out that Sultan Tipu had not forgotten the humiliating treatment which had been meted out to him by Cornwallis. He was determined to have his revenge. He sent his emissaries to Kabul, Constantinople, Arabia and Mauritius. The Sultan planted the tree of liberty at Seringapatam. He was elected a Member of the Jacobin Club of France. He tried to correspond with Napoleon who was in Egypt at that time. French generals were drilling his forces. The situation was serious and Lord Wellesley at once made up his mind to deal with it with a firm hand.

Before taking action against Tipu, Wellesley tried to win over the Nizam and the Marathas and succeeded so far as the Nizam was concerned. The Nizam entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English Company in September 1798. He agreed to make a payment for the maintenance of the contingent force. He agreed to turn out the officers of other European nations. The French army of the Nizam was disbanded.

Having got the support of the Nizam on his side, Lord Wellesley demanded absolute submission from Sultan Tipu. As the latter did not carry out the command, war was declared. The main army was under General Harris and he proceeded towards Mysore. Arthur Wellesley, the younger brother of the Governor-General who later came to be known as the Duke of Wellington, was incharge of the Nizam's contingent. A force from Bombay also marched towards Mysore. The armies carried everything before them and reached Seringapatam. Sultan Tipu refused to accept the humiliating terms offered to him and died fighting in the ramparts of Seringapatam. This was in May 1799. After the victory, Wellesley annexed large and important territories which included Kanara, Coimbatore and Seringapatam. Mysore was surrounded on all sides by British territory. The Nizam was given some territory as a reward for the help given by him. Certain territories were offered to the Marathas also on certain conditions, but they refused to accept them. A child of the Hindu family who had been turned out by Haider Ali was placed once again on the throne of Mysore.

Character of Tipu: It is wrong to say that Sultan Tipu was a savage, barbarous and cruel fanatic. He was an industrious ruler who himself attended to every branch of administration. He was not cruel by nature. He was cruel only towards his enemies and he hated the English from the very core of his heart. He could never reconcile himself to cooperate with the English Company. He fought against

the British tooth and nail and died fighting, but could not think of coming to a compromise with them. He was inclined towards the French and his preference for them continued all his life.

The English also hated him and dreaded him. According to Kirpatrick, Sultan Tipu was "the cruel and relentless enemy... the oppressive and unjust ruler and what not." According to Wilks, "Haider was seldom wrong and Tipu seldom right. Unlimited persecution united in detestation of his rule every Hindu in his Dominion. He was barbarous where severity was vice and indulgent where it was virtue. If he had qualities fitted for Empire, they were strangely equivocal." There is a Mysore proverb that "Haider was born to create an Empire, Tipu to lose one."

However, there are other writers who have paid tributes to the intelligence and other qualities of head and heart of Sultan Tipu. According to Mill, "As a domestic ruler, he sustains an advantageous comparison with the greatest princes of the East." According to Moore, "When a person travelling through a strange country finds it well-cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants, cities newly founded, commerce extending, towns increasing, and everything flourishing so as to indicate happiness, he will naturally conclude it to be under a form of Government congenial to the minds of the people. This is a picture of Tipu's country, and this is our conclusion respecting its Government." Major Dirom remarked thus: "His country was found everywhere full of inhabitants, and apparently cultivated to the utmost extent to which the soil was capable; while the discipline and fidelity of his troops in the field, until their last overthrow, were testimonies equally strange of the excellent regulations which existed in his army. His Government, though strict and arbitrary, was despotism of a politic and able sovereign."

There is not much to condemn the character of Sultan Tipu. His misfortune was that he was pitted against the British Government which had endless resources. He could not find anybody to help him in his hour of difficulty. While the English were able to win over the Marathas and the Nizam on the occasion of the third Mysore War and the Nizam in the fourth Mysore War, Tipu had to fight alone. The French on whom he depended, failed him completely.

Tanjore, Surat and Carnatic: Lord Wellesley had to deal with Tanjore, Surat and Carnatic. In October 1799, Wellesley entered into a subsidiary treaty with the Rajah of Tanjore. The

Rajah practically gave up the administration into the hands of the English Company in lieu of the payment of £40,000 a year. In the case of Surat, Wellesley abolished the double Government, granted a pension to the Nawab and took over the supreme control of the country into his own hands. As regards Carnatic, its Government was rotten and scandalous. It was alleged that the Nawab of Carnatic and his son had entered into correspondence with Sultan Tipu. Although the evidence was not conclusive, Wellesley took over the civil and military government of Carnatic in July 1801 when the Nawab died. The Nawab was allowed to retain his title and he was to be paid 20 per cent of the revenues of his State.

Oudh: Wellesley's treatment of Oudh was altogether high-handed. The Nawab of Oudh was asked to disband a part of his army and receive a bigger subsidiary force. The Nawab resisted and even expressed his willingness to abdicate. When Wellesley showed his readiness to accept the offer of abdication, the Nawab withdrew the offer. He declared that he was prepared to abdicate provided his son was allowed to succeed him. The indignation of Wellesley knew no bounds and he was disgusted with the duplicity and insincerity of the Nawab. Wellesley prepared a new draft treaty by which the size of the contingent force was to be increased and the subsidy was increased to $1\frac{1}{4}$ million sterling. Wellesley did not care at all for the protests of the Nawab. The result was that the Nawab gave way.

However, in spite of this, Wellesley made new demands on the Nawab. Although the Nawab had paid his subsidies regularly, Wellesley demanded and got the surrender of Rohilkhand and the Southern districts between the Ganges and the Jumna. All this amounted to about one half of his dominions. Naturally, the Nawab resented. Sir Alfred Lyall says that Wellesley "subordinated the feelings and interests of his ally to paramount considerations of British policy in a manner that showed very little patience, forbearance or generosity. The only justification for such a policy was expediency."

Steps against the French danger: Wellesley also took certain steps to meet the French menace. He was in favour of an expedition against Mauritius but the English Admiral refused to cooperate and the scheme had to be given up. He urged upon the Ministry at home to capture Ceylon and Batavia from the Dutch, but failed to secure the assent of the Ministers. He sent Indian troops to Egypt to cooperate in the expulsion of the French from that

country. Wellesley also sent John Malcolm to Persia to counteract the French and Russian advance in that direction.

✓ **Second Maratha War (1802-4):** The Maratha state was not a unified state. It was merely a confederacy. The Peshwa was weak and was not in a position to control and direct the other Maratha chiefs. The important Maratha chiefs were Scindhia, Holkar, Gaikwad and Bhonsla. The Marathas were not very strong on account of the mutual jealousies of the Maratha chiefs.

In March 1800, Nana Farnavis died at Poona and with him departed "all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government." Both Scindhia and Holkar tried to establish their control over the Peshwa and started fighting with each other. The Peshwa submitted to the control of Scindhia but Holkar would not tolerate this. He attacked and defeated Scindhia and tried to establish his control over the Peshwa. This was too much for the Peshwa who ran away to Bassein to secure help from the English Company. It was in these circumstances that the Treaty of Bassein was signed on 31st December, 1802. The Peshwa entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English Company. British troops were to be permanently established at Poona. The English Company was to control the foreign relations of the Peshwa. The Peshwa agreed to give some territory for the maintenance of the contingent force. As soon as the treaty was signed, the British took the Peshwa to Poona and put him on his throne in May 1803. Holkar retired.

A lot of importance has attached to the treaty of Bassein. It has been regarded as one of the important landmarks of British Dominion in India. The English Company was able to bring the head of the Marathas under its control. It must have been understood that such a state of affairs will not be acceptable to the other Maratha chiefs. Those who entered into the treaty must have known that war was inevitable. According to Arthur Wellesley, the treaty of Bassein was made "with a cipher."

The expected happened. The Maratha chiefs gave expression to their feelings of resentment and anger. Scindhia and Bhonsla at once combined. Gaekwar and Holkar stood apart. Scindhia and Bhonsla attacked but they met with stiff resistance at the hands of the British troops. The important battles were fought at Assaye, Aragon and Laswari. The power of both Scindhia and Bhonsla was smashed and they both entered into separate treaties.

The treaty of Deogaon was made with the Rajah of Berar and

that of Surji Arjangaon was made with Scindhia. By the treaty of Deogaon, Bhonsla gave Cuttack to the English and accepted a subsidiary alliance. By the treaty of Surji Arjangaon, Scindhia accepted a subsidiary alliance and surrendered Broach, Ahmednagar and the territory between the Gangaes and the Jamuna including Agra and Delhi.

War with Holkar: Holkar had his differences with Scindhia and consequently did not join hands with him when the latter was fighting against the British. But when Scindhia and Bhonsla were defeated, Holkar made up his mind to continue the fight. He attacked the territories of the Rajputs and demanded Chauth from the English Company. As was to be expected, Wellesley rejected those demands and war was declared. Holkar forced Colonel Monson to retreat and inflicted upon him a crushing defeat in Rajputana. The Rajah of Bharatpur defied British authority. He also joined Holkar in an attack on Delhi, but their attempt failed. Later on, Holkar himself was defeated. The efforts of Lake to conquer Bharatpur failed and he suffered heavy losses. Lake made peace with the Rajah of Bharatpur. When such was the condition, Lord Wellesley was called back by the Home Government which was tired of the aggressive and expensive wars of Lord Wellesley.

Estimate of Wellesley: Lord Wellesley was one of the greatest of the Governors-General of the English Company. He has rightly been called a great pro-consul. One cannot help recalling to one's mind the great work done by him. In 1798, the position of the English Company was precarious. By 1805, Wellesley had foiled all the designs of the French, defeated and killed Tipu and humbled the Marathas. Had he been given a little more time, he would have completely crushed the resistance of Holkar.

Dr. V.A. Smith gives his estimate of Wellesley in these words: "The Marquess of Wellesley is undoubtedly entitled to a place in the front rank of the Governors-General by the side of Warren Hastings, Marquess of Hastings and Lord Dalhousie. Some authors would award him the first place, but in my judgement that honour belongs to Warren Hastings. Lord Wellesley, like Lords Lytton and Dufferin in later times, looked upon the affairs of India as seen by a British nobleman and politician from a Foreign Office point of view. He was a statesman rather than an administrator, concerned chiefly with matters of high policy and little inclined to examine closely the details of departmental administration. His policy was directed to two

main objects. The first was the elevation of the British Government to the position of paramount power in India ; or to use his stately words, 'to establishing a comprehensive system of alliance and political relation over every region of Hindustan and the Deccan.' The second object was the full utilisation of Indian strength so that it might play a proper part in resistance to the menace of Napoleon's world-wide ambition, which avowedly aimed at the overthrow of British power in the whole of India."

Lord Cornwallis (1805): Lord Cornwallis was sent to India for the second time with the object of undoing the mischief which Lord Wellesley was considered to have done. He came to India with the determination to revert to the policy of non-intervention. He tried to end the hostilities with Holkar and pacify Scindhia. He decided to restore Gwalior and Gohud to Scindhia. He also decided to give up all territory west of the Jamuna and withdraw the protection of the English Company from the Rajput states. However, Cornwallis could not carry out his policy as he died in October 1805. He was in India for a few months only.

Sir George Barlow (1805-7): When Lord Cornwallis died all of a sudden in 1805, Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the Governor-General's Council, was appointed the Governor-General. Like a typical civil servant, Sir George Barlow strictly followed the policy of non-intervention. He gave back Gwalior and Gohud to Scindhia. He withdrew British protection from the Rajputs. He also agreed to fix the Chambal river as the boundary line between Scindhia's territory and the possessions of the English Company. He also offered very advantageous terms to Holkar although his position had become very weak on account of the action of Lord Lake. He was asked to enter into a subsidiary alliance.

However, Sir George Barlow forced the Nizam to abide by the terms of the subsidiary alliance and refused to allow him to make any alterations. The Directors of the English Company asked Sir George Barlow to withdraw from the treaty of Bassein and allow the Peshwa to resume his old position. However, he resisted the orders of the Directors and the treaty of Bassein continued.

Another event of Sir George Barlow's tenure of office was the mutiny of the Sepoys at Vellore. Certain orders had been passed demanding the putting on of certain kinds of military uniforms. New regulations also prescribed the fashion of wearing the hair. The people considered it to be an interference into their religious affairs.

British officers were massacred. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, did not handle the situation satisfactorily and was consequently recalled.

Lord Minto (1807-13): Lord Minto succeeded Sir George Barlow in 1807. Before coming to India as Governor-General, Minto was the President of Board of Control. He came to India with the firm conviction that the policy of non-intervention was in the best interests of the English Company. However, he had to modify his policy in certain cases.

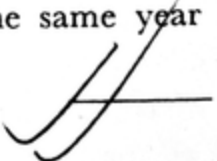
In 1809, a rebellious Pathan Chief called Amir Khan invaded Berar and he had with him 40,000 horsemen and more than 20,000 Pindaris. The British Government had no obligation, moral or legal, to help Berar because the Rajah had refused to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the Company. In spite of this, Lord Minto intervened to put an end to the anarchy in the country. Amir Khan was defeated and turned out from Berar and thus peace was maintained. In 1809, Lord Minto entered into the Treaty of Amritsar with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Sir Charles Metcalfe played the most important part in this connection. The Sikh territory was to be on the west side of the Sutlej. This treaty was observed by both the parties for 30 long years.

John Malcolm was sent by Lord Wellesley to Tehran on account of its critical position. The home Government also sent Sir Harford Jones to do the same job. The Indian Government accepted the treaty entered into by the envoy of the Crown.

Elphinstone was sent to Kabul on a mission. However, he met Shah Shuja, the King of Afghanistan, at Peshawar. He agreed to oppose the French and the Persians if the latter attacked India. However, not much came out of it because Shah Shuja was himself turned out from his country.

Lord Minto took up the offensive against the French. He sent a naval expedition against the French colonies of Bourbon and Mauritius. These islands were captured. Another expedition was sent to Java.

In 1813, the Charter of the English East India Company was renewed for 20 years. The same year Lord Minto was succeeded by Lord Hastings.



CHAPTER VIII

LORD HASTINGS AND AMHERST

Lord Hastings (1813-23): Lord Hastings or Earl of Moira was appointed the Governor-General of Bengal in 1815 and he occupied that exalted office for a decade. He completed the work which was started by Warren Hastings and continued by Lord Wellesley. He came to India with a determination to follow a policy of non-intervention into the affairs of the country, but later on felt that the situation of the country was such that it was not possible to follow that policy. There were dangers from many quarters and only a policy of intervention could suit.

War with Nepal (1814-16): Lord Hastings had first of all to deal with Nepal. This country was inhabited by the Gorkhas. They are very hardy warriors. They had grown in strength by slow degrees and established their control over the whole of the hilly region from the frontier of Bhutan in the East to the Sutlej on the West. The Gorkhas were determined to extend their territory over the plains and that could be done only at the cost of the territory of the English East India Company.

The non-intervention policy of some of the Governors-General of Bengal encouraged them to attack and occupy certain villages on the British side of the frontier. The climax was reached when the Gorkhas occupied the districts of Butwal and Sheoraj. As the Marathas refused to restore them even when a demand was made on them, war had to be declared in 1814.

All military strategists agree on the point that Nepal is a very difficult country from the military point of view. It is true that elaborate plans were prepared in advance, but most of them were ill-executed. The fighting qualities of the Gorkhas also made victory over them a difficult task. General Gillespie who had fought heroically in Java, was defeated and killed by the Gorkhas. Three more generals were defeated. However, things improved under the command of Ochterloney. The English were able to occupy Almora. Amar Singh, the Gurkha leader, was defeated and surrendered. Thereafter, the treaty of Sagauli was signed in March 1816.

By the treaty, the Gurkhas gave up most of their claims in the Tarai along their Southern border. The provinces of Garhwal and Kumaon were also surrendered and the English thus got the site of Simla. The North-Western frontier of the English Company was carried right up to the mountains. The Gurkhas were to accept a resident in their capital.

The importance of the treaty of Sagauli cannot be over-emphasized. The friendship established between the two countries in 1816 has continued since then. The Gurkha soldiers have been welcomed in the Indian army. They are employed in very large numbers in many other jobs by the Indians. The treaty of 1816 thus established an abiding friendship between India and Nepal.

Pindari War (1817-18): After the Gorkhas, Lord Hastings had to deal with the Pindaris. Their origin is not known but in the time of Baji Rao I, they were attached to the Maratha army as irregular horsemen. After the third battle of Panipat in 1761, the Pindaris settled themselves in Malwa. They attached themselves to Sindhia and Holkar. Their two branches came to be known as the Sindhia Shahi and Nizam Shahi Pindaris. As the power of the Maratha chiefs declined, the Pindaris began to do things independently. Wherever they went, they carried fire and sword with them. Particularly in the time of Wellesley, their number multiplied. This led to lawlessness in the country. The people suffered and the Pindaris gained.

The Pindaris did not form a regular army. The only link between the Pindari chief and his followers was the prospect of plunder. Even loyalty to the chief was not continuous. The Pindaris were prepared to follow anybody who promised to get them booty. They did not form any homogeneous body. All kinds of elements joined the ranks of the Pindaris. There was no distinction between a Hindu or a Muslim. All were welcomed to the brotherhood. In most cases, the Pindaris came from the ranks of the disbanded leaders and fugitives from justice. Idlers, profligates and unscrupulous persons from every caste and creed were welcomed. The Pindaris had their special technique of fighting. They scrupulously avoided to give battle to the enemy. They were always on the lookout for their victims. They attacked their target with the speed of lightning and managed to run away with all their booty. The Pindaris have been compared to the swarms of the locusts. As the Pindaris followed the Maratha armies, they have

been called the scavengers of the Marathas.

The Pindaris were getting emboldened by the official policy of non-intervention. In 1812, they attacked Bundelkhand. In 1815 and 1816, they attacked and plundered the territories of the Nizam. In 1816, they led an attack on Northern Circars. This was too much for the English to put up with. Lord Hastings made elaborate preparations for it. By diplomacy, Lord Hastings was able to detach the Pindaris from the Marathas. He made a subsidiary alliance with Apa Sahib, the Regent of Bhonsla's territory. He also forced Sindhia to sign a treaty binding him to help the English against Pindaris. Then comprehensive preparations were made to hunt out the Pindaris. The army of Hindustan was commanded by Lord Hastings himself. The army of the Deccan was commanded by Sir Thomas Hislop. The ring of iron and steel was spread all over the territory to hunt out the Pindaris. They were ruthlessly chased. Some of them were completely destroyed and the others were broken up. Karim Khan, one of the Pindari chiefs, surrendered. Wasil Mohammed committed suicide. Chitu was eaten by a tiger. Amir Khan was persuaded to disband his forces and was made the Nawab of Tonk.

Critics of Lord Hastings pointed out that his policy towards the Pindaris was a generous one. He should have been more stiff with the enemies of civilization.

✓ **Third Maratha War (1817-18):** Lord Hastings had tried his utmost to avoid a combination of the Marathas and the Pindaris. In spite of this precaution, "the hunt of the Pindaries became merged in the third Maratha War." (V.A. Smith).

It is a matter of history that although the Peshwa had entered into the treaty of Bassein in 1802, he was not satisfied with his present position and was intriguing to free himself from the British control. Such a move could not be palatable to the English Company.

In 1815, Trimbakji, a minister of the Peshwa, murdered a Brahmin envoy of the Ruler of Gaikwar who had gone to Poona under a British safeconduct. As foul play was suspected, Elphinstone, the British Resident, forced Baji Rao Peshwa to surrender Trimbakji. He also forced the Peshwa to enter into new subsidiary alliance and grant a piece of territory for the maintenance of the contingent force. He also forced him to give up the headship of the Maratha Confederacy (1817).

As such a treatment was not liked by Baji Rao, he revolted, and attacked and burnt the British Residency. Elphinstone managed

to escape. In the battle of Kirki, the Peshwa was defeated.

Apa Sahib Bhonsla of Nagpur and Holkar declared war against the English. Apa Sahib was defeated at Sitabaldi and forced to surrender. Holkar's armies were also defeated and crushed in the battle of Mahidpur. The Peshwa was also pursued and defeated at Ashti and Koregaon. In 1819, Asirgarh was captured. Baji Rao Peshwa was forced to surrender himself to the British in 1819 and thus the third Maratha war ended. Elphinstone gave a very generous treatment to the defeated Peshwa. It is true that the office of the Peshwa was abolished but Baji Rao was given a pension of Rs. 8 lacs a year for his life. A representative of the line of Shivaji was put on the throne of Sitara. Apa Sahib of Nagpur was deposed and a new Raja was put in his place. The Narbada territories of Bhonsla were annexed. Holkar was forced to enter into a subsidiary alliance and grant some territory for the maintenance of the contingent army. He was also forced to give up all his claims on the Rajput states.

It is evident that the power of the Marathas was completely crushed and henceforth they were not in a position to raise their head again. Marshman has described the results of the above wars in these words: "The wars subdued not only the native armies but the native mind and taught the princes and people of India to regard the supreme command in India as indisputably transferred to a foreign power. It placed the Company on the Moghul throne with a more absolute authority than Akbar or Aurangzeb had ever enjoyed."

✓ **Causes of the failure of the Marathas:** It goes without saying that after the disintegration and fall of the Moghul Empire, power fell into the hands of the Marathas. Their empire was vast, Their armies were big. The Marathas themselves were great warriors and in fearlessness and bravery they were second to none in the world. However, inspite of these qualities, the Marathas failed to hold their own against the British. This was due to many causes.

(1) It is true that the Maratha Empire was a vast one, but it was not well-knit. It was not a unitary state and all power was not in the hands of the Peshwa. The Maratha Empire was a confederacy. Power was shared by many Maratha chiefs and most important of them were Holkar, Sindhia, Bhonsla and Gaikwar. It is true that nominally the Peshwa was the head of the Maratha confederacy but as a matter of fact, he had no substantial control over the various Maratha chiefs. Every one of them was independent in his own

sphere and did whatever he pleased. They did not hesitate to intrigue against one another. It was not a happy phenomenon to see Holkar, Sindhia or Bhonsla helping another power against one another. Evidently, there was no discipline and solidarity among the Marathas. They were not brought together even by a national emergency. They failed to help one another against their common enemies and the result was that all of them were defeated separately by the English Company.

(2) The Marathas did not bother about finance. Such a vital department was absolutely ignored. The result was that the Marathas were always in need of money. This need they tried to satisfy by plundering the country. Plundering raids by the Maratha chiefs in search of money were common. But such a system can hardly bring any credit to the Government. No country can grow under such circumstances. Even the people cannot have any devotion or loyalty under such a state. The Maratha rule was bound to fall. The Marathas could plunder others when their own territory was small, but when their own empire began to grow, they could not adopt the old device of plundering. This resulted in shortage of finance. The Marathas did not set up an efficient system of administration. Nothing was done to safeguard the interests of the people. Their rule was positively oppressive.

(3) Another cause of Maratha failure was that they gave up their old method of fighting. The Marathas were experts in guerilla warfare. They were not accustomed to pitched battles. However, guerilla tactics were possible only so long as the Marathas had not set up an Empire of their own. When they established their own Empire, it became absolutely necessary for their Government to protect the people from foreign invasions. Consequently, by the force of circumstances, the Marathas were forced to give up their old method of fighting and that brought about their ruin.

(4) The Marathas failed to develop their own artillery. The result was that they had to depend upon the foreigners or the Feringis to take charge of their artillery. Moreover, they did not manufacture their own guns or other weapons and had to depend upon foreign supplies for their needs. These supplies often failed and the Marathas also failed.

(5) The Marathas were poor students of geography. They did not bother to understand the geography of the country which was indispensable for successful military operations. The result was

that their lack of knowledge of the geography of the Country landed them into difficulties. If the Maratha armies were moving to a destination, they may not be knowing that they shall have to cross a big river on the way. Such a handicap was suicidal for successful military operations. If such was the condition of the Marathas, the Englishmen knew all about the Maratha territory. This knowledge helped the Englishmen in their military operations.

(5) The Englishmen mastered the various languages of the Maratha Empire and consequently their spies and other informants were at a great advantage. The plans of the English were based on facts and figures and not merely on guess-work and no wonder they succeeded.

(6) The Marathas neglected the development of the navy. The result was that they could not stand against the powerful navy of Great Britain.

(7) The English Company had enormous resources at its disposal and the Marathas were no match for the same. The English were also the masters of diplomacy and the Marathas were merely children before them in that difficult art.

Internal Reforms—Judicial: Many reforms were carried out during the regime of Lord Hastings. The problem facing the country was the ever-growing number of undecided cases in the courts of justice. As the cases were not disposed of for years, parties were forced in many cases to take the law in their own hands. The problem could be tackled by increasing the number of courts, but the Company was reluctant to increase the number of courts because such a step involved additional expenditure. Publicists like Mill attacked the miserliness of the Company.

In 1814, Lord Hastings provided that there was to be a Munsif in every Thana. These Munsifs were to be appointed by the judges of the Diwani Adalat although the power of approval was left with the Provincial Court of Appeal. Munsifs were empowered to try cases up to the value of Rs. 64/- and their own decisions were to be confirmed by the judges of the Diwani Adalat. Appeals could be taken to the Diwani Adalat from the decisions of the Munsifs. The Munsifs could be removed on ground of misconduct, incapacity or neglect of duty. In addition to Munsifs, Sadar Amins were also appointed in every Zilla or city. The number of the Sadar Amins depended upon the requirement of the area. Appointments were to be made by the judges of the Diwani Adalat but the approval of

the Provincial Court of Appeal was necessary. They were empowered to try cases up to Rs. 150/-. However, Sadar Amins were not allowed to try cases in which British subjects, Americans or Europeans were involved. Appeals could be taken against the decisions of the Sadar Amins to the Diwani Adalat.

An attempt was made to decrease the arrears of work by abolishing the right of appeal in certain cases. Generally, only one appeal was allowed. It was provided in 1814 that appeals were to be taken from the Diwani Adalat to the Provincial Court of Appeal. However, if the latter tried a case in its original jurisdiction, an appeal could be taken to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.

Lord Hastings also increased the powers of the Registrars. Cases up to the value of Rs. 50/- were to be sent to the Registrars for disposal. In exceptional cases, the Diwani Adalats were empowered to refer cases involving more than Rs. 500/- to the Registrars. Provision was made for the taking of appeals directly to the Provincial Court of Appeal against the decisions of the Registrars.

It was further provided that in future all cases whose value was not more than Rs. 5,000/- were to be instituted in the city Diwani Adalat or Zilla Diwani Adalat. The Sadar Diwani Adalat was given the power to transfer cases from the District or City Diwani Adalat to the Provincial Court of Appeal. If the amount involved was more than Rs. 5,000/-, provision was made for the institution of those cases directly in the Provincial Courts of Appeal. Sometimes, those cases could be transferred to the Sadar Diwani Adalat also.

It was provided in 1821 that if one Munsif was considered to be insufficient for the work in hand, more Munsifs were to be appointed for that purpose. They were allowed to try cases up to the value of Rs. 150/-. Sadar Amins were also allowed to try cases up to the value of Rs. 500/-.

In 1815, it was laid down that no person was to be deemed to be qualified to be appointed to the office of a judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat unless he had previously officiated as a judge of Provincial Court and Circuit, for a period of not less than three years or had worked for not less than 9 years in a judicial capacity.

Lord Hastings provided in 1818 that the magistrates were to be empowered to give the punishment of imprisonment with hard labour up to two years and corporal punishment of not more than 30 stripes.

Another regulation of 1821 provided that it shall be competent for the Governor-General in Council to authorise a Collector of Revenue or other officers employed in the management of or superintendence of any branch of the territorial revenues to exercise the whole or any portion of the powers and duties vested in the magistrates or to employ a magistrate in the collection of public revenue, and also to invest the person so employed with the whole or any portion of the powers of the Collector of Revenue. The powers of the Collector were increased tremendously.

Revenue Reforms: Lord Hastings appealed to the Directors of the Company for a Permanent Settlement. However, his suggestion was not accepted. Arrangements were made with the representatives of each village community for the adjustment of shares of the individuals.

The Bengal Tenancy Act was passed in 1822. It tried to check their pernicious tendency. Provisions were made very stringent.

Sir Thomas Munro was the Governor of Madras in 1820. He introduced the Ryotwari system. There was to be no intermediaries. Elphinstone fixed the rights and rents of each Ryot after a survey.

Education: Efforts were made to promote education among the people. A college was opened at Calcutta for the spread of English language. Similar measures were adopted by the various provincial Governments.

Press: To begin with, more liberty of action was given to the press and censorship was abolished. However, restrictions were imposed soon after on ground of their necessity.

Undoubtedly, Lord Hastings completed the work of Lord Wellesley. After his departure in 1823, there was no serious rival of the English Company in India. Not only was the office of the Peshwa abolished, Holkar was deprived of half of his territory. Bhonsla Raja became a vassal of the English Company. Scindia was humbled and made impotent. He established law and order in the country after crushing the power of the Pindaris. Both his military achievements and internal reforms accomplished a great deal. According to Mill, "The administration of the Marquess of Hastings may be regarded as the completion of the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundations, and Warren Hastings and Marquess of Wellesley had reared the super-structure. The growing

pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India proper finally established. Of the soundness of the work no better proof could be afforded than the fact that there has been no national warfare since his administration. Rajput, Maratha and Mohammadans have remained at peace with one another under the shade of British Power. The wars in which the latter had been engaged have carried that power beyond the frontiers of Hindustan, but no interruption of internal tranquility from Himalayas to the sea has been suffered or attempted."

Roberts has drawn a comparison between Lord Hastings and Lord Wellesley in these words: "His material achievements challenged comparison with those of Lord Wellesley, but he was of course not so great or commanding a figure. He owed much to the success of his administration to a brilliant band of subordinates, men who had been trained and inspired by his great predecessor. Hastings did not possess Wellesley's dignity, eloquence or originality; there was an element of vanity in his otherwise estimable character, and signs are not lacking that he would hardly have shown Wellesley's equanimity in the face of reverses or his noble consideration of defeated generals. On the other hand, he conceived and carried through the grandest strategical operations ever undertaken in India, in the course of which twenty-eight actions were fought and a hundred and twenty fortresses taken without a single reverse. He was less precipitate than Lord Wellesley, less harsh to errant native rulers, and he did not proceed against them till his case was very strong."

John Adams (1823): The interval between Lord Hastings and Lord Ahmerst was covered by John Adams who was the Senior Member of the Calcutta Council. His period of rule lasted for 7 months. Adams' name is notorious for his censorship of the press. He also put an end to the disgraceful affairs of the Palmer & Co. He took action against Mr. Buckingham, editor of the Calcutta Journal, who was critical of the work of the Government. The editor was deported. He also passed orders that Palmer & Co. was not to lend any more money to the Nizam. The English East India Company owed a lot of money to the Nizam on account of the annual tribute for Northern Circars. A lot of money had accumulated. Adams ordered the payment to the Nizam who was thus able to pay off Palmer & Co.

Lord Ahmerst (1823-28): The most important event of the time of Lord Ahmerst was the First Burmese War and the capture

of Bharatpur.

First Burmese War (1824-26): Burma was an independent country. Its inhabitants were a source of threat to the security and tranquility of the possessions of the English East India Company. In 1817-18, the Burmese forces threatened Assam. They also sent a letter to the Indian Government demanding the surrender of Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad and Kossimbazar. However, the danger was avoided on account of the defeat of the Burmese at the hands of the Siamese. Peace did not last long. In 1822, Assam was conquered. The security of India was threatened and the English Company had to take action. The Burmese believed that no troops could stand against them. From the king to the beggar, they were hot for a war with the English. The Burmese tried to provoke the English as much as they could. In 1823, the Burmese attacked Shahpuri, a small island near Chittagong and commenced the war. Lord Amherst also declared war in February 1824.

It is rightly pointed out that Lord Amherst did not make adequate preparations for the war in Burma. The work done by his subordinates was also not up to the mark. The war in Burma was fought leisurely. The Company did not try to take the initiative in their own hands. The result was that war was prolonged, but ultimately the Burmese were defeated. A treaty was signed in 1826 between the Government of India and Burma. By the *Treaty of Yandaboo* (1826), the Burmese king agreed to give to the English Company the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim. Burmese forces were to be withdrawn from Assam and Cachar. They recognised the independence of Manipur and entered into a commercial treaty. They also agreed to take a British Resident at their capital and pay a war indemnity of £ one million.

It cannot be denied that the Burmese War was a very expensive one. It lasted for two years. It is stated that if Lord Amherst had spent more time on preparations, he might have been able to avoid many a pitfall but unfortunately Lord Amherst could not do otherwise. He was a man of mediocre ability and never showed his firm grasp of the problems of the country.

Capture of Bharatpur: There was a dispute at Bharatpur after the death of the Rajah. The British Government recognised the claims of the minor. Durjan Sal, the other claimant, started war preparations to vindicate his right. The Fort of Bharatpur was captured. A large number of persons were captured by the British troops. Sir

Charles Metcalfe wrote thus: "Our plundering here has been very disgraceful. . . . until I can get rid of the price agents, I cannot establish the sovereignty of the young Rajah whom we came professedly to protect but have been plundering to the last Lotah since he fell into our hands."

A reference may also be made to a mutiny at Barrackpore. A Sepoy regiment was ordered to go to Burma. The Sepoys thought that they would be losing their caste by doing so and refused to obey. The result was that the mutiny was crushed and the soldiers were shot.

Sub

CHAPTER IX

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK (1828-1835)

The arrival of Lord William Bentinck marked the beginning of a new era in many ways. He was a man of resolution, capacity and spirit. Helped by his previous experience in Madras and an efficient staff of officials, he consolidated and re-organised the administrative machinery. He was a true liberal of his day and was thoroughly in accord with the ideals that inspired the era of Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reforms. ✓ He was the first Governor-General who acted on the theory that the welfare of the people was the main duty of the British in India. He infused into oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom. Although he was considered to be unsuccessful as the Governor of Bengal, he is considered to be one of the greatest of the Governors-General of India. ✓ He is famous not for his conquests but for the large number of reforms he carried out in various fields.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the wars of Lord Hastings and Lord Amherst cost a good deal to the Indian exchequer. The Nepali War, the third Maratha War, the first Burmese War and the action against the Pindaris practically exhausted the Indian treasury. When William Bentinck reached India, he found a deficit budget. The time for the renewal of the Charter of the Company was coming nearer and the Directors wanted to present a favourable picture of Indian administration with a view to convince the people. No wonder, economy, reduction and increase in the total revenues of the state became the watchwords of Bentinck's policy.

Financial Reforms : William Bentinck appointed two Committees to inquire into the expenditure on civil and military affairs of the Company and make recommendations for its reduction. The Committees went into the whole matter and made their recommendations. Accepting their recommendations, William Bentinck abolished many sinecure jobs, cut down the allowances and reduced the salaries of the civil servants. In the case of the military establishment, much could not be attempted. However, he halved the Bhatta allowance paid to the military per-

sonnel. Even before William Bentinck, the Directors of the English Company had tried to reduce the allowance, but they had failed. Now, they ordered William Bentinck to reduce the Bhatta immediately. Consequently, in November 1828, an order was issued by which the Bhatta was reduced by fifty per cent at all stations within four hundred miles of Calcutta. There was a lot of agitation against the Governor-General who was openly insulted and condemned by the Anglo-Indian press. In spite of this opposition, William Bentinck stuck to his guns and ultimately the opposition died out.

iii. He abolished the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit. According to Bentinck, these Courts served as "resting places for those members of the service who were deemed unfit for higher responsibilities." A lot of saving was made from this account.

iv. An attempt was made to increase the revenues of the Company by regulating the opium trade. He evolved the system of licenses for the direct conveyance of opium from Malwa to Bombay and thereby added to the revenues of the Company.

v. Even before the assumption of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the Company, grants of revenue-free lands had been made to individuals and institutions. The English Company also confirmed those grants. A Regulation of 1793 and another of 1819 empowered the Collectors to examine the validity of the grants. There was a suspicion that many grants were factitious and illegal. A Regulation of 1828 directed the Collectors to look into the legality or otherwise of those grants. Special Commissioners were appointed to hear appeals from the decisions of the Collectors. The parties concerned pleaded that they could not produce their documents on account of the passage of time. The government did not accept this plea and consequently many revenue-free lands were resumed by the Government. This resulted in a lot of discontentment among the people, but William Bentinck was able to add to the revenues of the Company.

vi. In his time, the revenue settlement of the North-Western Province was carried out. We are told that William Bentinck attended to this problem as soon as he came to India. He personally went on a tour of the province and consulted the best brains on the subject. He evolved a plan of settlement which became law in 1833. Land was surveyed and mapped. A classification of the soil was made. Settlement was fixed for thirty years. It was made either with Ryots or the Zamindars or the village community. Undoubtedly, the revenue settlement encouraged the improvement of the soil and guaranteed the

government a definite amount of revenue.

The employment of Indians in the service of the Company also resulted in some economy. The salaries paid to the Indians were much lower than those paid to the Europeans. This also resulted in economy.

The result of the above reforms was that the finances of the English Company were rehabilitated. Instead of a deficit of one million, Bentinck left behind a surplus of two million.

Judicial Reforms: The judicial system of the Company suffered from three great evils, *viz.*, delay, expense and uncertainty. Calcutta had become too distant for the newly-acquired territories. In the work of judicial reforms, Bentinck was assisted by Sir Charles Metcalfe, Butterworth Bayley and Holt Mackenzie.

In 1829, William Bentinck abolished the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit. These Courts were not doing their work enthusiastically. Their work was falling in arrears. These judges did not acquire sufficient knowledge and acquaintance with the people of the country. They failed to protect the people from the oppression of the police. The under-trials were made to live in prison for months before their cases were heard and disposed of. No wonder, William Bentinck decided to abolish these Courts. However, he appointed Commissioners of Revenue and Circuits. The Bengal Presidency was divided into twenty divisions and a Commissioner was appointed for each division. These Commissioners were required to perform the same duties which were formerly performed by the judges of the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit. The Commissioners were also given the duty of supervising the Collectors of Revenue and the Police within their areas. However, these Commissioners were themselves placed under the control of the Sadar Nizamat Adalat and Board of Revenue for their criminal and revenue functions respectively.

In 1829, a Regulation provided that the magistrates were to have the power of awarding punishment of two years' imprisonment with labour. Appeals were to be taken to the Commissioner.

A Regulation of 1831 provided for the summary disposal of cases relating to rent. Collectors were given the power to decide those cases summarily. Their decisions were to be final. Those could be reversed only by means of regular suits in civil courts.

A Regulation of 1831 provided that respectable Indians were to be appointed in the Zila Courts and City Courts. Indian Judges were to try cases upto the value of Rs. 300/-. These Judges were known as Munsifs. They were to get fixed salaries from the Government.

It was provided in 1831 that Principal Sadar Ameens were to be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council. Respectable Indians were to hold these offices. They were to get regular salaries. Appeals were to be taken from their decisions to the Zila or City Courts. Neither the Ameens nor the Munsifs were empowered to try cases in which Americans and European British subjects were involved.

Bentinck decided to set up a separate Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Nizamat Adalat at Allahabad and these courts started working from the beginning of 1832.

A Regulation of 1832 introduced the Jury system in Bengal. Its object was to help the European Judges to take advantages of the assistance of respectable Indians for the disposal of cases before them. European Judges were given the power to refer a case to a Panchayat of the Indians and the latter was required to make inquiries regarding the matter in question, and send a report to the Judge. Provision was made for the appointment of Indian Assessors to help the Judges. They were required to give their opinions individually.

William Bentinck abolished the use of Persian as Court language and ordered the use of vernacular for that purpose. This was a great boon to litigants who could express their grievances in their own language.

Administrative Reforms: Lord William Bentinck reversed the policy of Lord Cornwallis with regard to the employment of Indians in the service of the English East India Company. Cornwallis had no faith in the Indians and consequently insisted upon the employment of Europeans. It was found that it was very expensive to employ Europeans and Indians could be employed on much cheaper wages. Indians were available for clerical jobs on account of the spread of English language. Bentinck introduced three grades of Indian judges and the highest of them called Sadar Amins were given a salary of Rs. 750/-. The employment of the Indians removed one of their grievances with regard to employment. This new policy was in accordance with the principle laid down in the Charter Act of 1833. That Act laid down that "no native of India nor any natural born subject of His Majesty should be disabled from holding any place, office or employment by reason of his religion, place of birth,

descent or colour." William Bentinck followed the lines suggested by Sir Charles Metcalfe, *viz.*, "native functionaries in the first instance of all departments. The European superintendents, uniting the local powers of judicature, police and revenue in all their branches, through the districts over which they preside; Commissioners over them and a Board over them communicating with and subject to the immediate control of the Government."

William Bentinck appointed a Board of Revenue at Allahabad for the North-Western Province.

Educational Reforms: It is well-known that the Charter Act of 1813 allotted a sum of rupees one lac a year for the "revival and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories." The Government of India could not make up its mind as to how the money was to be spent and the same was allowed to accumulate every year. In 1823, Mr. Adams appointed a Committee of Public Instruction to make suggestions. However, much could not be done on account of the pre-occupation with the First Burmese War. William Bentinck had to tackle this problem. There were two schools of thought on this question. H.H. Wilson was the leader of the Orientalists and Sir Charles Trevelyan was the leader of the Anglicists. The arrival of Lord Macaulay as Law Member strengthened the hands of those who stood for the expenditure of money on English education. Ultimately, the issue was decided in favour of the English language. Practical considerations were responsible for deciding the issue. It was felt that not only the Government of India will get cheap clerks but there will be greater demand for English goods. Even Indians like Raja Rammohan Roy were in favour of the English language. By a resolution of March 1835, William Bentinck declared that "the great object of British Government ought to be the promotion of literature and science among the natives, and that the funds appropriated for education should be best employed on English education alone."

It cannot be denied that the English education gave the Indians a *lingua franca* and thereby helped the cause of nationalism in the country. The Indians were introduced to the treasures of western knowledge.

In 1835, a Medical College was opened at Calcutta. Thus the knowledge of the western theory of medicine began to be given to the students in India.

Social reforms: William Bentinck was responsible for the abolition of Sati and Thuggee. Both these customs involved death. The only difference was that death in the case of Sati took place voluntarily and in the case of Thuggee was inflicted by Thugs on others. Nobody knows the origin of the custom of Sati. Undoubtedly, it was an old custom which prevailed among the higher castes. It was considered to be a privilege and honour and that is why it was accompanied by the recitation of sacred hymns. The widowed woman was burnt along with her husband. She was made to put on all her clothes and ornaments and after the act of burning was over, the Brahmins were able to put all the gold into their pockets. This created vested interests and hence the custom was continued inspite of protests from time to time. It is well-known that Akbar tried to suppress the custom of Sati. Albuquerque had done the same. The Peshwas also prohibited this custom within their territories. In 1823, the Court of Directors made an inquiry into the custom and hinted at the possibility of prohibiting it by law if there was no danger of any great opposition. Lord Amherst had invited opinions on this question and it was found that there was no unanimity. William Bentinck came to the conclusion that there was no possibility of any serious consequences if the Sati was made penal. He was helped in this task by Raja Rammohan Roy. By a regulation of December 1829, Bentinck declared the practice of Sati as illegal and punishable as "culpable homicide." There was strong opposition from the orthodox sections of society but William Bentinck had the courage of a reformer and he carried out the reform. There was agitation for some time, but the same died out after the passage of time.

As regards the Thugs, they were a secret fraternity of assassins and robbers whose hereditary occupation was the strangling of travellers. They worshipped Durga and had their temples and priests. They had their grievances. Those who wanted to enter the brotherhood of the Thugs had to go through a regular course of apprenticeship. They were a menace to the travellers. The lack of sufficient police force encouraged their notorious activities and travelling became very insecure.

Sir William Sleeman was put in charge of the work of destruction of the Thugs. Within six years, about 2,000 thugs were arrested, about 1,500 were put to death or transported for life and the rest were confined to reformatory at Jubbulpore.

William Bentinck also prohibited the custom of female infanticide.

According to Hindu law, if a Hindu became a convert to Christianity, he was not entitled to a share in the property of his family. The law was changed in such a way that even if a Hindu was converted to Christianity, he was to be entitled to his share in the paternal property.

Public Works Reforms: The irrigation schemes started in the time of Lord Minto were taken up in the time of William Bentinck. Canals were dug for the distribution of water in the North-Western Province. Roads were improved. The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Delhi was built and from Bombay to Agra was started.

Relations with Indian States: The Moghul Emperor complained of the inadequate allowance given to him. Although Rajah Rammohan Roy went to England to plead the cause of the Moghul Emperor, nothing came out of it. This created bitterness.

William Bentinck followed a policy of non-intervention with regard to the dependent states. After the death of Nizam Sikandar Shah of Hyderabad in 1829, Nazir-ud-Daula became the Nizam and the latter requested the British Government to remove the British officers. The request was granted.

There were disturbances in Jaipur. The Rani and her lover were executed in 1835. The British Resident was assailed. However, the policy of non-intervention was followed.

In the case of Bhopal, Sikandar Begum took over the administration into her hands. There was a lot of confusion and trouble in the state. In spite of that, the British Government remained neutral.

In the case of Gwalior and Sind, no consistent policy was followed. Sometimes a policy of intervention was followed and sometimes that of non-intervention.

As regards Mysore, there was a lot of confusion and misgovernment in the state. The people revolted against the king. William Bentinck intervened and took over the administration of the state in his own hands. This arrangement continued up to 1881.

William Bentinck was responsible for the annexation of the state of Coorg. The ruler of Coorg became insane and put to death every male member of royal family. He oppressed his subjects. The result was that the British Government denied him its protection. As this had no effect, war was declared against the Rajah. He was defeated and captured and the state annexed.

William Bentinck sent Colonel Pottinger with instructions to enter into a commercial treaty with the Amirs of Sind. Although the latter hesitated, they were forced to enter into a treaty on account of the danger of the Sikhs.

Bentinck met Maharaja Ranjit Singh at a Durbar held at Rupar in 1831. The object of this meeting was to bring the two countries together so that they may cooperate with each other in the event of a Russian advance.

Charter Act of 1833: This Charter renewed the monopoly of the English Company for 20 years. It centralised legislation.

Estimate of Bentinck: The glories of William Bentinck were the glories of peace and not of war. He was responsible for rehabilitating the finances of the English Company. He removed the legitimate grievances of the Indians by admitting them into the service of the Company. He carried out many useful reforms in the social, administrative and judicial fields. He introduced the steamship navigation on the Ganges. R.C. Dutt has summed up his achievements in these words: "William Bentinck's seven years' rule was an era of peace, retrenchment and reform. He secured tranquility in the East India Company's Dominions and lived at peace with the Indian powers. He reduced the public debt, decreased the annual expenditure and showed a surplus. He commenced that revised settlement of land revenue in Northern India which gave relief to landlords and cultivators. He admitted the educated people of India to the higher appointments in the revenue and judicial departments. He abolished the practice of Sati and oppressed the crime of Thuggee. He promoted English education in India and endeavoured to carry out the maxim that the administration of India was primarily for the interest of the people."

Sir Charles Metcalfe (1835-36): Lord William Bentinck was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe who was one of the ablest servants of the English East India Company. It was he who had negotiated the Treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh in 1809. He had also worked as Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Province. The only important event of his time was the abolition of the restrictions on the Indian Press. The home Government was so much annoyed at this act of the Governor-General that they decided to recall him. His period of office lasted for a few months.

Lord Auckland (1836-45): The most important event of his reign was the First Afghan War which has been discussed at length

at some other place. His Afghan policy has been universally condemned.

However, Lord Auckland carried out a few reforms. Before his time, the English in India enjoyed certain privileges with regard to their dealings with the Indians. They had the power to take their cases to the Supreme Court at Calcutta. Lord Minto was of the opinion that the discrimination was unjust and must be abolished. An Act was passed by which Englishmen in civil suits were put on the same footing as the Indians. This Act was called by the Englishmen by the name of "The Black Act."

Lord Auckland set up a large number of scholarships for the various Government schools in India. He also announced that the medium of instruction in all primary schools was to be the vernacular language of the area concerned. He also set up medical colleges at Bombay and Madras.

With a view to meet the menace of famines, Auckland sanctioned a large scheme of irrigation for the people of the Doab. On account of the outbreak of the First Afghan War, the scheme could not be carried out as no money was available.

Relations with Indian States: Lord Auckland threatened the ruler of Indore to depose him in case he did not improve his administration. The warning proved effective and the administration was improved.

The Raja of Satara resented his weak position and carried on negotiations with other interested and disaffected elements. The Government of Bombay asked him to admit his fault but the latter refused to do so. The result was that he was deposed and sent as a state prisoner to Banaras. His brother was put on the throne.

As regards Oudh, Lord Auckland entered into a Treaty with its ruler. That treaty was disallowed by the home Government. Although Lord Auckland knew the true state of affairs, he concealed the same from the ruler of Oudh and merely informed them that only a part of the treaty had been changed by the Home Government. Such an act of duplicity was unpardonable.

CHAPTER X

ELLENBOROUGH AND HARDINGE

Lord Ellenborough (1842-44): Lord Ellenborough was appointed at a time when the situation in India was very serious on account of the British bungling in Afghanistan in the time of Auckland. He was a man of vigour and decision. Before his coming to India, he had acted as the President of Board of Control.

The first work done by Lord Ellenborough was that he brought the First Afghan War to a successful close. The credit may be shared by the various English generals who actually conducted the campaigns but he also can claim his share.

Annexation of Sind (1843): Another important event of the Governor-Generalship of Lord Ellenborough was the conquest and annexation of Sind in 1843. However, it seems desirable to discuss at this place the Anglo-Sind relations from the beginning of the 19th century upto its annexation.

Sind was ruled by a number of chiefs or Amirs of the Talpura tribe who had originally come from Baluchistan. The important Amirs were at Khairpur, Hyderabad and Mirpur. The Amir of Khairpur claimed suzerainty over other Amirs.

In 1809, the English Company entered into a treaty with the Amirs by which the latter undertook not to allow any settlement of "the tribe of the French" in Sind. In 1831, Burnes went on a mission to Lahore and passed through the river Indus. It is stated that when a Syed saw the ship of Burnes passing through the river Indus, he remarked thus: "Alas, Sind is now gone since the English have seen the river."

In 1831, Maharaja Ranjit Singh suggested to William Bentinck the partition of Sind between himself and the British. The Governor-General did not accept the suggestion. However, the English Company forced the Amir of Hyderabad to enter into a treaty in April 1832 on the following terms:

(1) "That the two contracting powers, bind themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other.

(2) "That the British Government has requested a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindustan by the rivers and roads of Sind by which they may transport their goods and merchandise from

one country to another and the said Government of Hyderabad hereby acquiesces in the same request on the following conditions: (a) that no person shall bring any description of military stores by the above river or roads, (b) that no armed vessels or boats shall come by the said river.

(3) "That no English merchant shall be allowed to settle on Sind, but shall come as occasion requires and having stopped to transact their business, shall return to India."

This treaty was renewed in 1834.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was very anxious about the conquest of Sind but the British Government refused to allow him to do so. As a matter of fact, the British Government took the Amirs under its own protection. As a result of the favour done to them, Lord Auckland forced the Amirs in 1838 to have a British Resident at Hyderabad.

When the first Afghan War broke out and Maharaja Ranjit Singh refused to allow the British forces to pass through the Punjab, Lord Auckland decided to send the British troops through Sind. The British Government did not care at all for the treaty of 1832. As a matter of fact, the Amirs were merely informed that "while the present exigency lasts...the article of the treaty prohibiting the use of the Indus for the conveyance of military stores must necessarily be suspended." Not contented with this, a demand was made for a large sum of money in commutation of Shah Shuja's claim for tribute. The Amirs argued that they had ceased paying any tribute to Shah Shuja during his 30 years' exile from Kabul. Shah Shuja himself had exempted them from all claims in 1833. At this the British Resident remarked thus: "How this is to be got over, I do not myself see." In spite of this difficulty, the money was exacted from them. They were also warned that "we have the ready power to crush and annihilate them, and we will not hesitate to call it into action, should it appear requisite however remotely for either the integrity or safety of our Empire, or its frontiers."

Sir John Keane threatened to advance on the capital of Sind and the Amirs were forced to enter into a new treaty in February 1839. Even this treaty was arbitrarily revised by Auckland and his advisers in favour of the Company and sent back to the Amirs for their signatures. The latter "objected, implored and finally gave way by affixing their seals to the revised documents." Lord Auckland himself described the effects of this treaty in these words: "The confederacy of the Amirs is virtually dissolved, each chief

being placed in his own possessions, and bound to refer his differences with the other chiefs to our arbitration ; that Sind is formally placed under British protection and brought within the circle of our Indian relations ; that a British force is to be fixed in lower Scinde, at Tatta, or such other point to the westward of the Indus as the British Government may determine ; a sum of three lacs of rupees per annum, in aid of the cost of this force being paid in equal proportions by the three Amirs."

During the Afghan War, Sind was made the base of operations. Although the Amirs could have done some mischief at this critical moment, they were absolutely faithful to the English Company. In spite of this, charges of disaffection and hostility were levelled against them by the Government of India. The charges were so vague that it was practically impossible to substantiate them.

At this time, Major James Outram who was the British Resident at Hyderabad, was superseded by Sir Charles Napier who was put in supreme control, both military and political. According to Innes, 'Sir Charles conducted his operations on the theory that the annexation of Sind would be a very beneficent piece of rascality for which it was his business to find an excuse—a robbery to be plausibly effected.'

Sir Charles got an opportunity on account of the disputed succession at Khairpur. Without going into the merits of the claims of the various parties, Sir Charles decided in favour of Ali Murad. Sir Charles also declared that the charges against the Amirs were proved to be correct. He tried to impose fresh treaties on the Amirs. In December 1842, those treaties were sent to them for ratification. The Amirs were asked to accept the treaties by 20th January 1843. Outram arranged a meeting with the Amirs at Khairpur to persuade them to accept them. But even before that, Napier attacked and destroyed the fortress of Imamgarh, a fortress lying half-way between Khairpur and Hyderabad. When the meeting at Khairpur took place, the Amirs of lower Sind were present and the Amirs of Upper Sind were delayed by the machinations of Ali Murad. Two days later, the Amirs of Upper Sind reached Khairpur with seals to affix to the treaty. Napier refused them permission and ordered them back to Hyderabad. In spite of the representations of Outram, Napier started his march towards Hyderabad. It is contended that if he had stayed his march towards Hyderabad, the treaties would have been signed and war avoided. According to Thornton, Sind was treated

by Napier "as though the rights of the Governor-General of British India to parcel it out at his pleasure were unquestioned and unquestionable; and, moreover, as if it were desired to exercise this right in a manner as offensive as possible to those who were to suffer privation from the exercise."

It may be mentioned that by the new treaties required to be signed, the Amirs were to give certain important territories to the English Company in lieu of tribute. They were to provide fuel to the English steamers navigating the Indus. They were also to give up their right of coining money in favour of the British Government.

The acts of highhandedness on the part of Napier excited the war-like Baluchis who attacked the residence of Outram on 15th February 1843. Outram managed to escape to a steamer. Regular war started. The important battles were fought at Miani and Dabo in February and March respectively. On 27th March, 1843, Napier occupied Mirpur. Napier communicated his victory to Lord Ellenborough in the well-known phrase: "Peccavi, I have Sindh." Sind was annexed in August 1843. The Amirs were exiled. Napier got £70,000 as his share of the prize money. Outram was given £3,000, but he distributed the same among charitable institutions. Outram wrote to Napier thus: "I am sick of policy; I will not say yours is the best, but it is undoubtedly the shortest—that of the sword. Oh! How I wish you had drawn it in a better cause."

The Sind policy of Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier has been universally condemned. The Directors of the Company disapproved of it although they had no courage to restore the same to the Amirs. It cannot be denied that the Amirs had given absolutely no provocation to the English. They were absolutely loyal throughout. They did not merit the treatment which was actually meted out to them. According to Innes, "If the Afghan episode is the most disastrous in our Indian annals, that of Sindh is morally even less excusable." Napier himself wrote thus in his Diary: "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be... My present position is not, however, to my liking, we had no right to come here and are tarred with the Afghan brush." On this, Dr. Marshman remarks thus, "The rascality is more apparent than the advantage, except to the captors, to whom it brought a real draught of prize money, of which seven lacs fell to the share of the General-in-Chief".

The conquest of Sindh was in every respect the aftermath of

the Afghan disaster. According to Elphinstone, "Coming after Afghanistan, it put one in mind of a bully who had been kicked in the streets and went home to beat his wife in revenge, it was the tail of the Afghan storm."

According to Ramsay Muir, "Sind is the only British acquisition in India of which it may fairly be said that it was not necessitated by circumstances and that it was, therefore, an act of aggression."

War with Gwalior: Another event of the reign of Ellenborough was the war with Scindhia. In 1843, Jankaji Scindhia died without any issue. His widow, Tarabai, adopted a son and a regent was appointed with the permission of the Governor-General. The regent was dismissed and a kind of civil war started in the territory. There was the danger of the revolt of the army. The Governor-General demanded the reduction of the troops. Negotiations failed and hostilities started. The Scindhia army was defeated at Maharajpur and Paniar. A new treaty was made by which the army was cut down to 9,000 men. A British contingent of 10,000 was enlisted. The affairs of the minor ruler were placed under a Council of regency which was to follow the advice of the Resident.

Lord Hardinge (1844-48): Hardinge was a brave soldier and was well-acquainted with the arts of war and peace. He was a hero of the Peninsular War and had participated in the battle of Waterloo. Before coming to India as Governor-General, he had remained in Parliament for 20 years and worked as Secretary of War.

The most important event of his reign was the first Sikh War. The war started in December 1845. The important battles of the war were fought at Mudki, Firozshah, Aliwal and Subraon. The war was ended by the treaty of Lahore (1846). The English got the Doab and an indemnity of $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. The Sikh army was reduced to 22,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. Henry Lawrence was left as Resident.

Hardinge also carried out certain reforms. He issued an order that all appointments in public services were to be given to those persons who had received English education. Salt duty was reduced and many octroi duties were abolished. Free trade was encouraged. Expenditure on the military was reduced. The native states were asked to abolish Sati within their territories. He made arrangements for the preservation of ancient monuments in India. He suppressed the practice of human sacrifices prevalent among the Ghonds in the hill tracts of Orissa.

CHAPTER XI

MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The Sikhs who were originally a religious sect were hammered into a military power by their conflict with the Afghans. When Ahmed Shah Abdali withdrew in 1767, they occupied the country between the Jumna and Rawalpindi. It is true that for some time that progress was checked by the Marathas, but when the Maratha power was broken by Lord Lake in 1803, the Sikhs began to entertain new hopes of progress and growth in the future.

Ranjit Singh was born in 1780. At the age of 19, he helped Zaman Shah, the Afghan ruler of Kabul, in invading the Punjab. Out of gratitude, Shah Zaman appointed Ranjit Singh the Governor of Lahore in 1799. He was also given the title of Rajah. In 1802, he made himself master of Amritsar. By and by, he brought under his control the Sikh Misl or fraternities west of Sutlej.

Ranjit Singh was encouraged by the policy of non-intervention followed by Sir George Barlow (1805-7). Ranjit Singh intended to extend his authority over the territory known as the Cis-Sutlej states. These Sikh states were formerly under Scindhia, but when the latter was turned out from Hindustan, they informally came under British protection. In 1806, some Sikh chiefs of these states quarrelled among themselves and asked for the intervention of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The latter accepted the invitation, crossed the Sutlej and occupied Ludhiana. When this happened, the Sikh chiefs were alarmed and they appealed to the British Government for protection. At that time, Lord Minto was the Governor-General and he was determined to keep the power of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to the line west of the Sutlej. The British Government declared that they would not allow Ranjit Singh to establish his control over the Cis-Sutlej states, and there was every possibility of war between the two Powers. At this time, Ranjit Singh hesitated. Negotiations were started and Charles Metcalfe was sent for that purpose. After many delays, the treaty of Amritsar was signed in 1809. This treaty fixed the river Sutlej as the boundary line between Maharaja Singh's territory and that of the English Company. It established "perpetual amity" between the two powers.

If Maharaja Ranjit Singh could not extend his territory in the East, he tried to extend the same in the West. In 1810, he led an expedition against Multan which was ultimately annexed in 1818. He got Kangra from the Gurkhas and Attock from the Afghans in 1813. He took advantage of the lawlessness that prevailed in Afghanistan and became independent of that territory. In 1814, he gave shelter to Shah Shuja and relieved him of his Koh-i-noor. In 1819, Ranjit Singh conquered Kashmir and in 1823 Peshawar passed into his hands. It was formally annexed in 1834. He had his designs on Sind but could not achieve them on account of the British opposition. He died in 1839 at the age of 50.

Anglo-Sikh relations (1809-39): It seems desirable to discuss at length the relations between the English and Maharaja Ranjit Singh from the time of the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar to the death of the Lion of the Punjab. It has already been pointed out that one of the effects of the treaty of Amritsar was that the British Government was able to take the Cis-Sutlej states under its protection. His advance in the East was checked but he was given a *Carte Blanche* so far as the region to the west of the Sutlej was concerned. Metcalfe is said to have told Ranjit Singh that in 20 years he would reap the fruits of his alliance with the British. In 1827, the Maharaja told Wade that "His words have been verified."

Up to 1812, there were some doubts and suspicions. A small fort was raised at Phillaur near the British frontier and Muhkam Chand was put in charge of it. It served as a frontier outpost, a station of defence and a watch-tower. Even deserters from the British army were received by Muhkam Chand. However, after some time, the relations between Ranjit Singh and the English Company began to improve and continued to be cordial up to 1823. During this period, both the English and the Sikhs were busy with the Gorkhas and the Marathas and Ranjit Singh was busy in conquering Multan, Derajat, Kashmir, Peshawar and the hills and plains of the Punjab.

There was a change in the British attitude. That was due to the fact that Ranjit Singh came to be considered as a rival of the British in India and consequently an attempt was made to check and curb his power. There were certain disputes with regard to the indefinite Cis-Sutlej frontier. Out of the 47 territories claimed by Ranjit Singh, 12 were disputed. In 1827, the British Government decided most of these 12 cases practically in their own favour. The

claim of Ranjit Singh to Ferozepur was disallowed although he claimed that the Sikhs of Ferozepur were among the oldest of his subjects. The reason for this is given by Murray in these words: "The capital Lahore is distant only 40 miles with a single river to cross, fordable for 6 months in the year. The post of Ferozepur from every point of view seems of the highest importance to the British Government whether as a check on the growing ambition of Lahore or as a post of consequence." Ferozepur was occupied by the British in 1835 and a military cantonment was made in 1838. There were protests against this but the British Government ignored them.

Between 1822 and 1828, British attitude was to watch very carefully the activities of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. According to Murray, "The British Government must not lose sight in a moment of repose and tranquility of one of the principal and original motives of the advance of our troops to the frontier."

In 1815, Pirthi Bilas, the Vakil of the Gurkhas, and Sheo Dat Rai, a reliable person of the Rajah of Bilaspur, approached Maharaja Ranjit Singh and requested him to help the Gurkhas in their war with the British, to speak to the bankers to lend them 5 lacs of rupees and to help the Gurkhas cross the Jumna and the Ganges. The Maharaja expressed his inability to help the Gurkhas against the British although he was very unhappy when the Gurkhas were defeated. Likewise, he did not respond to the appeal of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao in 1822. He also ignored the requests of the ex-king of Nagpur in 1820. He did not adopt any hostile attitude towards the English Company when it was busy in the Burmese War. In 1825-26, he did not go to the help of the people of Bharatpur. The ruler of Bharatpur offered Rs. one lac for every day's march and Rs. 50,000/- if he brought 20,000 troops to his assistance.

Between 1827-1831, there was an insurrection at Peshawar led by Syed Ahmed against Ranjit Singh. It is true that the British Government did not give any help to the Syed either directly or indirectly, but undoubtedly it connived at the help given to the Syed by his own subjects.

In the case of Sind, Ranjit Singh wanted to have Shikarpur which was regarded as the gate of Khorasan, and of great importance to the industry of Asia. It had a commercial connection with many remote marts. The possession of Shikarpur could give Ranjit

Singh some control over Afghanistan and Baluchistan. More than half of the population of Shikarpur was that of the Sikhs and only about one-tenth of the people were Muslims. Before taking any action, Maharaja Ranjit Singh sounded the British Government. However, the latter was reticent. Although Pottinger was negotiating at that time a commercial treaty with the Amirs of Sind, that fact was not mentioned to Ranjit Singh at the time of his meeting with William Bentinck at Rupar. Ranjit Singh did not oppose the British Government on the point of the commercial treaty and also did not press his claims on Shikarpur.

In 1835, Ranjit Singh once again began to make preparations for a defence of Shikarpur and an attack on Sind. In September 1836, the Maharaja held his Durbar and gave a Khilat to Nao Nihal Singh and directed him to proceed to Multan and from there to Mithankot. He was also to inform the rulers of Sind that if they did not pay the tribute to the Maharaja, Shikarpur would be occupied. Hari Singh Nalwa was sent to join the prince. Diwan Sohan Mal, Governor of Multan, also advanced. War seemed to be eminent, but Ranjit Singh did not precipitate matters on account of the stiff attitude of the British Government. He was not prepared to give up his British alliance for the sake of Sind.

Ranjit Singh and William Bentinck met at Rupar. So far as the British Government was concerned, its underlying motive for the interview was to give the world an impression that there was a complete unanimity between Ranjit Singh and the British Government in India. Ranjit Singh also wanted to emphasize the fact that he was acknowledged as the head of the Khalsa by the British Government.

It is well known that when Burnes was sent to Kabul to negotiate a treaty with Dost Mohammad, the latter expressed his willingness to enter into an alliance on the condition that the British Government helped him to get Peshawar from Ranjit Singh. Burnes' view was that if the British Government asked Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the latter would be only too glad to give up Peshawar because that was not a profitable affair. In spite of this suggestion, Lord Auckland refused to ask Ranjit Singh to give Peshawar to Dost Mohammad. The result was that the negotiations with Dost Mohammad fell through and Burnes had to come back empty-handed. Lord Auckland made it clear that he was not prepared to do anything which in any way was liable to create any suspicion in the mind of Ranjit Singh.

In 1838, the Tripartite Treaty was signed between Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Shah Shuja and the English Company. Ranjit Singh at first showed hesitation to enter into this treaty. He was an unwilling partner because he felt that he was going to have in Kabul a dependent ally of the British in Shah Shuja but he also knew that he could not improve his position by remaining aloof. There was a meeting of Ranjit Singh and Auckland in November 1838 at Ferozepur and Ranjit Singh got an undertaking that the British troops will not pass through the Punjab. However, on account of the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839, and the disorder and confusion that prevailed in the Punjab, the British Government was able to take its troops and convoys through the Punjab during the first Afghan war. It is pointed out that one of the objects of the Tripartite treaty was to check the power of Ranjit Singh in Sind. One of the articles of the treaty provided that Shah Shuja was to give up his claims of supremacy and arrears of tribute over the Amirs of Sind and matters were to be left to the mediation of the British Government. The British Government was preparing the way for the annexation of Sind.

It is pointed out that in the last decade of his career, Ranjit Singh did not deal with the British Government in a firm manner. Probably that was due to the fact that he felt the English to be too strong for him. He feared to expose his kingdom to the risks of war and consequently decided to follow a policy of surrender before the British Government.

According to Dr. Sinha, a political alliance means a rider and a horse. "In this Anglo-Sikh alliance, the British Government was the rider and Ranjit was the horse. The English limited Ranjit's power on the East, on the South and would have limited him on the West if that were possible. Evidently, a collision between his military monarchy and British imperialism was imminent. Ranjit Singh, the Massinissa of British Indian history, hesitated and hesitated forgetting that in politics as in war, time is not on the side of the defensive. When the crash came after his death under far less able men, chaos and disorder had already supervened and whatever hope there had been when he was living, there was no more when he was dead. In his relations with the British Government, Ranjit Singh is seen at his worst. He never grandly dared. He was all hesitant and indecision."

Civil administration of Ranjit Singh: According to Dr.

G.L. Chopra, "The only administrative plan which could serve as a precedent for the organisation of civil departments was that of the Mughals." (The Punjab as a sovereign State). There was a close resemblance between the Mughal system of administration and that of Ranjit Singh. In all essential matters, there was no departure. The Maharaja did not avail himself of European intelligence and experience in civil administration as he did in the case of military organisation. A very limited number of Europeans were employed in civil capacity. In 1805, the Maharaja was advised by Holkar to organise a regular treasury, but he did not do so till 1808 on account of his military pre-occupation. In 1808, Diwan Bhawani Das was appointed Finance Minister and it is the Diwan who divided the financial transactions of the states among the following *Daftars*:—

(i) **Daftar-i-Abwab-il-Mal**: This department dealt with the accounts of the revenue receipts, and was subdivided into (a) *Jama Kharch-i-Taaluqat* and (b) *Jama Kharch-i-Sairat*. The *T'aaluqat* section comprised entries referring to the land revenue; while the *Sairat* included all other sources of income, the most important being *Nazrana*, *Zabti*, *Abkari*, *Wajihat-i-Moqarari*, and *Chaukiyat*.

Nazrana was a tribute paid to the supreme ruler of the state on different occasions under various circumstances by his subjects, specially by prominent vassals and dignitaries. Sometimes, it was in the form of a fixed annual charge from a subordinate Chieftain. Sometimes it was the price paid to the conqueror for the retention of a piece of territory by a defeated prince. **Zabti** formed a source of considerable income to the Sikh ruler, who often punished his delinquent officials with fines or forfeitures of property or both. Besides in several cases, he withdrew grants of land from the descendants of his deceased *Sirdars*. They were sometimes retained by the state, while sometimes they were regranted to others in lieu of cash payment.

Abkari included all charges made on the sale of opium, Bhang, spirits and other drugs. The income derived from this source was comparatively insignificant.

Wajuhat-i-Moqarari included both the profits of justice and charges corresponding to the stamp duties of modern times. The receipts under this head were collected in different ways. First, certain charges were made for the redress of grievances by means of judicial decisions. Fines paid for criminal acts may be put under

this head. Then there were proceeds from various charges levied on petitions addressed by the people either to the Sikh ruler or to one of his ministers.

Lastly, we may include the payments made for the affixation of the Royal seals on all kinds of private contracts.

Chaukiyat : There was a very comprehensive scale of duties which were levied, under forty-eight different heads, and on most articles of daily consumption. No discrimination was made between articles of luxury, and those which formed the necessities of life. Charges were generally made in cash. Griffin writes that the mode of collection was extremely vexatious, the country was covered with custom houses at which merchants were treated with insolence and oppression. An article paid duty on being taken into a town, a second time on being taken into a shop, and a third time on re-export.

Land Revenue System : In India, land revenue has been the mainstay of every government. In the beginning of Ranjit's career, the system known as Batai was re-introduced on the old Mughal plan to regulate apportionment of produce between the cultivator and the government. This system continued until 1823 and constituted the first period.

In the second period which began in 1824 and extended over nearly a decade, the Batai system was replaced by a system of assessments known as Kankut. According to this, the share of the government was reckoned out of a standing crop, the value of which was estimated in terms of money. The portion for the state was now collected in cash. It was a distinct improvement on the old method, because it saved the officials from two-fold responsibility, *viz.*, guarding the grain from being stolen by the peasantry and carrying it to distant markets for sale. The adjustment of expenditure to income was made much easier and far more certain than before, owing to the ability of the government to estimate its share in money before hand. Even the Kankut system was found partly ineffective because it enabled the government to estimate its income only just before the end of a harvest. Hence it was difficult to make a correct forecast in advance. After 1834, Ranjit Singh began to encourage the practice of farming out the revenues of large area of irrigable lands to the highest bidders, for period varying from three to six years. By these contracts, the farmers were required to present detailed accounts of the extent of the cultivated area and the total

amount of produce in their districts. This practice of leasing was developed by selling the farms of the village, as a whole, to the villagers themselves.

As a rule, the state-demand may be said to have varied from two-fifths to one-third of the year's produce. This proportion prevailed in all districts which had been fully conquered and which were fairly cultivated.

On further investigations, we come to the conclusion that the share of the gross produce which belonged to the government was never rigidly fixed at one uniform rate. It varied from place to place, according to the productivity of the crops, the means of irrigation, and other facilities of cultivation.

In addition to the regular share of the produce, the state claimed a number of Abwabs (cesses). These were collected along with the land revenue, of which they formed a fixed proportion. The percentage, however, differed, the usual rate varying from 5% to 15% of the revenue.

The revenue was collected twice a year, a month or so after the reaping of the two harvests, called Rabi and Kharif. The chief officer in charge of the collection in a district was the Kardar (collector) and he was assisted by subordinate officials like Muqadams (foremen), Patwaris (revenue assessors) and Kanungos (hereditary registrars). The proceeds of revenue were kept in the district treasury under the control of the Kardar and were either transmitted to Lahore or disposed of according to the wishes of the ruler.

(ii) **Daftar-i-Abwab-il-Tahwil:** This was the second department and was concerned with the records of accounts of income and expenditure sent by officials. The cashiers were called Tahwildars. At first, this department dealt with accounts of a varied nature. But when separate offices of record, income and expenditure were set up, the work of this office became more limited.

(iii) **Daftar-i-Taujhihat:** This attended to the accounts of the royal household, such as the expenses of the Zenana, presents and Khilats, entertainments of guests, and Tosha-Khana.

(iv) **Daftar-i-Mawajib:** In this office were kept the accounts of pay and other emoluments in the various governmental services, such as the army, the civil staff, and the clerical establishment. This department was gradually divided into several branches to deal with the ever-increasing volume of work.

(v) **Daftar-i-Roznamcha-i-Ikhrajat:** This office was set

up to register accounts of daily expenditure under various heads. Hence it dealt with various items from this standpoint.

These Daftars passed through several changes concerning details of organisation in subsequent years. Each of them was subdivided into branches to cope with the administrative developments.

Territorial Divisions and Local administration: The Punjab was divided into four Subas: Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar.

Each Suba was divided into Parganas, each Pargana into Taluqas and every Taluqa was made up of 50 to 100 Mauzas. This division followed largely the system of the Mughals. The administration of a Suba was entrusted to a Nazim (Governor) whose duties were analogous to those of the Lieutenant-Governor before the Reforms of 1919. He had under him a number of Kardars. There was one Kardar for every Taluqa. The Kardars differed in position and importance according to the extent of territory under their charge. The Nazim occupied a higher position than that of an average Kardar, but his functions were largely of an appellate character and of a more general nature. The Kardar came into immediate contact with the people in their daily activities. He was a revenue collector, a treasurer and an accountant, a judge and a Magistrate, an Excise and Custom's Officer, and a General Supervisor of the people on behalf of the government.

Judicial arrangements: There was no written system of laws in existence in the days of Ranjit Singh. Judicial decisions were made in accordance with customary principles. The procedure was crude and simple and no distinction was made between civil and criminal cases. The settlement of disputes rested with the Panchayats. This was a body of five men who were the elders of the village. The qualification for its membership was the possession of land, and a certain amount of local influence and prestige. The Panchayat was more like an arbitration Court. Hence its decisions were revised by the Kardars, whenever they were rejected by either party. In towns, justice was administered by the Kardars who also decided the more important cases within their Taluqas. In the cities, cases were decided by the Nazims or by more important Kardars and sometimes separate officials were appointed to devote themselves entirely to judicial work. They were known as Adaltis (justices). A distinct Court was set up at the capital town known as Adalat-i-Ala

"He was in face and stature fit for the dignity of king, so that anybody, even at the first glance, could easily recognise him as the king. His shoulders were broad and his legs slightly bandy and adapted to riding. His complexion was fair, but slightly suffused with a darker tint. He carried his head slightly inclined to one side, towards the right shoulder ; his brow was broad and open and his eyes sparkled as does the sea when lighted by the sun. His eye-lids were heavy as those of Sarmatians, the Chinese, the Nipponians, and nearly all Asiatics of the more Northern regions. His eyebrows were narrow, and his nose was of the middle size and drooping, but had a high bridge. His nostrils were expanded as though he were enraged and, on the left one he had a wart, which met the upper lip. He shaved his beard but not his moustache, following the custom of young Turks before they assumed the full costume of manhood. Unlike his forefathers, he did not shave his head nor did he wear a cap, but bound his hair with a turban, which, they say, he did in imitation of the Indian custom in order to conciliate them. He dragged his left leg slightly, as though he were lame in it, though he had not been injured in the foot. He has in his body, which is very well-made and neither thin and meagre nor fat and gross, much courage and strength. When he laughs, he is distorted, but when he is tranquil and serene, he has a noble mien and great dignity. In his wrath, he is majestic." Akbar possessed an attractive personality. He was bold and courageous. He had so much physical strength that he could cut off the neck of a lion with one stroke of his sword. He worked very hard and slept very little. He was fond of sports all his life. He was witty. Although illiterate, he managed to learn a lot on account of his sharp memory and earnestness to acquire knowledge. He was a broad-minded person and he alone could follow a policy of Sulh-Kul or universal toleration. He was not a bigoted person.

He was sympathetic towards the people and was always ready to do all that he could to win over their affection. "He always found time gladly to hear their cases and to respond graciously to their requests. Their little offerings, too, he used to accept with such a pleased look, handling them and putting them on his bosom, as he did not do with the most lavish gifts of the nobles, which with discrete pretence he often seemed not even to glance at" (Du Jarric). He was a deeply religious man. He was always ready to learn the good points of all religions. It is wrong to say that he

gave up Islam towards the end of his life. We have the testimony of Jahangir that his father was a Muslim to the end of his life. However, he was not a bigoted Muslim. He often used to say that "there is no need to discuss the point that a vacuum in nature is impossible. God is omnipresent." Again, "Each man according to his condition gives the Supreme Being a name, but in reality to name the unknowable is vain." "There exists a bond between the Creator and the creature which is not expressible in language."

He was a man of deep affections. He was a dutiful son of his parents. He was kind towards his brother, Hakim, although the latter gave him a lot of trouble. He loved his son, Sa'im, very much and in spite of his rebellions, forgave him towards the end.

Akbar possessed a large measure of humility in his character. He hated pride and arrogance. When he started the Din-i-Ilahi, many requested Akbar to guide them, but his reply was: "Why should I claim to guide men, before I myself am guided." Akbar was fond of music and no wonder he patronised a large number of musicians. He possessed a large amount of knowledge of many kinds. According to Dr. Smith, "Anybody who heard him arguing with acuteness and lucidity on his subject of debate would have credited him with wide literary knowledge and profound erudition and never would have suspected him of illiteracy."

Akbar had a very lofty ideal of kingship. According to him, "Tyranny is unlawful in every one, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world." "Falsehood is improper in all men and most unseemly in monarchs. This order is termed the shadow of God and a shadow should throw straight." Again, "A monarch is a pre-eminent cause of God. Upon his conduct depends the efficiency of any course of action. His gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in just Government and due recognition of merit; that of his people in obedience and praise."

According to Father Jerome Xavier, "In truth, he (Akbar) was great with the great and lowly with the lowly."

Akbar believed in a policy of aggression and conquests. His view was that "a monarch should always be intent on conquests, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him. The army should always be exercised in warfare lest from want of training they become self-indulgent."

According to Dr. R.P. Tripathi, Akbar's ideal of sovereignty was universal and not national. The reason is that Akbar wanted to

(exalted). Its functions resembled those of a High Court of the present day.

Civil cases were of a varied nature. First of all, there were cases of betrothals, and matrimonial engagements, which were decided by the Panchayats. There were breaches of contracts, sales on credit and the like. In these decisions, great importance was attached to the sworn testimony of witnesses. In such matters, the government of Ranjit Singh levied fees on the successful party. Civil suits regarding landed property were decided on evidence obtained from records which were regularly kept in Qazilkhanas.

As regards crimes, the infliction of capital punishment was reserved to the ruler himself. The punishment for murder or other physical injuries was meted out to the offenders more often in the form of fines than bodily chastisement. Mutilation was employed in exceptional circumstances. On the whole, it may be said that the rigour of punishment depended upon the nature of the crime, the personal disposition of the magistrate and likelihood of his action being reported to the ruler.

Though to all intents and purposes Ranjit's judicial system was crude and simple, yet in actual practice it suited to the social and political environments of the people of the Punjab. The abuse of authority on the part of local officials was limited by several considerations. Firstly the term of office of Ranjit Singh's officials depended on good behaviour. The consciousness that their dignity, prestige and social status and even their private wealth and property, depended solely on the favour of their master, acted as a restraining influence on their arbitrary actions. Secondly, the Maharaja's frequent and unexpected tours introduced a real risk of complaints of bribery and corruption reaching his ears. Another factor contributing to the same result was the practice of deputing special justices to tour in different districts for the purpose of hearing complaints and deciding cases of particular importance. The greatest merit of the system lay, however, in its simplicity and in the absence of those legal intricacies and technicalities which, if introduced among the rude Sikh peasantry, would have beset the path of justice with difficulties.

Ranjit Singh's Government: He established in the Punjab a pure and unmitigated despotism. He transformed the whole constitution of the Sikhs from an irregular common-wealth of a loose federal type into a military monarchy based on personal rule.

Under Ranjit Singh's personal despotism, the Punjab was governed in a manner which generally suited the existing state of society. Village life throughout was little interfered with. Its local affairs were mostly subject to the Panchayats. One great secret of the popularity of the Maharaja's rule was that it kept open to the humblest citizen the possibilities of acquiring position and wealth. Another great merit of Ranjit's authority was that he never based it upon his own inherent superiority, or any Divine Right Theory of Supremacy. He never arrogated to himself any high-sounding titles, or claimed supernatural powers. On the contrary, he always showed that his actions were directed to the glory of the Khalsa. Under Ranjit Singh, the Sikhs had achieved brilliant triumphs, city after city had acknowledged their authority, until a large kingdom had been created, whose military resources now commanded awe and reverence alike from the neighbouring states and distant rulers.

The despotism of Ranjit Singh may be described as benevolent. He was no alien ruler from the point of view of race and religion. Under his authority, the economic resources were wholly utilized in the kingdom. Through the blessings of his rule, the people of the Punjab evolved a degree of law and order, and entered upon a period of peace and prosperity which had not been enjoyed for several generations.

Army of Ranjit Singh: There has been considerable confusion among writers about the year in which Ranjit Singh first raised regular units. Most of them state that the idea originally struck the prince in 1809, while observing the discipline of Metcalfe's escort. In 1805, Holkar had entered the Punjab and in the course of conversation with Ranjit Singh, urged upon him the desirability of organising the treasury, constructing defensive fortifications and disciplining forces. Ranjit Singh at the same time visited Lord Lake's camp in disguise and observed the drill of the Company's troops. Yet the greater incentive to reforming activities came from the agreement with Metcalfe. This agreement created great anxiety in Ranjit Singh's mind as to the safety of his kingdom. Experience led him to decide that the maintenance of a strong standing army was indispensable for triumphs of diplomacy as of war.

In the Khalsa Darbar, records of the army of Ranjit Singh were divided into two sections—the Fauji-i-Am or the regular army, and the Fauji-i-be-qawaid or the irregular force.

Fauji-Am or Regular Army: The regular army may be sub-divided into three parts: (i) Infantry, (ii) Cavalry and (iii) Artillery.

The creation of the infantry was a gradual process which began soon after 1805 and continued throughout the Maharaja's reign. The Sikhs looked upon service with contempt and refused to join its ranks. But Ranjit Singh persisted in his efforts and ultimately succeeded in overcoming their traditional prejudices. The result was visible in 1818, when the inhabitants of the Punjab both Sikhs and others, began to dominate the service. In 1822, the Maharaja employed French officers in his service. Most of them had taken part in the Napoleonic campaigns, and were fully conversant with the latest methods of Western tactics and drill. Under the personal supervision of Ranjit Singh, they performed their duties energetically, and in a few years organised and trained an efficient force.

The early organisation of the infantry was simple. It consisted of a number of Paltans, to each of which two horse-guns were attached on an average, to form them into separate units. Each of these was put under a commandant. This organisation was expanded later on as the strength of a battalion increased. Later, the Paltan or battalion became a part of a larger organisation called a brigade. On an average, a brigade contained four battalions of infantry, a small varying strength of cavalry, and a battery of eight to ten horse-guns. A company of Beldars was generally attached to it.

At the time of Ranjit Singh's death, eight hundred formed the minimum strength of a battalion, which was divided into eight companies each of which in turn was composed of four sections. The average strength of a company was one hundred, while a section comprised roughly twenty-five men. As regards officers, the Commandant was assisted by an Adjutant and a Major. Each company was under a Subedar who was assisted by two Jamadars. Each section of a Company was commanded by a Hawaldar, who also had a Naik for his assistance. The officers of the battalions were sons or relatives of Sirdars, or members of the landed gentry. When the Sirdar had two or more sons the Maharaja usually took one while young, and trained him for service. The non-combatant establishment of each battalion included a Munshi, a Mutasaddi, and a Granthi, in addition to the manual workers, such as Khalasis, Saqqas, Gharyalis, Beldars, Jhanda Bardars, Mistris, Kannas, and Tahliyas.

The uniform of the infantry was scarlet. There were, however,

different coloured facings to distinguish the regiments. The trousers were of blue cotton cloth ; and the turbans were of same colour. The belts were of black leather. The men were usually armed with sword, musket and bayonet.

Fauji-Khass or French Legion: This was the model brigade of the Sikh army. It was raised in 1822 by Generals Ventura and Allard. Its normal strength was four battalions of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and one troop of artillery comprising twenty-four guns. Special efforts were made in its training, and in point of discipline and equipment it grew to be the best organised section of regular army. The infantry section of the brigade consisted of the Khass battalion, a Gurkha battalion, and two more commanded by Deva Singh and Sham Sota. The cavalry portion comprised a Khass regiment, and a dragoon regiment. The artillery was known as the corps of General Ilahi Baksh.

As regards the officers of the Khass brigade, Dr. Murray says: "To each company in these battalions there is attached one Subedar, one Jamadar, four Hawaldars, and four Naiks ; and to each battalion one commandant and one adjutant.

"The Fauji-Khass had as its emblems, the eagle and the tri-colour flag, with an inscription of the Martial Guru Gobind Singh, embroidered upon it. It used French words of command. Thus it has been often called the French Brigade or the French Legion."

Captain Wade saw parades of the infantry section of the Fauji-Khass in 1827, five years after it had been constituted, and described his impressions thus: "They were all dressed, armed, and equipped like the Raja's other regular battalions but in a neater and superior style. It was indeed impossible not to admire the high degree of perfection to which M. Ventura had brought this Legion."

II. Cavalry: When Ranjit began reforming his troops after 1805, his idea was to create a disciplined force of all three branches. He accordingly attempted to introduce the European drill among irregular horsemen. The proud Ghorcharas regarded the new practices as the tricks of a dancing girl ; and refused to abandon their old method of warfare. This led to the raising of new recruits, which, coupled with Ranjit's preoccupation in organising the foot service, hindered rapid progress. Until the arrival of Allard in 1822, there were only four trained regiments of cavalry in the Sikh service. The total number of drilled horsemen was one thousand against ten thousand foot. After 1822, the progress was

rapid. In 1829, seven years after Allard's arrival, the strength of the regular horse increased more than four times.

A cavalry regiment was, at first, composed of men of different creeds like the Pathans, Rajputs, Dogras, and others. Its number varied from one hundred to more than five hundred men. Later on, this service became popular among the Sikhs themselves; and the number of regiments increased. Regiments of large numerical strength were divided into Risalas, the strength of which ranged from one hundred and fifty to two hundred. The officers in the cavalry were similar to those in an infantry battalion; and similar was the arrangement of non-combatants. The pay of the cavalry regiment was much higher than that in the infantry.

The regular horsemen have been described as "mean looking, ill dressed and wretchedly mounted," and their horse-trappings as "of the leather of worst quality." In the field, their conduct corresponded with their general appearance.

III. Artillery: In the beginning, two guns were usually attached to each infantry battalion, there being no distinct detachment of artillery in existence. In 1810, however, a separate corps was raised and placed under an officer called Darogha-i-Top Khana. Two years later, this corps formed the principal unit of the artillery, and as such was called Topkhana-i-Khass. It was commanded by a Muslim officer, named Mian Ghaus Khan. The entire Topkhana was now divided into four sections, the first comprising Aspi guns, and the second Gavi guns. The third consisted of a separate horse battery; while the last comprised a number of guns which were distributed over various battalions of infantry. The Ghubaras and Zambyraks were organised into Deras called Dera-i-Zamburkhana. In 1814 a fresh battery was raised, but the separate battery of the earlier period was assigned to the regular army. As a result of the reforming efforts of both these officers, General Court and Colonel Gardner, the entire Topkhana was reorganised. It was divided into three sections, (i) Topkhana-i-Jinsi, (ii) Topkhana-i-Aspi, (iii) Zamburkhanas. The mixed batteries of the first were composed of Aspi guns, Gavi guns and howitzers. The Topkhana-i-Khass was amalgamated with other batteries to form one of the three principal sections of the regular army. In 1835 when the army was organised into brigades, the artillery branch underwent further modifications.

There was close resemblance between the internal organisation of a battery and a battalion of infantry, the average strength of a

ten-gun battery being two hundred and fifty men, including non-combatants. Each battery was subdivided into sections, every section comprising two guns and eight to ten gunners. The ten-gun battery was officered by a commandant, assisted by an Adjutant and a Major ; while each section was under a Jamadar, with a Hawaldar and a Naik to assist him.

The training and organisation of the artillery, on European lines was accomplished in something less than a decade. General Court, to whom this task was chiefly assigned, joined the Sikhs in 1827, and within a few years he raised the corps to a high pitch of efficiency.

Fauj-i-be-Qawaid or the Irregular Army: It was composed chiefly of horsemen. These were divided into two sections—Ghorchara Khass and the Misaldars. The former was a single organisation, and was recruited from amongst the yeomen or landed gentry. Many members were relatives of the dignatories of the court. They supplied their own equipment, and were regularly paid at first in Jagirs, later on in cash. The Misaldars comprised all the petty chiefs who, having been recently dispossessed of their territories by Ranjit Singh, had consented to serve under him at the head of their respective bands of horsemen. The latter thus represented all classes of society, and were regarded as inferior in social status to the Khass troops. This difference was visible in their horses and equipment. The Misaldars grew in numbers, and, at the end of the reign, formed by far the greater proportion of the irregular cavalry. For administrative purposes the Ghorcharas were divided into several Deras, each Dera comprising several minor groups of horsemen, which were called Misls. The men in a Misl belonged to a single clan. Their leader was usually the descendant of one under whom they had originally joined Ranjit Singh's army. These Misls were of varying strength, ranging from twenty five to seventy five men. In 1822, the Deras were grouped into bigger divisions, each of which was put in charge of a high dignitary of state. In these appointments, care was taken to keep these clans intact. Lord Auckland saw the Ghorcharas during his visit to the Punjab in 1838, and considered them to be "the most picturesque troops in the world."

Recruitment and Pay: Enlistment in the army was voluntary, and recruits could always be found in abundance. This was due to several causes. In the first place, many of the tribes inhabiting the Punjab possessed martial traditions of a high order. Secondly,

a considerable social prestige was attached to the profession of arms. Thirdly, Ranjit Singh's personal attitude to the fighting forces, secured an abundant supply of men who sought to military careers.

In the days of the Misls the troops were paid either out of the plunder or by grant of land, usually liable to the payment of revenue. The latter system continued under Ranjit Singh. It was however found unsuitable for the purposes of a standing army. Hence cash payment in the form of monthly salary was introduced.

Though the salaries were fixed at a monthly rate, in practice they were never paid at regular intervals. The army remained in arrears on an average from four to six months, and payments were made three or four times a year. This was partly due to the inefficiency of the pay department, but to a greater extent to deliberate policy on the part of the Sikh ruler, who thereby checked the insubordination and desertion of his men. For purposes of distribution of pay, the army was divided into three branches—Fauj-i-Sowari, Fauj-i-Am, and Fauj-i-Filajat. The irregulars were paid at first by the commanding officer of each unit, and afterwards by a Dewan attached to each division. The regulars were always paid through a Bakshi. Payment to the third branch was made through Thanadars. The payments of all three branches used to submit an estimate based on the approximate strength of the units under their sway, to the central treasury at the capital.

The pay, in the regular army of the cavalry was higher than the infantry; but the artillery and the infantry were paid much the same. The emoluments of the Ghorcharas were still better than those of the regular horsemen. Instead of a regular system of pensions for long service, occasional Jagirs and donations of money were bestowed, but no systematic provision was made for the widows or children of those who lost their lives in the field.

Estimate of Ranjit Singh: Ranjit Singh was a great warrior and statesman. The establishment of authority all over the Punjab, Kashmir and Peshawar is a proof positive of the qualities of head and heart possessed by Ranjit Singh. His genius helped him to create a centralised state. Although he was supreme, he styled himself as the first servant of the Khalsa. He always used the word Sarkar or Khalsaji instead of Maharaja. He collected together generals and administrators and with their help was able to make the Punjab a powerful state. His employment of the Muslims and Europeans shows that he had no religious bias in him. Although he was

absolutely illiterate, he possessed a large measure of wisdom. He was the master of details and no wonder he was able to set up a strong state in the Punjab.

The Punjab politics from 1839 to 1845: After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839, the whole of the super-structure raised by him fell to pieces. The army became all-powerful. It made and unmade kings. Confusion and disorder reigned everywhere. The hostility between the Dogras and the Sindhianwalas added to the confusion. For six long years, there was absolutely no law and order in the country.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was succeeded by his eldest son known as Kharak Singh. Dhian Singh became his Wazir. He was opposed by Sher Singh, another son of Ranjit Singh, and Nao Nihal Singh, his own son. Chet Singh, a favourite of Kharag Singh, was murdered. Kharak Singh died in November 1840. His son Nao Nihal Singh also was killed by the fall of a gateway in the Lahore fort. There arose some difficulty with regard to the succession to the throne and ultimately it was decided that Mai Chand Kaur should become the regent for the expected son of Nao Nihal Singh. Dhian Singh was to act as Wazir and Sher Singh was to work as viceroy. Sher Singh did not approve of the new arrangement and consequently usurped power in January 1841 and proclaimed himself as Maharaja. It was during the reign of Sher Singh that English troops and convoys were allowed to pass through the Punjab on their way to Kabul to participate in the First Afghan War. In June 1842, Chand Kaur was murdered. In September 1843, Sher Singh was murdered. Then came the turn of Dhian Singh who also was disposed of similarly. Dhian Singh's son Hira Singh made up his mind to have revenge for the death of his father. He put Dalip Singh, a minor, on the throne and himself became the Wazir. Rani Jindan, mother of Dalip Singh, became regent. Hira Singh was assisted in his work by one Pandit Jalla. Throughout this period, it was suspected that the English had their hand in the anarchy prevailing in the Punjab. In December 1844, Hira Singh was murdered. After this, power fell into the hands of Jawahar Singh and Lal Singh, the brother and paramour of Rani Jindan. In September 1845, Jawahar Singh was shot dead and Lal Singh became the Wazir. On 11th December 1845, the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej and on 13th December, the war was declared by the British.

The most important cause of the First Sikh War was the

problem of the Khalsa army which was facing Lal Singh and Rani Jindan. The army had become independent of the civil authority and for six long years had acted as king-makers. This very army was responsible for the conquest of the whole of the Punjab in the time of Ranjit Singh, but after his death, there was absolutely no one to control it. It is rightly said that fire is a good servant but a bad master. Likewise, when the Khalsa army could not be controlled by anybody, it began to kill all those who came in her way. The French Generals like Ventura were turned out and the country was helpless before the tyranny of the army. Various sections managed to win it over by means of presents and gifts, but there could be no stability under such circumstances.

The main problem facing the Punjab was how to deal with the Khalsa army. No wonder, both Rani Jindan and Lal Singh felt that the only way to deal with the Khalsa army was to make it fight against the British. If it was successful, it will have the whole of India to conquer and thereby it will be kept busy. If it was defeated by the English, its number and strength will be reduced. It was with that idea that the Sikh army was ordered to cross the Sutlej.

An effort was made to convince the Khalsa army that the English were bent upon invading the Punjab. It was pointed out to them that after the annexation of Sind, the turn of the Punjab was to come. The English were massing their troops on the Sutlej. The military post of Ludhiana had more than 35,000 troops. A similar number of British troops was stationed at Ferozepur. Likewise, a large number of troops were concentrated at Ambala. All this military activity alarmed the Khalsa army. It came to believe that the only motive of the English was to attack the Punjab. The English had built a bridge of boats for crossing the Sutlej. They had also increased their troops in Sind. The Sikh leaders were also aware of the scheme of men like Burnes, Macnaughten and Napier for the dismemberment of the Punjab. It was in these circumstances that the Khalsa army crossed the river Sutlej in December 1845 and the First Sikh War began.

First Sikh War (December 1845—March 1846): The most important battles of the First Sikh War were Mudki, Ferozeshah, Aliwal and Sabroan. The Sikhs were defeated in the battle of Mudki. That was partly due to the treachery on the part of Lal Singh who left his followers just at the time when victory was in sight. The Sikhs also committed the folly of not destroying 7,000 British

troops under Sir John Little who were absolutely at their mercy.

The battle of Ferozshah was fought on 21st December, 1845. The Sikhs put up a very stiff resistance and the position of the English was really critical. Sir Hugh Gough wrote that "during that night of horrors, we were in a critical and perilous state." This time the treachery of Teja Singh helped the British. He ran away from the battlefield leaving the Sikh armies without a commander.

For more than a month, there was practically no fighting. That was partly due to the fact that the Khalsa army was without a leader and the British were so much stunned that they did not know what to do. The Sikhs found a leader in Ranjhor Singh and he defeated Sir Henry Smith at Buddiwal on 21st January 1846. Ranjhor Singh not only gave up the pursuit of the enemy but also left Buddiwal and the same was reoccupied by Sir Henry Smith. The Sikhs were defeated at the battle of Aliwal and Ranjhor Singh ran away.

At this time, Gulab Singh managed to become supreme at Lahore and he started negotiations with the British Government with a view to achieve his own selfish ends. It was settled between the parties that the Sikh army should be attacked by the English and when beaten it was to be openly disbanded by its own Government. The passage of the Sutlej was not to be opposed and the road to the capital was to be kept open to the victors. For all this service to the British Government, Gulab Singh was to receive Kashmir. It was under these circumstances that the battle of Sabraon was fought. Lal Singh also had sent a plan of the Sikh position at Sabraon to the English three days before the battle. It was in this atmosphere of treachery and shameless treason that the Sikh soldiers fought against the British. Soon after the first attack, Teja Singh ran away and "either accidentally or by design sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication." The Sikhs were without a leader and no wonder were defeated. The battle of Sabraon has been called the bloodiest battle of the war. The whole of the river Sutlej at that place ran red on account of the blood of the Sikh soldiers. After Sabraon, British armies marched on to Lahore and occupied the same on 20th February 1846. The treaty of Lahore was signed in March 1846.

Lord Hardinge decided not to annex the Punjab and four reasons have been put forward for the same. It was thought that the existence of a Hindu state between Afghanistan and British India would be advantageous to the Company. Another reason was that the annexation

of Punjab will not be profitable on account of the large amount of money that will be required to be spent on the newly acquired province. Another reason given is that Lord Hardinge doubted the strength of the English to occupy the whole country. Still another reason that is put forward is that the English did not annex the Punjab out of their respect for the memory of Ranjit Singh who was their faithful ally for many decades.

The rival claims of Lal Singh and Gulab Singh who had helped the English in winning the First Sikh War, gave some headache to Lord Hardinge. Both of them wanted to be supreme at Lahore. Ultimately, a way was found to reward both of them. Lal Singh was to be recognised as the Chief Minister of Maharaja Dalip Singh and Gulab Singh got the state of Jammu and Kashmir on the payment of a sum of one million sterling. The amount was reduced by one-fourth by the British Government.

Treaty of Lahore: By the treaty of Lahore, the British got the Cis-Sutlej States, the Jullundur Doab and Hazara. The Sikhs were to pay an indemnity of $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. The Sikh Government was able to pay only half a crore out of their treasury and for the balance of it the State of Jammu and Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh. The Sikh army was reduced to 25 battalions of infantry and 12,000 cavalry. The Sikhs were deprived of all those guns which were used by them against the English. The Sikh Government agreed not to employ British subjects or subjects of any European state without the concurrence of the British Government. Through passage was to be allowed to the British troops through the Punjab. Maharaja Dalip Singh was recognised as the ruler of the Punjab. A British force was to be stationed at Lahore and was to be withdrawn only by the end of the year. Henry Lawrence was appointed the British Resident at Lahore.

After the treaty of Lahore, things did not work smoothly in the Punjab. Lal Singh and other Sikh leaders were opposed to the handing over of Jammu and Kashmir to Gulab Singh and their territory was given to them only after the intervention of the British troops. Rani Jindan and Lal Singh were accused of creating the trouble. An enquiry was made into their conduct and they were found guilty. Lal Singh was sent to Banaras.

In December 1846, another treaty known as the *Treaty of Bhaironwal* was made by the British Government with the Lahore Durbar. By this treaty, council of Regency consisting of 8 pro-British

Sikh chiefs was appointed and this council was to act under the advice and guidance of the British resident. A British force was to be maintained at Lahore and the Sikhs were to pay 22 lacs every year. This arrangement was to continue upto 1854 when Maharaja Dalip Singh was expected to become major. By this treaty, the Sikhs became virtually the masters of the Punjab.

In 1847 and 1848, many reforms were carried out in the Punjab which went against the interests of the Sikh nobility. This added to their discontent. The disbanded soldiers were naturally discontented because they had lost their salaries and other allowances. The Sikhs bitterly resented their defeat particularly because those were due to treachery on the part of their leaders. They also resented the activities of the British agents who were carrying on negotiations with the tribesmen on the frontier. They did not approve of the concessions given to the Muslims in the matter of Azan or call for prayer and cow slaughter. Rani Jindan was bitter at the loss of her power and was determined to have her revenge. She was accused of conspiracy and sent away to Chunar. Her deportation was resented by the Sikhs.

Second Sikh War (1848-49): There is no doubt that discontentment prevailing in the Punjab would have resulted in a war sooner or later, but the revolt of Mul Raj, Governor of Multan, precipitated matters. He was Governor of the Multan since 1844. Previous to that, his father Sawan Mal was the Governor of Multan. Mul Raj was asked by the Lahore Durbar to pay the succession duty of Rs. one crore. He expressed his inability and was asked to pay 18 lacs. On account of the intervention of the first Sikh War, Mul Raj was able to postpone the payment, but demand was renewed after the war. The sum demanded was 19 lacs. As the payment was not made by him, he was ordered to pay Rs. 20 lacs and give up one-third of his territory. His annual tribute of 12 lacs was increased to 18 lacs. The Lahore Durbar also tried to interfere into the internal affairs of Multan. Mul Raj expressed his desire to resign provided the whole matter was kept a secret and no charges were brought against him and he was to be asked to render one year's accounts. The British Resident refused to accept these terms and ordered him to resign unconditionally and render accounts for 10 years. The demand for 10 years' accounts was simply stupid as he had not been the governor of Multan for more than 4 years. The British Resident sent Anderson and Agnew with Sardar Khan Singh to take over the administration. Mul Raj handed over the Multan fort to them on

19th April, 1848. The people of Multan got infuriated at the sight of Englishmen. There was a revolt on 20th April and two British officers were murdered.

The British Government could have taken action at once but they waited for months and during that interval rebellion spread all over the Punjab. Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, was of the opinion that the heat of the Punjab at that time was not favourable to large scale operations. It was decided to have a winter "hunt" after the rains.

On 10th October 1848, Lord Dalhousie declared thus: "Unwarned by precedents, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war, and on my word, Sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance." On 16th November, Gough crossed the river Ravi and on 22nd November was fought the battle of Ramnagar. In December 1848, the siege of Multan was started and it surrendered in January 1849. On 13th January 1849, was fought the battle of Chillianwala. It was a drawn battle. In February 1849 was fought the battle of Gujrat which has been called the "battle of guns." The Sikhs were defeated and the war ended on 13th March 1848. On 29th March, 1849, the Punjab was annexed. Maharaja Dalip Singh was deposed and was given a pension. Lord Dalhousie rejected the suggestion of administering the Punjab with Dalip Singh on the throne. According to him, "By maintaining the pageant of a throne, we should leave just enough sovereignty to keep alive among the Sikhs the memory of their nationality and serve as constant nucleus for intrigue." Again, "when I am forcibly convinced with the sovereignty of our state requires us to enforce subjection of the Sikh people, I cannot abandon that necessary measure merely because the effectual subjection of the nation involves in itself the deposition of their prince... While deeply sensible of responsibility I have assumed, I have an undoubting conviction of the expediency of the justice and of the necessity of my act. What I have done, I have done with a clear conscience, in the honest belief that it was imperatively demanded of my duty to the state."

After the annexation of the Punjab in March 1849, the administration of the province was put under the control of a Board of three members. Lord Dalhousie was himself to control the whole of it through the Board. After some time, the Board was disbanded. Henry Lawrence was asked to go to Rajputana as an agent for Governor-General. John Lawrence was appointed as Chief Commissioner

for the Punjab. The Punjab was divided into four divisions and each of them was put under a Commissioner. The divisions were subdivided and put under the control of Deputy Commissioners and the latter controlled the Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars. The Sikh army was completely disbanded. Arms were taken away from the people of the Punjab. The Jagirs of the Sikh nobles were confiscated. A strong police force was raised and put under the supervision of the English officers. Village watchmen were appointed. The landlords were given police powers to maintain law and order within their localities. A frontier force was raised from the tribes. The judiciary was reorganised under the supreme control of the judicial commissioner. Under him were the Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Tehsildars etc. A code of law was prepared to give rough and ready justice to the people. Roads, bridges and canals were constructed. Agriculture was improved. Loans were given to the people for the improvement of land.

The result of all these reforms was that law and order was established in the Punjab within a short period. The people got contented. So great was the measure of their contentment that when after the lapse of eight years, the mutiny broke out in 1857, the Sikhs did not join it. On the other hand, the Sikh soldiers went to Delhi to crush the mutiny.

CHAPTER XII

LORD DALHOUSIE (1848-56)

Lord Dalhousie was born in 1812 and came to India as Governor-General at the age of 36. He had entered Parliament in 1837 and acted as President of the Board of Trade in the Ministry of Peel. He was a great imperialist and did all that he could to add to the British dominion in India. He is rightly called the builder of the British empire in this country. Undoubtedly, he was one of the greatest of the Governors-General of India. Neither in ambition nor in hard work, he could be defeated by any one. His 8 years of office are full of important events in every field.

He was a great annexationist. He annexed territories for the uniformity of administration, consolidation and addition to the resources of the treasury. To quote him, "No man can deprecate more than I do any extension of the frontiers of our territory which can be avoided or which may not become indispensably necessary for considerations of our own safety, and of the maintenance of tranquillity of our provinces. But I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every *just opportunity* which presents itself for consolidating the territories which already belong to us by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them ; for thus getting rid of those petty intervening principalities which may be made means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength ; for adding to the resources of the public treasury ; and for extending the uniform application of our system of Government to those whose best interests we sincerely believe, will be protected thereby."

Conquests of Dalhousie—(1) Punjab (1849): The first Sikh war was fought in the time of Hardinge and the second Sikh war was fought in the time of Lord Dalhousie. The real cause was that although the Sikhs were defeated in the first Sikh War, their power was not crushed and they were determined to have revenge for their previous defeat.

Mul Raj, the Governor of Multan, revolted and put to death the English officers who were sent there. For many reasons, Lord Dalhousie did not interfere at once. He wanted the Lahore Durbar

for the Punjab. The Punjab was divided into four divisions and each of them was put under a Commissioner. The divisions were subdivided and put under the control of Deputy Commissioners and the latter controlled the Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars. The Sikh army was completely disbanded. Arms were taken away from the people of the Punjab. The Jagirs of the Sikh nobles were confiscated. A strong police force was raised and put under the supervision of the English officers. Village watchmen were appointed. The landlords were given police powers to maintain law and order within their localities. A frontier force was raised from the tribes. The judiciary was reorganised under the supreme control of the judicial commissioner. Under him were the Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Tehsildars etc. A code of law was prepared to give rough and ready justice to the people. Roads, bridges and canals were constructed. Agriculture was improved. Loans were given to the people for the improvement of land.

The result of all these reforms was that law and order was established in the Punjab within a short period. The people got contented. So great was the measure of their contentment that when after the lapse of eight years, the mutiny broke out in 1857, the Sikhs did not join it. On the other hand, the Sikh soldiers went to Delhi to crush the mutiny.

CHAPTER XII

LORD DALHOUSIE (1848-56)

Lord Dalhousie was born in 1812 and came to India as Governor-General at the age of 36. He had entered Parliament in 1837 and acted as President of the Board of Trade in the Ministry of Peel. He was a great imperialist and did all that he could to add to the British dominion in India. He is rightly called the builder of the British empire in this country. Undoubtedly, he was one of the greatest of the Governors-General of India. Neither in ambition nor in hard work, he could be defeated by any one. His 8 years of office are full of important events in every field.

He was a great annexationist. He annexed territories for the uniformity of administration, consolidation and addition to the resources of the treasury. To quote him, "No man can deprecate more than I do any extension of the frontiers of our territory which can be avoided or which may not become indispensably necessary for considerations of our own safety, and of the maintenance of tranquillity of our provinces. But I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every *just opportunity* which presents itself for consolidating the territories which already belong to us by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them ; for thus getting rid of those petty intervening principalities which may be made means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength ; for adding to the resources of the public treasury ; and for extending the uniform application of our system of Government to those whose best interests we sincerely believe, will be protected thereby."

Conquests of Dalhousie—(1) Punjab (1849) : The first Sikh war was fought in the time of Hardinge and the second Sikh war was fought in the time of Lord Dalhousie. The real cause was that although the Sikhs were defeated in the first Sikh War, their power was not crushed and they were determined to have revenge for their previous defeat.

Mul Raj, the Governor of Multan, revolted and put to death the English officers who were sent there. For many reasons, Lord Dalhousie did not interfere at once. He wanted the Lahore Durbar

to take action. Moreover, he preferred to take action against the rebels after the rainy season. Two important battles of the second Sikh War were Chillianwalla and Gujrat. The first was a drawn battle and the second was decisive. The Sikhs were completely defeated and laid down their arms. The Punjab was annexed in March 1849. Dalip Singh, the Sikh Maharaja, was given a pension. The Punjab was put under a Board of three Commissioners. However, the Board was abolished later on and Sir John Lawrence was appointed its Chief Commissioner. It was he who was responsible for the settlement of the province.

Second Burmese War (1852): The real cause of the second Burmese War was the determination of Dalhousie to exclude all European powers from Burma. He could not tolerate the idea of France or any other country capturing any part of Burma. However, he got an excuse to interfere into the affairs of Burma.

Under the treaty of Yandboo, the English merchants were allowed to settle in Burma and carry on trade. As their commercial rights were not defined precisely, each party interpreted them in his own way. The English merchants had their grievances but they struck on to the trade on account of the high profits made by them.

The imperialist character of Dalhousie encouraged the English traders to appeal to him for the removal of their grievances. They sent him a long petition in which they narrated all the wrongs suffered by them. Dalhousie welcomed the petition as a God-send. He declared that the treaty of Yandboo had been violated and the Burmese Government must pay damages for the wrongs done to the Englishmen. Commodore Lambert was sent to Rangoon for this purpose. On account of the behaviour of Lambert, the Burmese Government could not satisfy the demands of the Government of India. The result was that there was the exchange of guns and the second Burmese War was started. Even before the declaration of war, a British force was sent under General Godwin. Martaban was taken. Rangoon and Bassein also fell into the hands of the English. Later on, Prome was occupied. Thus, the British were able to bring the whole of lower Burma under their control. Negotiations were started but no treaty was signed. Lord Dalhousie declared the annexation of Pegu by a Proclamation issued in 1852. According to Arnold, "The second Burmese War was neither just in its origin nor marked by strict equity in its conduct or issue." Dalhousie's view was that the annexation of Pegu was "unavoidably demanded by sound views

of general policy." Again, "although this conquest be an evil, it will not be an evil altogether without mitigation." To quote Dalhousie again, "If conquest is contemplated by me now, it is not a positive good but solely as the least of those evils before us from which we must of necessity select one."

Doctrine of Lapse: The name of Dalhousie is famous for his application of the doctrine of lapse in very many cases. However, it is wrong to say that he was the creator of this doctrine. The Directors of the English Company had declared in 1834 that permission to adopt on the failure of natural heirs "should be the exception and not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of favour or approbation." It was declared in 1841 that every effort should be made to abandon "no just and honourable annexation of territory or revenue." The only thing done by Dalhousie was that he employed the doctrine of lapse in as many cases as possible. The basis of the doctrine of lapse was that as the English Company was the paramount power in India, the dependent states could not pass to the adopted son without the sanction of the paramount power and the latter had the right to withhold the sanction.

It has been maintained that Dalhousie applied the doctrine of lapse only to dependent states. However, no precise distinction was drawn between independent, allied, dependent and subordinate states. The omission might have been intentional. The result of this was that any state could be annexed by merely stating that it was a dependent state although there was nothing to prove that. It is well-known that Dalhousie annexed Karauli on the ground that it was a dependent state. He was over-ruled by the Directors on the ground that it was a protected ally and not a dependent state. No wonder, Sir John Strachey came to the conclusion that the distinction between dependent and allied states was mythical.

Lord Dalhousie wrote thus on the subject: "I take occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion that in exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves, where they arise from the lapse of subordinate states, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatsoever or from the failure of natural heirs, where the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption by Hindu law." Lord Dalhousie applied the doctrine of lapse in the case of Satara in 1848,

Jaipur and Sambhalpur in 1849, Baghat in 1850, Udaipur in 1852, Jhansi in 1853 and Nagpur in 1854.

As regard Satara, its Rajah died in 1848 without leaving any natural son. However, he adopted a son before his death. Dalhousie declared the adoption as invalid because his sanction was not taken. The Court of Directors declared that "By the general law and custom of India, a dependent principality like that of Satara cannot pass to an adopted son without the consent of the paramount power; that we are under no pledge direct or constructive to give such consent; and that the general interest committed to our charge are best consulted by withholding it." According to Arnold, the annexation of Satara was "a rich but not a lawful prize." It is wrong to maintain that the state of Satara was a British creation. The English Company entered into a treaty with Satara in 1819 with a view to conciliate the Marathas. The treaty was made between the two powers on a basis of equality. No amount of quibblings can justify the action of Dalhousie.

As regards Nagpur, its Rajah died in 1853. He did not adopt any son before his death. However, he had directed his queen to adopt a son. Under the Hindu law, such an adoption is perfectly valid. The Rani adopted Yaswant Rao. However, instead of recognising Yaswant Rao as the adopted son of Raja of Nagpur, the British Resident took possession of the territory. It was declared that on account of the absence of legal heirs, the state lapsed to the English Company. According to Dalhousie, the case of Nagpur "stands wholly without precedent. We have before us no question of inchoate or incomplete or irregular adoption. The Rajah has died and has deliberately abstained from adopting an heir. His widow has adopted no successor. The state of Nagpur conferred by the British Government in 1818 on the Raja and his heirs has reverted to the British Government on the death of the ruler without any heir. Justice and Custom and precedent leave the Government wholly unfettered to decide as it thinks best. Policy alone must decide the question." According to Arnold, "The real law by which Nagpur was added to the British Dominion was, it must be pronounced, the old, but not on that account more respectable, the law of the strongest."

As regard Jhansi, it was given by the Peshwa to the English in 1817. In the same year, Lord Hastings put Rao Ramchandra on the throne of Jhansi and by a treaty guaranteed the right of succession

in perpetuity. Rao Ramchandra died in 1835. His adopted son was not recognised and Raghunath Rao was put on the throne. The latter died in 1838 and was succeeded by Gangadhar Rao who also died in 1853 without leaving any child behind. Before his death, he adopted Anand Rao as his son and requested the English Company to recognise him as such. Dalhousie refused to recognise him and annexed the state. Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi had her revenge in the mutiny.

Annexation of Berar (1853): Dalhousie annexed Berar in 1853. The reason was that the Nizam owed a lot of money to the English Company on account of the charges of the contingent forces. As the Nizam had not made payments, the debt reached the figure of £780,000. A new treaty was made with the Nizam by which he gave Berar to the English for the maintenance of the contingent force and the payment of the debts.

Anglo-Oudh Relations (1765-1856): Before referring to the annexation of Oudh in 1856 by Lord Dalhousie, it is desirable to refer to the relations of the ruler of Oudh with the English Company from 1765 to 1856. It has already been pointed out that the Nawab Wazir of Oudh was defeated in 1765 in the battle of Buxar and taken prisoner along with Shah Alam. British troops also marched into Lucknow. The whole of Oudh was at the mercy of the British troops. In spite of this, Lord Clive decided to restore to the Nawab of Oudh his conquered territories. He was made to part with only Kora and Allahabad. These districts were given to Shah Alam to maintain his dignity. Lord Clive followed the policy of buffer state towards Oudh.

In 1773, Warren Hastings got back Kora and Allahabad from the Moghul Emperor who had gone over to the side of the Marathas. Both these districts were sold to the Nawab of Oudh for Rs. 50/- lacs. The Nawab of Oudh got British help in the Rohilla war and annexed Rohilkhand. In January 1775, a new treaty was imposed by the anti-Hastings majority in the Council on the new ruler of Oudh. The Nawab was forced to give up the sovereignty of Banaras. He was also made to agree to the increase of the subsidy to be paid for the British troops. It is well-known that Warren Hastings was instrumental in the mal-treatment of the Begums of Oudh. He has been rightly condemned for his attitude. His conduct was absolutely high-handed.

In the time of Cornwallis, the Nawab requested the English

Company to relieve him of the expense of the British troops in Oudh. There were two brigades in Oudh at that time. One of them was a permanent brigade at Kanpur and the other was known as the temporary Brigade stationed at Fatehgarh. The Nawab appealed once again in 1781 and 1784 for the withdrawal of the temporary brigade. Although Cornwallis did not grant the request of the Nawab in full, he reduced the subsidy to Rs. 50/- lacs a year.

In 1797, Sir John Shore intervened in a disputed succession in Oudh. He put Sadat Ali on the throne and made a new treaty with him. By the new treaty, the English Company became responsible for the defence of Oudh in return for an annual tribute of Rs. 76 lacs. The Allahabad fort was given to the English Company. It was also provided that there was to be no increase in the subsidy except in the case of necessity. The Governor-General was given the discretion to add to the troops in the case of necessity.

When Lord Wellesley came as the Governor-General, the condition of Oudh was deplorable. Its administration was a by-word for inefficiency, corruption and oppression. The problem was a complicated one. While inefficiency and corruption demanded action, the loyalty of the Nawab to the English Company did not allow the English to intervene effectively. Moreover, the Nawab paid regularly and punctually the instalments of the subsidy. Although the amount already paid by the Nawab was too much for his paying capacity, Lord Dalhousie demanded the increase of the British troops in Oudh and also demanded an increase in the subsidy.

Lord Wellesley made further demands on the Nawab. First of all, the Nawab agreed and then withdrew his consent. He even agreed to abdicate on the condition that his son was to succeed him. The British Government did not accept this offer. British troops were ordered to march into Oudh and the Nawab was ordered to find money for paying them.

The real desire of Wellesley was to force upon the Nawab the cession of territory in lieu of revenue payments. Consequently, the Nawab was confronted with entirely new demands. He was either to cede the whole of his dominions retaining only a nominal sovereignty or cede as much territory as would yield revenue equal to the subsidy to be paid for. Practically, half of the Nawab's dominions were annexed by Wellesley. The treaty was signed in November 1801 and the territory surrendered was the Rohilkhand and the Lower Doab.

The result of Lord Wellesley's policy was that Oudh was entirely surrounded by British territory except on the North. The policy of maintaining Oudh as a buffer state was given up. With regard to the territory left in the hands of the Nawab, he was required to act in accordance with the representative of the Company. It cannot be denied that the ceded territory was violently and compulsorily snatched from the Nawab. The introduction of additional troops into Oudh was a violation of the existing treaties.

"It has been said that the Oudh assumption was the most highhanded of all Wellesley's despotic actions. He would hardly have denied allies, but he would have justified it. The tangle of conflicting interests could only be cut by the sword, and he did not hold the sword in vain."

In the time of Lord Hastings, the Nawab of Oudh paid huge sums of money to the English Company towards the expenses incurred by the English Company in the Gurkha War. It was contended that the Nawab should pay because the defeat of the Gorkhas had added to his security. As an appreciation of the contribution made by the Nawab, the latter was allowed by the English Company to assume the title of king. However, this outraged the Muslim loyalty to the Moghul Emperor. Leonard says in Cambridge History of India that "in the Governor-Generals' opinion this act would benefit the British Government by causing a division between these important leaders of the Mohamadan community. It also met with disapproval of all experienced British officials."

William Bentinck tried to fill his empty treasury from Oudh. He visited Lucknow and warned the king that "unless his territories were governed upon other principles than those hitherto followed and the prosperity of the people made the principal object of his administration, the precedents afforded by the principalities of the Carnatics and Tanjore would be applied to the kingdom of Oudh and the entire management of the country would be assumed by the Company, and the king would be transmitted into a state prisoner."

In the time of Lord Auckland, Nasir-ud-Din died in 1837 under very suspicious circumstances. The Dowager queen put a son on the throne. However, the English put Mohammad Ali Shah as its ruler. A new treaty was made with Mohammad Ali Shah in 1837 by which the English Company got the right of assuming the management of the Company in case of gross misrule. He also agreed to

pay Rs. 16 lacs for the maintenance of an auxiliary force. This treaty was disallowed by the Directors of the English Company and the Governor-General was directed to inform the ruler of Oudh accordingly. Unfortunately, Lord Auckland did not communicate this fact to the ruler of Oudh. The latter was merely informed that he will not have to pay for the auxiliary force. It was an act of treachery on the part of a Governor-General and he should not have gone so low in his action. The result was that the King of Oudh and many others remained under the impression that the treaty of 1837 was in force. This treaty was included in Government publications and was referred to by Sir John Lawrence in 1844. Lord Hardinge also referred to the treaty of 1837.

Lord Dalhousie was determined to deal with Oudh in a very effective manner. The Government of Oudh was rotten and openly so. The country would have been annexed long ago but for the consistent loyalty of the king.

In 1848, Sleeman was sent to Lucknow by Dalhousie as a Resident to undertake the reconstruction of an oppressed country. In 1849, he was instructed to make a tour and report on the conditions prevailing in the country. Sleeman reported that the people killed their female children and buried them alive. Lucknow was in perpetual turmoil of processions, illuminations and festivities. The only companions of the king were fiddlers and buffoons. The ambition of the king was limited to the reputation of being known as the best drum-beater, dancer and poet of the day. Most of his associates were outcasts from the low classes. The king was always in need of money and used the military to squeeze as much as he could. The peasantry grew swift-footed. The governing classes had no sympathy for the subjects and the latter suffered terribly under the tyranny of the officials. The officials took delight in plundering the peasants.

Although the condition of Oudh was far from satisfactory, Sleeman was opposed to the annexation of the country. His view was that "the annexation of Oudh would cost the British power more than the value of such kingdom and would inevitably lead to a mutiny of the Sepoys." Moreover, the native states were "the breakwaters, and when they are all swept away, we shall be left to the mercy of our native army which may not be always sufficiently under control." Sleeman stressed the educational value of the native states in so far as they afforded an opportunity to those

Indians "whose habits unfitted them" to become humbler and accept low jobs and swagger with their sword and matchlock in the states." In 1851, Lord Dalhousie himself journeyed on the borders of Oudh and he tells us that he heard the use of heavy cannon for the purpose of collecting revenues by the servants of the king. In spite of this, Dalhousie hesitated to take action.

In 1854, Sleeman was replaced by Outram as Resident. The new Resident reported that the administration of the country was an orgy of massacre and corruption set to music.

Lord Dalhousie's recommendation was that while the king of Oudh be allowed to retain his title, the entire administration of the country be vested in the Company in perpetuity. On account of the consistent loyalty of the King, Dalhousie did not recommend his forcible abdication and the annexation of the territory. The members of the Executive Council of Lord Dalhousie were divided with regard to the future of Oudh. The majority were opposed to Dalhousie's views. In January 1856, Dalhousie got the orders of the Directors with regard to the future of Oudh. He was to offer to the King a kind of Vatican sovereignty, the title of king, adequate funds and full jurisdiction short of death over Lucknow palace parks. Outram was sent back to Lucknow and a brigade followed him. The king refused to accept the new position and was deposed. He was sent to Calcutta. In justification of the act, Lord Dalhousie wrote thus: "The British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions." The Indians do not seem to have cared for the material gains which followed in the wake of annexation of Oudh. General Lord was of the opinion that the Indians preferred their own misrule to the strict rule of the British with the insolence of the Chaprassis and other petty officials.

The annexation of Oudh created a feeling of awe and despair in the minds of the rulers of the Indian States. They began to fear their safety. They could say to themselves:

"Another year, another deadly blow,
Another mighty Empire overthrown,
And we are left, or shall be left alone."

Sleeman's opinion was that annexation of Oudh was a political blunder. According to him, the English used their giant's strength like a giant and injured their reputation in the eyes of the Indians.

During the mutiny, the Sepoys of Oudh brought about havoc and added to the difficulties of the British. It has rightly been maintained that the forced abdication of Wajid Ali Shah and the annexation of Oudh were offences against good faith and public conscience.

Abolition of titles and pensions: Dalhousie was not content with the annexation of territories. He also tried to abolish titles and pensions. The first victim of his policy was Dhondu Pant or Nana Sahab who was the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II. Baji Rao had been given a pension of Rs. 8 lacs a year. He adopted Nana Sahab as his son and asked for the recognition of the Company. Baji Rao died in 1852 and Lord Dalhousie rejected the claim of Nana Sahab. According to Sir John Kaye, the action of Dalhousie was harsh. Arnold described the same as grasping.

In 1855, the Nawab of Carnatic died without leaving any male issue. Azimjah was the heir and he applied to the Madras Government for recognition. The view of the Governor was that the title and pension were personal and "the semblance of royalty without power is mockery of authority which must be pernicious—that it is impolitic and unwise to allow pageant to continue which, though it has been politically harmless, may at any time become a nucleus for sedition and agitation." Lord Dalhousie endorsed the views of the Madras Governor in these words: "I entirely agree with Lord Harris in holding that the treaty of 1801 confers no right of hereditary succession. It is purely personal treaty... There is no mention of heirs and successors in any part of the treaty and no grant of anything is made by it of any one except to the Nawab Azim-Ud-Dowla himself."

The Rajah of Tanjore died in 1855 and left a widow and two daughters. He was a king without a kingdom and enjoyed a pension and some jagirs. Consequently, on the death of the Rajah, Dalhousie stopped the pension and confiscated the Jagirs. The case went to the Privy Council and was decreed in favour of the Company. Lord Kingsdown made the following observations in his judgement: "It is extremely difficult to discover in these papers any grant of legal right on the part of the East India Company or of the grant of Great Britain, to the possession of this Raj, or of any part of the property of the Rajah on his death. The Rajah was an independent sovereign of territories undoubtedly minute and bound by treaties to a powerful neighbour, which left him, practically, little power of free action, but he did not hold his territory such as it was,

as a fief of the British Crown, or of the East India Company, nor does there appear to have been any pretence for claiming it on the death of the Rajah without a son, by any legal title, either as an escheat or as Bona Vacantia."

Administrative reforms of Dalhousie: Lord Dalhousie carried out many reforms in various fields. However, the keynote of Dalhousie's reforms was centralisation. The object of the reforms was to gather all the threads of power into his own hands. Dalhousie organised the non-regulation system to meet the new needs of the Indian Empire. Under this system, the administration was to be carried on by a Commissioner who was to be responsible directly to the Governor-General-in-Council. Its chief merit was economy of personnel. It did not make any distinction between civil and military Government. The District magistrate was given all the powers in various fields. The unfortunate effect of this system was that it demoralised the people.

Military reforms: Lord Dalhousie carried out a large number of reforms in the military field. He started the general movement of troops from Bengal towards the West. The headquarters of the Bengal Artillery were shifted from Calcutta to Meerut. The Army Headquarters were gradually shifted to Simla. He also started the policy of reduction, disintegration and distribution. He encouraged the enlistment of Gorkha regiments in the Indian army. He raised a new Irregular force in the Punjab. He asked the home authorities to increase the number of British troops in India so that there may be no possibility of revolt by the Indian troops. Dalhousie was always afraid of a conspiracy among the Indian troops.

Telegraphs and Railways: These two departments got a great impetus from Dalhousie. Their development was considered to be necessary from the point of view of the defence of the Indian Empire and also for the encouragement of British investments in India. He entered into contracts with English Corporations for the construction of railways. All kinds of facilities were given to them for construction work. They were also guaranteed interest by the Government irrespective of the profits. A few strategic lines were constructed at an enormous cost to the Indian revenues, but this helped the English capitalists to make huge profits. Telegraph wire linked up the various parts of India and this fact helped a great deal the English during the mutiny.

Commercial reforms: In the interests of the British traders and manufacturers, Lord Dalhousie followed the policy of free trade. All ports of India were declared free. Improvements were made in lighthouses and harbours. All hinderances in the way of the flow of goods and capital were removed. All the coastal trade of India fell into the hands of the English capitalists. This led to the economic exploitation of the country.

Public Works Department: Before Dalhousie, the Military Member was in charge of the Public Works Department. The work on the civil side was neglected. Consequently, Lord Dalhousie appointed a commission in every Presidency to report on the state of affairs. The result was that public works were withdrawn from the control of the Military Board. A separate Public Works Department was started in every Presidency and its important offices were the Chief Engineer and Executive Officers. They were all imported from England. The reorganised Department of Public Works took up the task of constructing roads, canals and bridges.

Postal system: Dalhousie also removed the defects in the Postal system. He reorganised the system on the recommendations of a commission. He started a uniform rate of half anna for letters not exceeding half a tola in weight for all India. The sender of the letter was to pay the charges in the form of stamps. Dalhousie's reforms removed corruption from the postal Department.

Wood's despatch of 1854: Sir Charles Wood, President of Board of Control, sent his famous despatch on education. According to this despatch, education was entitled to the first claim of the Government. At the apex of the educational structure were to be universities on the model of the London University in the Presidencies. These universities were to be merely examining bodies and not teaching institutions. Colleges were to be affiliated to the universities and were to give education to intermediate and degree classes. There were also to be high schools and Anglo-vernacular schools. Their medium of instruction was to be the vernacular of the province. Private enterprise in the field of education was to be encouraged by the Government. There was a Director-General of Education for whole of India. Education was to be entirely secular. Universities were established in 1857 in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

Dalhousie's responsibility for the mutiny: Dalhousie left India in 1856 and the mutiny broke out in 1857. Naturally, the critics attributed the mutiny to the works of omission and com-

mission of Lord Dalhousie. It was stated that Lord Dalhousie was in a hurry to annex very many states to the Indian Empire. He should have been more considerate towards the sentiments of the Indians. It is true that the various annexations and conquests brought more money into the coffers of the English Company, but it cannot be denied that they created the unfortunate impression that the territory of no Indian prince was safe. It was feared that the unscrupulous Government of the Company was ready to find out an excuse for whatever they did. The people lost faith in the sense of justice of the English. The application of the doctrine of lapse made the matters worse. It created a large number of discontented persons who were ready to avail of any opportunity to hit back against the English Company. No wonder, Rani Jhansi brought about havoc. Likewise, the refusal to pay the pension to Nana Saheb turned him into a bitter enemy. The abolition of pensions of the Rajah of Tanjore and the Nawab of Carnatic was unfortunate. It was during his time that a very large number of British troops ~~were~~ sent to fight in the Crimean War. The proportion of the British troops as compared with the Indian troops became very low. Lord Dalhousie asked the home Government to fill in the gap, but the same was not done inspite of many reminders. The result was that when the mutiny broke out, the Indian soldiers found themselves in a very advantageous position on account of the shortage of British troops in India. However, for this not Dalhousie but the home Government was to blame.

Dalhousie himself was not in favour of the annexation of Oudh. He was over-ruled by the Directors in this matter and it is they who should share the ~~claim~~ ^{blame} for its annexation.

Dalhousie carried out his reforms with the best of motives but every move of his was suspected. It was feared that every effort was being made by the Indian Government to convert the people to Christianity or otherwise to injure their sentiments.

On the whole we may say that Lord Dalhousie was partly responsible for the mutiny of 1857. His policy towards the Indian States created a sense of despair among the Indian Princes and that led to revolt. He should have tried to carry his people with him and also avoided all those measures which could in any way create misunderstanding and suspicion in the minds of the innocent Indians.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MUTINY

Its Character: There are two main views regarding the character of the Mutiny. Sir John Lawrence was of the opinion that the Mutiny had its origin in the army and its cause was the greased cartridges and nothing else. It was not attributable to any antecedent conspiracy whatsoever, although it was taken advantage of by the mutineers to increase their numbers. According to Sir John Seeley also, the Mutiny was a "wholly unpatriotic and selfish sepoy Mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support."

However, Outram was of the opinion that the Mutiny was the result of a Mohammedan conspiracy making capital of Hindu grievances. The cartridge incident merely precipitated it before it was thoroughly organised and before adequate arrangements were made for making the Mutiny a first step towards popular insurrection. The Indian nationalist also described the Mutiny as a war of independence. Savarkar wrote his famous book called "War of Indian Independence". In this book, he tried to show as to how the Mutiny was really a war of Indian Independence. Ashoka Mehta has also pointed out to the national character of the Mutiny in his booklet entitled "1857, The Great Rebellion". He admits that the sepoys were the mainstay of the rebellion. They bore the brunt of the struggle to break the chains that imprisoned India. They gave the backbone to the resistance and became its shield and spear. However, besides the sepoys, millions of Indians took part in the rebellion. The number of civilians killed was as large as that of the sepoys. They joined the struggle to free their country and not to redress their grievances. The rapidity with which the revolt spread shows that in some areas, at least, the rebellion enjoyed strong mass support. At many stations, the sepoys were egged on to action by the citizens. Those who sided with the British had to face social ostracism. Those who could not join openly, non-co-operated with the British. It is a matter of history that General Havelock could not get boats and boatmen to ferry his soldiers across the river. Although the labourers at Kanpur were pressed into service by the British, they managed to escape at night. At many places, the

natives of all classes tried to keep aloof from the British. The decisive evidence showing the national character of the rebellion is the note of communal harmony it struck in both the Hindus and the Muslims. Even the British Government found it difficult to separate the two communities. The Mughal Emperor prohibited cow-slaughter throughout the country to conciliate the Hindus. In a letter to the Rajas of Rajputana, the Mughal Emperor wrote thus: "It is my ardent wish to see that the Feringi is driven out of Hindustan by all means and at any cost. It is my ardent wish that the whole of Hindustan should be free. But the Revolutionary War that is being waged for the purpose will not be crowned with success unless a man capable of sustaining the whole burden of the movement, who can organise and concentrate the different forces of the nation and will unify the whole people in himself, comes forward to guide the rising. I have no desire left of ruling over India, after the expulsion of the English for my own aggrandizement. If all of you native Rajas are ready to unsheathe your sword to drive away the enemy, then I am willing to resign my imperial powers and authority in the hands of any confederacy of native princes who are chosen to exercise it."

The Hindus also responded to the offer of the Muslims. Nana Sahib declared his allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. It was only after the fall of Delhi that the Sikhs joined the British Army in large numbers. All this shows that the Mutiny was a national rising, although on a limited scale.

Prof. P.E. Roberts accepts the point of view of John Lawrence and Seeley. According to him, the Mutiny was mainly military in origin but it occurred at a time when for various reasons, there was social and political discontentment in the country and the mutineers took advantage of the same. According to Thompson and Garratt, it is poor compliment to Indian courage and ability to treat the revolt as an organised national movement. It was repressed by a small army. Its leaders were a failure. He concludes by saying that historical accuracy as well as respect for Indian ability, makes it necessary to emphasise the minor part played by the better elements in India.

Causes of the Mutiny—Political: 1. The Mutiny of 1857 could be attributed to many causes. As regards the political cause, Dalhousie's annexations and doctrine of lapse had created a spirit of uneasiness and suspicion throughout India. The annexation of Sitara and Nagpur was resented by the Hindus. The annexation

of Oudh whose ruler had been a friend and ally of the English Company for about a century was resented not only by the Muslims but also by the other rulers of India. This created among them a spirit of despair. Even the most faithful and loyal Indian rulers could not be sure of their existence in the future. The British Government had ordered that on the death of the last Mughal Emperor, his successor was to give up his ancestral palaces and leave something of its royal splendour. Certain remarks made by the high British officials created the impression that the government had made up its mind to put an end to the native states. Sir Charles Napier stated thus: "Was I the Emperor of India for twelve years, no Indian prince should exist. The Nizam should no more be heard of—Nepal would be ours". By stopping the pension of £80,000 to Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa Baji Rao, the British made him their worst enemy. The Hindus regarded him as the legitimate successor of Baji Rao and his exclusion was considered to be unjust. He proved himself to be a prince among conspirators. He was helped by Azimulla Khan.

The annexation of a native state not only deposed a king, but also limited the scope of the Indians to get high administrative jobs. This created bitterness among the higher strata of Indian society. At the time of the settlement of newly acquired territories, the old claims of the native aristocracy were severely scrutinized by the officials who favoured the peasants against their landlords. This also created bitterness. Bentinck's resumption of rent-free lands brought a lot of money to the government, but reduced to poverty many land-owners whose title deeds had been lost or who had held land by long prescriptive right. In the five years preceding the Mutiny, the famous Inam Commission at Bombay confiscated about 20,000 estates. After the annexation of Oudh, Jackson was appointed Chief Commissioner for settlement. He critically examined the titles of Taluqdars or hereditary revenue collectors and most of them were left without any means of subsistence. The native army was disbanded and about 60,000 men lost their livelihood. No wonder, the discontented soldiers and Taluqdars joined the mutineers in large numbers.

The English officers were aloof, exacting and unimaginative. Even the best among them "insulted the native gentry whenever they had the opportunity of doing so. The administrative machinery was inefficient and insufficient. The strain on it was so great that

whenever a new territory was conquered and annexed, it roused "a very bad feeling and led to many agrarian outrages". Even the landlords were refused the right of adoption and their estates were confiscated by the government. So unhappy was the lot of the landlords that it was difficult for them to raise loans even at thirty or forty per cent of the value of the land. There was a lot of uncertainty about land. Government officials very often cancelled private transfers of land and interfered even with the decisions of the courts. The Raja of Manipuri was deprived of 116 out of 158 villages. Another Raja had his Taluka curtailed by the severance of 138 villages out of the total of 216 villages. The Collector was ordered by the Sadar Board not to carry the decree passed in his favour into effect. Many Taluqdars lost half of their villages and the others lost their all. Heavy assessments and increased duties made them frantic.

Courts of law tried to bring all the people on the same footing. The British officials took pride in introducing the principle of civil equality among the people. However, it was found that the principle of civil equality was not applied to Europeans. The caste spirit permeated the whole administration. When the system of flogging for civil offences was abolished, periods of imprisonment were substituted for them. These were not approved of by the people.

Religious: As regards the religious cause, the orthodox Hindus regarded the English as great iconoclasts and feared that their own religion will be destroyed by Christianity. Both the army and the civil population were under the fear that the government intended to make everybody a Christian as the Mohammedan had done before. Missionary activity was extended by the Englishmen in all parts of the country. On many occasions, the meetings of the missionaries were held at the headquarters of the districts under the chairmanship of the Collectors. The Hindu Law of Property was changed with a view to facilitate the conversion of Hindus to Christianity. Formerly, a convert from Hinduism was not allowed to inherit property, but this hurdle was removed. The English made no secret of their intention to convert the Indians to Christianity. Mr. Mangles, the Chairman of the Directors of the East India Company, made the following statement in the House of Commons: "Providence has entrusted the extensive empire of Hindustan to England in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to the other. Everyone

must exert all his strength that there may be no dilatoriness on any account in continuing in the country the grand work of making all Indians Christians."

The introduction of the railways and the telegraph system was regarded by the Indians as an attempt to Europeanise the Indians. The same suspicion was attached to the postal system. In the new schools, boys of all castes and religions sat together and this was considered to be an attempt to interfere with the religion of the people.

Military: As regards the military cause, there was a lot of discontentment among the Indian soldiers. The highest pay attainable by a sepoy as Subedar of the infantry was less than the minimum pay of a raw European recruit. Very often, there was no promotion of an Indian soldier. He may enter as a Risaldar and retire as a Risaldar. The government did not trust the Indian soldiers. "In every company, there are two or three native officers who, when they are too good, are discharged from service with full pay on retirement, on the pretext of rewarding them. So soon as Sepoys become attached to them, so soon as they encroach upon the admiration and respect which must be the exclusive property of European officers, they are immediately discharged."

The self-respect of the Sepoys was trampled upon at every step. "It is by no means uncommon for an officer to curse and swear at his men on parade and use most disgusting terms of abuse to them". The Sepoys resented the loss of Bhatta. The Indian soldiers were being called upon to fight in wars across the sea. On the occasion of the Crimean War, they had refused to go. In 1856 was passed the General Service Enlistment Act. According to this Act, no Sepoy who was enlisted under the Act, could refuse to fight across the sea. The result was that the Indian army was turned into an Imperial Army. The privileges of the Sepoys of the Bengal Army were withdrawn. Efforts were made to convert them to Christianity. Promotions were given to those Indian soldiers who became Christians.

Oudh was the home of the Sepoys and when it was annexed in 1856, about 60,000 men were rendered idle on account of the disbanding of the State Army. The national feelings of the Sepoys were wounded. So great was the resentment among the Indian soldiers that one of them told Sir Henry Lawrence that "If the Sepoy is not speedily redressed, he will redress himself."

The proportion of the Indian troops to British troops was very high. In 1856, the Indian Army consisted of 233,000 natives and 45,322 British troops. Although Lord Dalhousie had pointed out to the urgency of filling in the gap, the Home Government had slept over the matter.

The distribution of the troops in India was faulty. The strength of the Bengal Army was 151,361. About 40,000 troops were in the Punjab. No European force existed in Bengal and Bihar except at Calcutta and Dinapur near Patna. The Indians were well aware of the weak position of the Company at many places and would like to take advantage of the same.

The general unrest was indicated by the mysterious chapatties or cakes which began to circulate from village to village from 1856. There was a similar circulation of lotus flowers among the regiments. Although the cause is not known, it created an atmosphere of mystery. The centenary of the Battle of Plassey was to fall in June, 1857 and the people were looking forward to the end of the British rule in India after 100 years. There were meetings of the Indian soldiers against their European officers. They were thinking in terms of having their revenge against them. Their plan of campaign was simple. They were to strike all over India on the same day (22nd. June, 1857). They were to kill European officers, break open prisons, take over the government treasuries, cut telegraph wires and railway lines and capture powder magazines, armouries and forts. It was hoped that if all the blows were given at the same time, they were sure to shake the edifice of the foreign government.

Immediate cause: The immediate cause of the Mutiny was the greased cartridges. According to a regulation, the Sepoys were acquired to bite the end of the cartridge. There was a rumour that the cartridges to be used with the new Enfield rifles were greased with the fat of cows and pigs. One of them was sacred to the Hindus and the other was forbidden to the Muslims. On account of their ignorance, the British Government denied the truth of the allegation. However, it was later on found that actually the fat of cows and pigs had been used. The result was that the Sepoys got infuriated. The native army of Bengal was in a state of restlessness. In April, 1857, some troops refused to use the cartridges supplied to them. They were court-martialled and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. On 9th May, they were publicly degraded and deprived of their uniforms and shut up in a jail.

Spread and Suppression of Mutiny. Three regiments broke into open revolt, shot down their officers and broke open the prisons, released their comrades and marched to Delhi. They were also joined by the Sepoys of Delhi. Europeans were massacred and the city of Delhi was occupied. Bahadur Shah, the old Mughal Emperor, was put on the throne. The Mutiny spread to Lucknow, Bareilly, Cawnpore, Agra, Jhansi, Central India, Bundelkhand and other places. Europeans were killed everywhere and the Sepoys marched on to Delhi. The Sikhs in the Punjab kept quiet. Hyderabad also remained quiet. The same was the case with Scindhia. The credit goes to Sir Dinkar Rao in the case of Scindhia and Sir Salar Jang in the case of Hyderabad.

To begin with, the English were on the defensive. However, every effort was made to rush in soldiers from every part of the British Empire. 1,12,000 soldiers came from the British Army and 3,10,000 troops were recruited in India for the same purpose. Troops came from the Punjab also. After bitter fighting, Delhi was recaptured. At Lucknow, Sir Henry Lawrence was killed in the course of the siege. However, Generals Outram and Havelock forced their way into the residency at Lucknow. They were also besieged, but relieved later on.

At Cawnpore, Nana Sahib was directing the operations. The British Garrison surrendered. All but four persons were killed. Campbell recaptured Cawnpur.

Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Tope put up a stiff resistance. Rani of Jhansi died fighting. Tantia Tope managed to escape. Nana Sahib was driven from place to place, but his end is not known.

It is to be noted that the leaders on the side of the Indians were Nana Sahib, Azimulla Khan, Maulvi Ahmed Shah of Fyzabad, Ahmed Shah, Kumar Singh, Tantia Tope and Laxmibai. Kumar Singh was the doyen of the guerilla fighters. Tantia Tope was the military genius on the side of the rebels. His resourcefulness was a veritable talisman for the rebels. He kept the British armies racing after him over three thousands miles for nine months like a cat persuing its tail. Laxmibai, Rani of Jhansi, was the embodiment of the rebellion. She was its inspirer and architect.

There was too much of killing during and after the Mutiny. This killing was started by the Indians. Probably their object was to create a psychological atmosphere in the country by hanging those European officers who were responsible for tyrannising the Indians.

But the English surpassed everybody in retaliation. For every European killed, a hundred Indians were killed by the Europeans. Both villagers and townsmen fell victims to their lust for blood. Little boys who were guilty of merely waving the rebel flag, were summarily executed. A batch of twelve men was hanged from the trees because their faces were turned the wrong way when they were met by British soldiers on the march. Six thousands persons were slaughtered at Allahabad alone. Muslims were sewn up in pig-skins and thrown into rivers and were smeared with pork-fat before their execution. Their bodies were cremated. Before his execution, pork was stuffed in the mouth of the Dewan of Fatehgadh. The meat of cow was forced down the throats of the Hindus. They were forced to work as sweepers, unmindful of their status. The object of all this killing was to strike terror into the hearts of the Indians.

Causes of Failure of Mutiny: (1) Many causes were responsible for the failure of the mutiny. In the first place, the mutiny was localised. There were certain parts of India which were not affected by it at all. Particularly, the territory South of the river Narbada remained undisturbed. Sind was quiet. Rajputana was loyal. Dost Mohammad remained friendly. Central and Eastern Bengal remained undisturbed. Instead of joining the mutineers, the Gorkhas of Nepal rendered meritorious services to the British. In spite of the fact that the Punjab had been conquered from the Sikhs only 8 years ago after a lot of bloodshed, it remained absolutely quiet. Had the people of the Punjab joined the mutineers, the story of the mutiny would have been absolutely different. As a matter of fact, the rule of Sir John Lawrence was not very popular and he himself was not certain of their loyalty. Anyhow, the loyalty of the Punjabees made the matters easier for the British. Not only they remained loyal themselves, they helped the Government in disarming and guarding the Bengal troops at Lahore, Peshawar and Multan. Those regiments which mutinied were to be put down. It was the tranquility of the province that enabled the Provincial Government to send reinforcements to Delhi. So great was the loyalty of the Punjab that practically all the troops left the Punjab and even then there was no trouble. It is pointed out that if the mutiny had not been localised and had spread in every nook and corner of the country, the fate of the country would have been different.

(2) With the exception of the Rani of Jhansi, Taluqdars of Oudh and some other minor chiefs, none of the feudatory princes

joined the rebels. Scindhia and Holkar remained loyal although their armies revolted. The chief of Sirhind rendered excellent help to the English. Sir Dinkar Rao and Salarjung were responsible for maintaining peace in the territories of Scindhia and the Nizam. Without their devotion and sincerity, the things might have been very hot for the English. It has rightly been pointed out that the name of Salarjung deserved to be mentioned by for ever by Englishmen with gratitude and admiration.

(3) The mutineers failed on account of the lack of leadership among them. It is true that Rani of Jhansi was a capable woman but she was neither the head of all the forces nor a very experienced general. The mutineers worked without any common plan. The result was that they were defeated separately.

(4) There was no one common cause among the Indian leaders. Every one had its own axe to grind. He was not prepared to join hands with other interested parties and consequently the Indians could not derive much out of their efforts. The Mohammadans fought under the Emperor and the Hindus under Nana Sahab and Rani of Jhansi. According to Holmes, while the mutineers lacked a head, many were half-hearted and fought reluctantly against the leaders whom they had been accustomed to obey.

(5) Fortunately for the English, the Lawrences, Outram, Havelock, Nicholson and Edwardes were great personalities. They controlled the situation from the beginning to the end and the Indians were no match for them.

(6) The personal character of the Bengal troops was also responsible for the failure of the mutiny. They were arrogant and were hated in every part of India to which they were sent. At many places, the mutineers were crushed by the people themselves.

(7) The year 1857 was favourable to the British in many ways. The Crimean War and the Chinese War were just over. The British armies were free to throw their weight against the mutineers. Persia was defeated and there was no danger from that quarter. Internationally, the Indian rebels were isolated.

(8) As the English had their control over the seas, they were in a position to pour men and materials into India with practically no difficulty. Lacs of troops were at once sent to India. The Indians fought with primitive weapons. They could not fight the Enfield rifle with their Talwar. The rebels had practically no war materials at their disposal. They had with them what they had

managed to capture.

(9) The only hope of success for the mutineers was to have quick victories. Time factor was against them. It could be taken for granted that the English will be able to get reinforcements from outside.

(10) While the mutineers made appeals to all other sections of society, no appeal was made to the peasants or tillers of the soil. While all other classes were promised a better deal and a fuller pail, the peasants were ignored altogether. It has been pointed out that the inability of the rebel leaders to rally the peasants to their side doomed their cause. The rebellion got its strength from the princes, ruined noblemen and other feudal interests. These forces were incapable of overturning the British Government in India.

Effects of the mutiny: (1) The mutiny of 1857 did not leave India unaffected. According to Sir Griffin, "Perhaps a more fortunate occurrence than the mutiny of 1857 never occurred in India." It swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds. It disbanded a lazy, pampered army which thought that in its 100 years of life, it had done splendid service. It showed to the world that the English possessed courage and national spirit which made light of disaster and which did not care for the heavy odds.

(2) The mutiny was a revolt against the aggressive European innovations. The conflict between the old ideas and the new ones had to be fought out somehow. The fight was inevitable whether in 1857 on the issue of greased cartridges or otherwise. Such a conflict could not be avoided without suffering and shedding of blood.

(3) The mutiny brought about changes in the policy of the Government of India towards the Indian States. The policy of subordinate isolation was given up and a new policy of subordinate union was inaugurated. Queen Victoria declared in her Proclamation of 1858 that the British Government would not annex the Indian states. The Indian princes were assured the right of adoption and succession. They were given Sanads and certificates in recognition of their status. The Government of India also began to rely more and more on the Indian princes on account of the alienation of the feelings of the Indians.

(4) The separate army of the East India Company was abolished and it was merged with that of the Crown.

(5) The Pitt's India Act had established the system of dual control at home. The control was exercised by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. In 1858, both of them were abolished

and their place was taken by the Secretary of State and the India Council.

(6) The mutiny was stamped out by 1860 but it left deep scars. It transformed the rhythm of the life of the nation. The mutiny widened the gap between the Europeans and Indians. Smiles went out of fashion and the proper expression for India was cold ferocity. The English soldiers despised Indians, even those who were fighting on their side. They denied the Indians a common soul.

(7) The collapse of the mutiny created a misunderstanding between the Muslims and the Hindus. The Muslims had shown a keener and more widespread sympathy for the rebellion. Even in South India where their number was small, many conspiracies were found among them between 1857 and 1859. When the rebellion began, both Hindus and Muslims took part in it in large numbers. But the Muslims were more violently anti-British than the Hindus. The British feared the Muslims more than the Hindus. The result was that the hand of repression fell heavily on the Muslims than on the Hindus. Many of their leading men were hanged or exiled, *e.g.*, Nawab Sahibs of Jhajjar, Ballabharh, Faruknagar and Farukabad. Twenty four Shahzadas were hanged at Delhi on 18th November 1857 alone. Muslim quarters were everywhere the target. Muslim property was widely confiscated.

(8) The result of all this was that the Muslims came to have a sort of grievance against the Hindus. The differences between the two began to develop. The two began to drift away from each other. The problem of Hindu—Muslim unity became an impossible one.

(9) Another effect of the mutiny was that the Muslim renaissance which had been growing in Delhi before the mutiny got an irreparable setback. The cultural blossoms were blighted. According to C.F. Andrews, "It is not difficult to trace the fatal havoc to budding spiritual life which one year of mutiny wrought. Decay immediately overtook the revival of learning in Delhi from which it never recovered." Calcutta, the centre of Hindu renaissance, escaped the horrors of the mutiny and was saved.

(10) "The lessons taught by the mutiny have led to the maintenance of two great principles, of retaining in the country an irresistible force of British troops and keeping the artillery in the hands of Europeans." The native army was reduced by half. 77 regiments were disbanded. As the cost of a European soldier was 4 or 5 times

that of a Sepoy, the military budget of India swelled as a result of re-organisation. Military positions and strategic points were transferred to European troops whose number was nearly double. Sir Richard Temple wrote thus: "At every large military station in the Empire, there are (now) enough Europeans to hold their own, even in the event of a mutiny." Native artillery was abolished. In the new native army, men of higher castes were excluded. The Bengal army virtually became the Punjab army. The new army was organised on the basis of division and counterpoise.

(11) The mutiny resulted in the tightening of the control of India from London. The Indian foreign policy was linked up with European politics.

(12) As a result of the mutiny, the centre of interest in India shifted from external policy to internal development.

We may conclude with the following words of Ashoka Mehta: "The rebellion of 1857 was more than a mere Sepoy mutiny, was an eruption of the social volcano wherein many pent-up forces found vent. After the eruption, the whole social topography had changed. The scars of the rebellion remained deep and shining."

CHAPTER XIV

CANNING TO LYTTON

Lord Canning (1856-62). The most important event of the reign of Lord Canning was the Mutiny which broke out in 1857 and was suppressed in 1858. The subject has already been discussed at length.

One of the effects of the Mutiny was that the English East India Company was ended and the Government of India was taken over by the Crown. This happened in 1858 when a formal declaration to that effect was made. Lord Canning was thus the last Governor-General of the English East India Company and the first Viceroy under the Crown.

In 1861 was passed the famous Indian Councils Act. This Act provided for the setting up of legislatures in the Presidencies and the extension of the Viceroy's executive Council by the addition of additional members for legislative purposes.

In 1861 was passed a law by which Chartered High Courts were set up in place of Supreme Courts and the Adalats of the English Company.

In 1859 was passed the Bengal Rent Act. It applied to Bihar, Agra and C.P. According to it, every ryot who had held his land at the same rent for 20 years was to be treated as if he had held it since 1793. Tenants who had held land for 12 years were to enjoy occupancy rights and their rents could be enhanced only after due enquiry by a Court of law.

In 1861, Baird Smith proposed the extension of the principles of the permanent settlement of Bengal to the whole of India. In 1862, Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, also approved of the proposal. However, in the time of Lord Mayo the proposal was opposed and in the time of Lord Ripon, the proposal was completely given up.

According to the recommendations of the Wood Dispatch of 1854, universities were set up at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras on the lines of London University.

Lord Canning's Government had to face the problem of finance. There was the deficit of 36 millions. That was partly due to the

expenditure involved on the suppression of the Mutiny and partly due to the disorganisation of society and administration. The great need of the moment was economy, retrenchment and the increase in the proceeds of revenue. A large number of troops were disbanded as they were no longer required. James Wilson, a great economist of England, came to India in 1859 and was entrusted with the work of rehabilitating the finance of the country. He died within less than a year of his arrival in India and his work was carried on by Samuel Laing. Before his death, Wilson had recommended the imposition of three new taxes and those were income tax, license duty on trades and professions and an excise duty on home-grown tobacco. The proposal of income tax was accepted as an experimental measure. It was to be at the rate of 5 per cent for 5 years on incomes of Rs. 500/- and more a year. Wilson also established a uniform import duty of 10 per cent. He also provided for economies in civil and military expenditure. Salt duties were to be raised. The result of the reforms of Wilson and Laing was that by the time Lord Canning left India, there was no deficit budget.

Certain reforms were made in the army. The British learnt a lesson from the Mutiny. Rules were laid down for a definite proportion between the Indian and European soldiers. British officers were organised into three staff-corps for the three Presidencies. The European regiments of the English Company were amalgamated with the forces of the Queen. During this period, laws were codified. The Indian Penal Code which was drafted by Lord Macaulay, became law in 1858 after the necessary changes. It was followed by the Code of Criminal Procedure next year.

In 1861, a very severe famine started in North Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in some parts of the Punjab and Rajputana. The mortality was about ten per cent of the population. The famine was partly due to the after-effects of the mutiny. There was also a failure of rain and consequently of crops. A lot of money was spent by the Government to give relief to the people.

In 1859 and 1860, there took place disputes between the European Indigo planters and the Bengal peasantry. The situation became very serious and disturbances took place. A commission was appointed to investigate into the matter. It was ultimately settled by the Secretary of State that a tenant should not be liable to criminal prosecution for refusal to fulfil a civil contract to grow indigo.

As regards Lord Canning himself, it has rightly been pointed

out that no Governor-General could excel him in intellectual qualities. He worked so hard that he practically killed himself. He did not care either for physical exercise or for mental relaxation. Although he was very cold and reserved in his manners, he was dutiful, noble and generous. He was responsible for suppression of the Mutiny with great tact and energy. He was "a nobleman who never, in the midst of greatest peril, allowed his judgement to be swayed by passion or his fine sense of honour and justice to be tarnished by even a passing feeling of revenge." According to Trotter, "After all deductions, his name will stand fair in English memories as that of a fearless, true-hearted Englishman who encountered on the whole with credit the two-fold misfortune of a Great Sepoy Revolt and a predecessor unmatched in Indian history."

Lord Elgin (1862-63): Lord Elgin was the son-in-law of Lord Durham, the famous author of the Durham Report. Before his coming to India, he had already worked as Governor of Canada and Jamaica. His period of office was a brief one as he died at Dharamsala after 18 months. He merely tried to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. He avoided levying new taxes. He tried to keep down the military expenditure.

Lord Elgin held a large number of Durbars at Banaras, Kanpur, Agra and Ambala. The object of these Durbars was to bring the Indian States nearer the British Government.

In his time, the Wahabis gave trouble. They were defeated and their stronghold at Malka was completely destroyed in 1861. The Wahabis were a fanatical sect of the Muslims living on the North-West Frontiers.

Sir John Lawrence (1864-69): Sir John Lawrence came into prominence when he was appointed the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab after its annexation. It was through his tact that the Punjab remained calm during the Mutiny. He is rightly called "the saviour of India and organiser of victory." He was a very hard-working man and hardly any clerk would have worked harder than he did. His appointment was an exception to the general rule that no Indian civil servant should be appointed the Governor-General of India. His period of office was a success in every way.

Sir John Lawrence followed the so-called policy of masterly inactivity with regard to Afghanistan. He would not like to interfere into the internal affairs of their country unless some other power tried to interfere in the same country. In that case, the In-

dian armies were go to Afghanistan to help the Afghans. He refused to side with any party in the struggle for succession to the throne after the death of Dost Mohammad. He was always prepared to accept the de facto ruler of the country. This policy was followed by Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook. It was reversed by Lord Lytton with disastrous consequences.

He had to fight the Bhutan war. The Bhutanese used to make raids into the British territory. Mr. Ashley Eden was deputed to negotiate on the question of raids. The Bhutanese forced Mr. Eden to sign a humiliating treaty by which the Duars were surrendered to them. When the British Government came to know of it, it repudiated the treaty and sent a huge force. To begin with, the English were defeated. However, later on they were able to recover their position. Ultimately, a treaty was made by which the Bhutanese surrendered Duars and they were to get an annual subsidy.

In 1866, there was a terrible famine in Orissa. There was terrible loss of life. The Government utterly failed to come to the rescue of the people. There was another famine in 1868-69. It affected Rajputana and Bundhelkhand. A Famine Commission was appointed to consider the best means of fighting famines. Every effort was to be made by the Government to prevent deaths by starvation.

Lawrence did a lot for the economic progress of the country. Larger number of railways, canals and public works were started. He also started the principle of raising money for reproductive works.

John Lawrence was an advocate of the cause of the peasantry. By the Punjab Tenancy Act, the occupancy rights of the tenants were recognised in certain cases. This law is known as the "bulwark and a charter of a contented peasantry." By the Oudh Tenancy Act, about one-fifth of the total number of ryots were granted occupancy rights at fair rents. Rent was to be increased only through a Court of Law. Both these laws were passed in 1868.

Dr. Smith gives his estimate of John Lawrence in these words: "The validity of the arguments against the appointment of a member of the civil service of India to the office of the Governor-General was confirmed rather than discredited by the history of viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence. He was never able to shake off the habits of the Punjab official of old days and admittedly was too indifferent to the ordinary daily maintenance of the dignity of great office. His reputation rests upon his administration of the Punjab after the

annexation and on the invaluable services rendered by him at the time of the Mutiny, not on his work as Viceroy, which could have been done as well or better by a worse man."

Lord Mayo (1869-72): Lord Mayo succeeded Sir John Lawrence. Although he was selected by Disraeli, he was not disturbed by Gladstone when he became Prime Minister. He was popular with the Indian princes and the European community. He had a charming personality.

As regards Afghanistan, he continued the policy of Sir John Lawrence. It is true that he met Sher Ali, the Afghan ruler at Ambala in 1869, but he refused to commit himself.

Lord Mayo was able to win over Sher Ali by his tact and personal charm.

Lord Mayo was responsible for the foundation of the Mayo College at Ajmer for the education of the children of the Indian princes. Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria, visited India in 1869.

Lord Mayo started the process of decentralisation of finance in India. He took the first step in this direction in 1870. The provinces were given a certain amount of money and also certain departments.

Lord Mayo was assassinated in 1872 by a fanatical Pathan in the Andaman Islands. According to Dr. Smith, "Lord Mayo during his three years of office justified the hopes of the statesmen who had appointed him, and proved himself to be a thoroughly efficient Governor-General and Viceroy. His exceptional personal charm endeared him especially to the rulers of the protected states who regarded him as the ideal representative of the sovereign. He worked hard at all the problems of administration and lost his life owing to his zealous efforts to meet the defective system of Government in the convict settlements of the Andaman islands." According to P.E. Roberts, "His winning manners and universal popularity were more than engaging personal attributes—they became imperial assets of great value. They won for him the real regard and willing cooperation of the protected chiefs and enabled the complicated mechanism of Indian bureaucracy during his viceroyalty, to work with a minimum of friction and a maximum of efficiency." In the words of Rushbrook Williams, "With the Governor-Generalship of Lord Mayo, we may trace the beginning of that steady development of India along lines leading inevitably to the direction of responsible

Government within the British Commonwealth."

Lord Northbrook (1872-76): Lord Northbrook was a man of caution. He was possessed of a high character and sound administrative experience. He did not try to introduce anything new and merely followed the policy of his predecessors. To quote him, "The main object of my policy was to let things go quietly on—to give the land rest." He declared in 1873 that "my aim has been to take off taxes and stop unnecessary legislation." He was not a fluent writer or speaker but possessed considerable independence of judgement.

As regards Afghanistan, he continued the policy of Lawrence and Mayo. He held a conference with the Afghan envoy at Simla in 1873 but refused to commit himself. He resigned in 1876 as his views differed with the Government of Disraeli with regard to the policy in Afghanistan.

In his time, the Kuka movement got a momentum in the Punjab. The Kukas were very daring and murdered many Muslims. Every punishment awarded to the Kukas added to their fanaticism and strength. In 1878, a band of these Kukas attacked the Fort of Malodh near Ludhiana. Another band tried to enter the town of Malerkotla. An attempt was made to capture the treasury and make the people revolt. The Government took timely action. The Deputy Commissioner was able to suppress the rebels. After a summary trial, 50 persons were blown away by guns. There was a lot of agitation and both the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner were dismissed.

During his period of office, the Gaekwad of Baroda was tried by a commission on the charge of torture of women, attempt to poison the British Resident, spoliation of merchants and banks and mal-treatment of the relatives of his late brother. The result of the trial was unfortunate. The official members held the Gaekwad of Baroda guilty, while the non-official members held him to be non-guilty. In spite of this, the Gaekwad was removed from his Gaddi on ground of mis-Government and misconduct. The Rajah was sent away to Madras.

In 1873-74, a famine broke out in Bihar and a part of Bengal. A lot of money was spent to lessen the sufferings of the people.

Lord Lytton (1876-80): Lord Lytton had great administrative experience at the time of his appointment. He was a great writer and a brilliant speaker. He was particularly sent by Dis-

raeli to inaugurate a new spirited foreign policy towards Afghanistan. The details of his Afghan policy are given on some other page. Suffice it to say that he precipitated the second Afghan War and was responsible for the disasters which the Indian troops met there. He has been universally condemned for his Afghan policy.

He was responsible for passing the Vernacular Press Act. The details of this Act are given in the Chapter on the history of the press. This Act was a discriminatory one and no wonder the Indians condemned him for that.

Lord Lytton suggested the formation of an Indian Privy Council of ruling chiefs to advise the Viceroy. His suggestion was not accepted, but a similar thing was later on set up in India after passing of the Government of India Act, 1919 in the form of Narendra Mandal or Chamber of Princes.

Lord Lytton was opposed to the tendency of the courts of India to pass lenient punishments in those cases in which the Europeans were involved.

The British Parliament passed the Royal Titles Act which conferred upon the sovereign of England the title of Kaiser-i-Hind. Lord Lytton held in 1877 a magnificent Durbar at Delhi and Queen Victoria was proclaimed the Empress of Delhi. The effect of this was the lowering of the position of the native princes. However, it was merely a formal declaration of a patent fact.

In 1866-78, a very severe famine visited Madras, Bombay, Mysore, Hyderabad and some parts of the Punjab and C.P. Famine was followed by cholera and fever. Owing to the mis-management and defective relief measures of the Madras Government, there was a terrible loss of life. It took two years to check the famine. The sufferings of the people forced the Government to examine thoroughly the whole question of famine—relief whenever it occurred. A Famine Commission was appointed to go into the whole question of famine relief. The Commission submitted a report which forms the foundation of the existing relief measures. The main principles adopted were the employment of the able-bodied persons on relief works. Those who were unable to do any work were to be given gratuitous help by the Government. A Famine Fund was to be set up in every province and the object of every province was to contribute every year towards that Fund. That Fund was to be allowed to grow so that the same may be used at the time of emergency. Railways were constructed and

canals were to be dug to meet the danger of famines. According to Smith, "Lord Lytton deserves high credit for sound views on ^{famine} foreign policy, thoroughly thought out and expressed with forceful lucidity. The whole existing system of famine administration rests on the foundation well and truly laid by him."

Many financial reforms were carried out in the time of Lord Lytton. These were partly due to the efforts of John Strachy who became the Finance Member after giving up the Lieutenant-Governorship of North Western Province. Before Lytton, salt tax was levied at different rates in different provinces. Negotiations were made with the various native states which were producing salt and they were asked to give up their right of manufacturing salt in return for some compensation. The result of this was that salt duties were equalised in all the parts of India. The customs-lines or hedges created for the purpose of preventing the import of untaxed salt from native states into British India were abolished.

Lord Lytton followed a policy of free trade. He abolished import duties on 29 commodities. He removed 5 per cent duties on cotton cloth. The result was that there was a lot of expansion in the over seas trade.

Lord Mayo had taken the first step towards financial decentralisation. In 1877, Lord Lytton took the second step. Some more departments were given to the provinces and more sources of revenues were given to them. The object was to give to provinces incentive for efficiency and economy.

Lord Lytton opened the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. Later on, it grew into the Aligarh University.

It had been declared in 1833 that no native of British India was to be debarred from holding any office or place on account of his nationality, race and religion, but nothing had been done to redeem these promises. In 1879, Lord Lytton founded statutory Civil Service. It was provided that one-sixth of the posts hitherto held by the members of the Covenanted Civil Service were in future to be filled by men of Indian birth nominated by the Local Governments in India with the approval of the Viceroy-in-Council and the Secretary of State. Candidates were to serve two years of probation and pass special tests before their final appointment. The Statutory Civil Service held a position mid-way between the Covenanted and the Un-Covenanted Service. The new scheme was not a success. It did not succeed in attracting persons from the higher classes. The

service was recruited from men who would ordinarily have entered the subordinate service. No wonder, it was abolished after 8 years.

Estimate of Lytton: No Viceroy has been subjected to so much of criticism as Lord Lytton. His Afghan policy was condemned not only by the people of India but also by the leaders of the Liberal Party and a majority of the Englishmen. It was undoubtedly "a calamitous and unrighteous blunder and on that head alone Lord Lytton's claims to statesmanship are justly forfeit." He is held guilty for the terrible loss of life on account of the famine. While the people were dying of famine, he was busy in holding the Durbar at Delhi. However, it cannot be denied that he was a man of great ideas. Some of his schemes could not be realised because they were before time. He was in favour of a gold standard for India and the country would have gained if his suggestion would have been accepted. He was in favour of separating the North Western Frontier Province from the Punjab and putting the same under the direct control of the Central Government. His reform was actually carried out by Lord Curzon. It has already been pointed out that his scheme of an Indian Privy Council was given a practical shape in the form of a Chamber of Princes. He also wanted that the Europeans should not be given any lenient treatment when they were involved in cases.

Dr. Smith sums up his estimate of Lytton in these words: "His reputation has been obscured by the lack of adequate biography; by certain foreign peculiarities of manner and habits which offended conventional opinion; and above all by reason of the bitter partisan controversies aroused by his Afghan policy executed by him under the instruction of Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, the equally venomous criticism of the Vernacular Press Act further discredited him in the popular opinion. These causes have prevented Lytton from attaining the enduring fame promised by the Prime Minister and perhaps may be said to have left a general impression that he was a failure as a ruler of India. If such an opinion exists, it is based upon inefficient grounds. The best parts of his internal policy were of a permanent value, and served as the basis of developments effected by his successors; while the most essential measures of his Afghan policy, by which I mean the occupation of Quetta and the securing of the Khurram Valley, either remained undisturbed or if reversed for a time, had to be reaffirmed a few years later."

CHAPTER XV

RIPON TO ELGIN (1880-1898)

Lord Ripon (1880-84): Lord Ripon resembled Lord William Bentinck in many ways. His political outlook was the very anti-thesis of Lords Lytton and Curzon. He was a true Liberal of the Gladstonian era and had firm faith in peace, self-Government and laissez-faire. So far, the Government of India had merely been doing what it considered to be in the best interests of the country without consulting the people as to what their aspirations and feelings were. According to Burke, "The English nation in India is nothing but a seminary for the succession of officers. They are a nation of placemen. They are a republic, a commonwealth without a people. They are a state made up wholly of magistrates." According to Montgomery, "In India, we set aside the people altogether; we devise and say that such a thing is a good thing to be done and we carry it out without asking them very much about it." The Indians who were receiving western education and who had come into contact with western democratic institutions, aspired to introduce the same in their country. Lord Ripon sympathised with their aspirations and took steps in that direction. In his famous resolution on Local Self-Government, Lord Ripon declared that his object was to give popular and political education to the people of India. He sincerely desired them to take their first lessons in democracy in the Local Boards which were to be set up in every part of the country. It is true that many Englishmen did not share his views and as a matter of fact opposed him, but Lord Ripon continued to do what he thought to be in the best interests of the people of India.

Lord Ripon brought the Second Afghan War to a close. He also repealed in 1882 the Vernacular Press Act which had been passed by Lord Lytton and which was severely criticised by the Indians.

Local-Self-Government: As regards Local-Self-Government, Lord Ripon passed a resolution in 1881. It was stated therein that time had come when further steps should be taken to develop the idea of Lord Mayo's Government. Agreements with Provincial Governments regarding finance should not ignore the

question of Local Self-Government. Provincial Governments were directed to transfer considerable revenues to the local bodies and the latter were to deal with those matters which concerned their localities. The Provincial Governments were asked to make a careful study of the provincial, local and municipal Acts. The object of the inquiry was to find out as to what sources of revenues could be transferred from the provincial heads to the local heads so that the same could be administered by municipal committees. It was also to be determined as to what subjects could be given specially to the local bodies. Only those items were to be transferred which could be understood and appreciated by the people.

In accordance with the Resolution of 1881, letters were issued to the Provincial Governments. In those letters, the Government of India hinted on those items of expenditure which could be conveniently transferred to the local bodies. The Provincial Governments were asked to suggest other subjects that could be transferred to the local bodies. Provincial Governments were told that "it would be hopeless to expect any real development of self-Government if the local bodies were subject to check or interference in matters of detail." It was also pointed out that the Governor-General was anxious to give the fullest possible liberty of action to the local bodies.

The next step was taken by Ripon in 1882 when he issued his famous resolution. In that Resolution, Lord Ripon made it clear that the expansion of Local Self-Government was not expected to bring about a change for the better from the point of view of efficiency. To quote him, "It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education." However, he hinted at the possibility of improved efficiency after some time. However, there were to be failures at the beginning. Success was possible if the people got encouragement and support from the officials of the Government.

Lord Ripon declared that he was not prepared to admit that the people of India were indifferent towards self-government. As a matter of fact, a large number of intelligent and public-spirited persons were required to lend their services for the cause of the people. Ripon's view was that the system of Local Government had not been satisfactorily tried in the country. The old system was over-ridden and practically crushed initiative by direct official interference.

He emphasized the necessity of putting more faith in the non-official members of the local bodies.

Provincial Governments were directed to maintain and extend a net-work of Local Boards in every district. The area of jurisdiction of every Local Board was to be so small that both local knowledge and local interest on the part of the people could be secured. The number of non-official members was to be very large and the official element was not to exceed one-third of the whole. Wherever possible, the system of election was to be introduced in Local Boards. The system of elections was to be introduced into as many places as possible.

With regard to the control of the Government, it was stated that it should be exercised from without and not from within. The Government should revise and check the acts of the local bodies and not dictate them. The sanction of the Government should be made necessary to legalise certain acts of the local bodies. The number of the cases where sanction was required, was to be large at the beginning but the same was to be reduced later on. The Government was to be given the authority to set aside altogether the proceedings of the Local Boards or to suspend them temporarily in the case of crisis and continued neglect of duty. The power of absolute supersession was to be exercised only with the consent of the Government of India. To quote him, "It should be the general function of the executive officers of Government to watch, especially at the outset, the proceedings of the Local Boards, to point out to them matters calling for their consideration, to draw their attention to any neglect of duty on their part, and to check by official remonstrance any attempt to exceed their proper functions or to act illegally or in any arbitrary or unreasonable manner."

Indians were to be encouraged to become members of the local bodies and the Government was to do its utmost to help them in the efficient discharge of their duties.

For his reforms in the field of Local-Self-Government, Lord Ripon is rightly called the father of Local-Self-Government in the country.

Hunter Commission on Education: In 1882, Lord Ripon appointed the Hunter Commission to inquire into the manner in which the principles of the Wood's Dispatch of 1854 had worked in the country and also to recommend the future course of action. The Hunter Commission recommended the withdrawal of the state

from the direct support and management of institutions of higher education. This work was to be given to the Indians if there was any reasonable prospect of its being done efficiently. Ordinary and special grants were to be made to colleges. The professors of the colleges were to give series of lectures on the duties of men and citizens. Some special steps were to be taken to spread education among the Muslims. All elementary schools were to be inspected and supervised by the educational officers of the Government. A part of the Provincial revenues was to be earmarked for purposes of education. The recommendations of the Commission were accepted by the Government and carried out.

Decentralisation of Finance: In 1882, Lord Ripon introduced the system of Imperial, Divided and Provincial heads of revenue. Income from the Imperial heads was to go to the Central Government. Provinces were to get all the income from the Departments under their control. Income from the Divided heads was to be divided between the Imperial Government and the Provincial Governments. The deficit in the Provincial budgets was to be made good by the Imperial Government by giving a fixed percentage of land revenue. This settlement was made for 5 years and was renewed in 1887, 1892 and 1897. Lord Ripon took keen interest in the welfare of the people. In 1881 was passed the First Factory Act to regulate and improve the conditions of labour in Indian factories. Children between the age of 7 and 12 were not to work more than 9 hours a day. Dangerous machinery was to be properly fenced and inspectors were to be appointed for the purpose of inspection.

Another popular step taken by Lord Ripon was that he restored in 1881 the Raja of Mysore. However, certain restrictions were put on the exercise of the power by the Rajah. All laws in force at the time of rendition of Mysore were to remain in force and efficiently administered. No material change was to be made by the Rajah in the system of Government without consulting the Governor-General.

As regards Kohlapur its Rajah became insane in 1882. When the Rajah died, he was succeeded by another prince.

Lord Ripon completed the free trade policy initiated by Lord Northbrook and Lord Lytton. In 1882, the Finance Minister removed from the tariff all the 5 percent ad valorem import duties. Duties were left on things like salt, wines, spirits etc. These duties

were retained for purely political reasons.

In 1882, salt tax was lowered throughout India. In the field of revenue, Ripon was not successful. His view was that in the Districts which have once been surveyed and assessed, the Government should pledge itself to make no other increase of revenue except on the sole ground of a rise in prices. The compromise formula hit neither of the parties. His suggestion was not accepted.

Ilbert Bill: Ilbert was the law Member for the Government of India. He attempted to change the law of the country with regard to the trial of the Europeans. The Criminal Procedure Code of 1873 laid down that except in the Presidency towns, no magistrate or sessions judge could try a European British subject unless he himself was a European by birth. By this time, many Indian members of the Covenanted Civil Service were occupying posts of responsibility and dignity. Justice demanded that the Indian magistrates should be given the same authority as their European counterparts. The Government of India made up its mind to abolish the judicial dis-qualifications based on race distinction.

Mr. Ilbert prepared a Bill in 1883 to bring the Indian and European magistrates on the same footing. There was a lot of agitation from the Europeans against this move. The Europeans boycotted the Viceroy. They went to the extent of insulting and conspiring to send Lord Ripon home. The Europeans pointed out to the danger of their wives being tried and punished by the copper-coloured Indian magistrates.

So great was the agitation that the Government of India had to bow before it. Ultimately, a compromise formula was arrived at. It was provided that every European subject brought before a district magistrate or Sessions judge, whether Indian or European, could claim to be tried by a jury.

According to Thompson and Garratt, "No educated Indian has ever forgotten the lesson of the Ilbert Bill. They were accustomed to rulers who should be influenced by cajolery, and entreaty, bribery or threats of revolt, but it was an entirely new experience to see a Government, and especially the aloof and powerful British Government, deflected from its purpose by news paper abuse and an exhibition of bad manners. In later days Indian nationalism was to acquire some of its techniques from the suffrage movement in England, and more from Irish Home Rulers, but it was the successful agitation against the Ilbert Bill which decided the general lines

upon which the Indian politician was to run his campaigns. It is significant that the two years which followed this agitation saw the foundation of the Indian National Congress and the European Association. "Again, Political interest received a great stimulus from the European opposition to the Ilbert Bill. This unhappy dispute served to emphasize the inferior status of Indians. The point was driven home by a succession of cases where man-slaughter of Indians was alleged against British soldiers and civilians. These cases were often treated by the courts in a manner suggesting the half conscious recognition that an Indian life was not so valuable as that of a European. The nationalist movement began to take shape.

According to Roberts, if "Lord Ripon had forfeited popularity among his countrymen he had at any rate won, by his championship of their cause, the enthusiastic devotion and support of men of Indian birth. On his resignation in 1884, the route of his journey to Bombay was so lined with acclaiming and admiring crowds and his name has ever since been enshrined in the hearts of the nationalist part in India as the great champion of their cause on the Viceregal throne."

Lord Dufferin (1884-88): At the time of his appointment as Viceroy, Lord Dufferin had a great administrative and diplomatic experience at his back. He had acted as British Ambassador in Turkey and Russia. He was also Governor-General of Canada from 1872 to 1878. He was an eloquent speaker and a man of great personal charm. As he was old, he did not introduce any new reforms and was contented to continue the old ones. According to Lecky, "He was a great diplomatist and a great statesman; a man who possessed to a degree what was hardly equal by any of his contemporaries, the qualities of brilliance and the qualities of charm; a man of unqualified tact and versatility, and who combined with these gifts rare sagacity of judgement and a singularly firm and tenacious will. His rare gifts of carrying out great works with the minimum of friction was perhaps the distinctive feature of his great Indian career."

Panjdeh Affair (1884): Reference may be made to the famous Panjdeh incident which brought Russia and Great Britain on the brink of war. In 1884, the Russians annexed Merv. This created great anxiety in the mind of the Government of India and that of Great Britain. A Commission was appointed to fix the northern boundary line of Afghanistan. A difficulty arose with

regard to the position of Panjdeh which was under the Afghan rule. The Russian General ordered the Afghans to leave Panjdeh and when his order was not carried out, he drove the Afghans away forcibly. Finding the situation serious, the Indian armies were assembled at Quetta and the Russian armies at Herat. However, "the disastrous issue of war was averted by the labours of diplomatists, the tact of Lord Dufferin and above all by the shrewd commonsense of Abdur Rahman." Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan, declared that he was not sure whether Panjdeh belonged to him or not and he was also not very desirous of keeping the same in his possession. He declared his willingness to give up his claim of Panjdeh if he was given compensation anywhere else. The Amir was determined to avoid a clash between Great Britain and Russia. He knew full well that in the event of a war between the two countries, his country was to suffer because it was to become the theatre of war. Abdur Rahman rightly pointed out that "Afghanistan was between two mill-stones and it had been already ground to powder." To quote Abdur Rahman again, "My country is like a poor goat on whom the lion and the bear have both fixed their eyes and without the protection and help of the Almighty Deliverer, the victim cannot escape very long."

When such was the attitude of the Amir, there was no justification for the British troops to clash with the Russian troops. There were lengthy negotiations between Russia, Great Britain, India and Afghanistan and ultimately the line of demarcation was settled in July 1887. Abdur Rahman was not a loser in any way. He did not lose either money or any territory.

Lord Dufferin entertained Abdur Rahman at a Durbar at Rawalpindi and assured him of British help against foreign aggression.

Third Burmese War: The real cause of the Third Burmese War was the attempt of King Theebaw of Burma to secure French help against the British by giving them special privileges and concessions. The Burmese mission visited Paris in 1883 and in 1885 a French Envoy went to Mandalay. King Theebaw was a savage and cruel despot and he imposed a heavy fine upon the Bombay and Burma Trading Company and ordered the arrest of its officials. Lord Dufferin insisted on an enquiry to be made into the matter. King Theebaw refused to reopen the question. Lord Dufferin sent an ultimatum demanding that King Theebaw should admit a British Envoy at Mandalay, suspend proceedings against the Company

till the arrival of the Envoy, have no external relations with foreign countries except on the advice of the Government of India and grant the British the right to trade with the Chinese through his dominions. King Theebaw refused to accept the terms of the ultimatum and consequently war was declared. The Burmese could not stand the British armies and surrendered. King Theebaw was sent to India and Upper Burma was annexed to India in 1886.

British interference in Upper Burma has been the subject of criticism from many quarters. It is contended that it was no business of the British Government to interfere into Upper Burma even if its ruler was a despot and a savage. The British Government had no justification to interfere into the internal affairs of a neighbouring country whose ruler was absolutely independent to follow any policy he liked. If King Theebaw wanted to have friendly relations with France, it was no business of the British to intervene. It seems that the British Government was determined to check the advance of France into Upper Burma. To quote Lord Dufferin, "If the French proceedings should eventuate in any serious attempt to forestall us in Upper Burma, I should not hesitate to annex the country." According to Roberts, "The ethics of the relations between powerful Western Empires and weak Eastern nations are admittedly difficult to disentangle but it is to be feared that the abstract rights of semi-civilized countries receive scant recognition, when great colonizing powers converge upon them."

Reference may be made to some other events of the time of Lord Dufferin. It was in 1885 that the first session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay. On 16th February 1887 was celebrated the Silver Jubilee of Queen Victoria. Many Indian princes went to London to see the celebrations in June 1887.

Three Tenancy Acts were passed in the time of Lord Dufferin. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 gave greater security of tenure to the tenants. Their rents were not to be increased arbitrarily. The Oudh Tenancy Act of 1886 aimed at strengthening the position of the tenants by granting them a statutory holding for 7 years with a right to compensation for improvements. The Punjab Tenancy Act of 1887 gave the tenants a limited guarantee against eviction and enhancement of rent.

The Age of Consent Act was passed in the time of Lord Dufferin. By this Act, the age-limit within which protection was given to young girls was raised from 10 to 12. This was intended to im-

prove the lot of women in the country.

In 1886, Lord Dufferin gave the Fort of Gwalior to Maharaja Scindia. Morar was given up in exchange for the town of Jhansi.

Lord Lansdowne (1888-93): Lord Lansdowne belonged to the forward school of thought. He devoted special attention to the question of frontier defence. Between the territory of Afghanistan and that of British India, there is the area known as the tribal territory. The British wanted to conquer it although it was a difficult task. This was not liked by the Afghans. Certain events brought Afghanistan and the Government of India on the brink of war. The Afghans saw with suspicion the completion of the British railway upto the Bolan Pass. The Commander-in-Chief of India, Lord Roberts, behaved in an aggressive way towards the tribal people. In 1890, a British Envoy went to Chitral. Happily, the clash between the two countries was avoided and a satisfactory agreement was arrived at. Sir Mortimer Durand was sent to Kabul. Durand travelled without any escort of his own to Kabul and showed that he had complete faith in the Afghans. Arrangements were made to demarcate the boundary line between India and Afghanistan. This line is known as the Durand Line.

The Amir of Kabul agreed not to interfere into the affairs of the tribal area. As a result of the demarcation of the boundary line, the Amir got certain districts and bound himself not to interfere in Swat, Dir, Chitral and Bajaur. The Amir also gave up his claim to Chaman. His subsidy was increased from Rs. 12 lacs to 18 lacs a year. He was to be allowed to purchase and import munitions of war and the Government of India was not to raise any objection.

In the case of Manipur, there was a disputed succession. The Commissioner of Assam was deputed to settle the matter but he was treacherously murdered by the Commander-in-Chief of Manipur. The result was that the Government of India sent its troops to Manipur. The Commander-in-Chief and his accomplices were captured and hanged. A boy Rajah was placed on the throne under the guardianship of the Political Resident during his minority.

After the death of Sir Robert Sandeman, the Khan of Kalat was found guilty of many acts of violence including the murder of his Wazir, his father and son. He was summoned to Quetta and asked to abdicate. His son was put on the throne and acknowledged as a ruler.

In the case of Kashmir, certain charges were brought against

ts Maharaja. Those charges were vague and un-substantiated. In spite of this, the Maharaja was asked to abdicate. The work of administration was put into the hands of a Council of Regency. Kashmir was restored to its ruler in 1905 after the lapse of 16 years.

In 1892 was passed the famous Indian Councils Act which was in some ways an improvement on the Act of 1892.

The new factory law was passed which made certain improvements on the Factory Act of 1881 which was passed in the time of Lord Ripon. According to the new Act, the hours of employment for women were limited to 11 hours a day. The minimum age for children was raised from 7 to 9 and their hours of work were restricted to 7 hours. Night work was absolutely forbidden for children. A weekly holiday was prescribed for all factory hands.

On account of the depreciation in the value of silver, there was a dislocation of the Indian finance. The Government of India closed the mints against the un-restricted coinage of silver and made gold the legal tender. The rate of exchange was fixed at Rs. 15/- to a sovereign.

The armies of the Indian States were organised and came to be known as the Imperial Service Troops.

Lord Elgin II. (1894-99): Lord Elgin II was a sound and cautious administrator but there was a lot of trouble during the tenure of his office on account of famine, plague and frontier wars.

Reference may be made first of all to the affairs of Chitral which lies to the north-east of Kashmir. In 1895, the Mehtar or ruler of Chitral was assassinated and there was a disputed succession. The British Political Agent was besieged. The Government of India sent an army of 15,000 men. However, a new Ministry came to power in England and ordered the evacuation of the country. But before that decision could be carried out, a new Ministry came to power and that reversed the order of evacuation.

In 1897, the Afridis closed the Khyber Pass. The activities of the British in that area had created strong suspicions in the minds of the Afridis and no wonder a kind of Jihad was started against the British. There was a general revolt throughout that part of the country. Two expeditions were sent and a large number of troops were employed. The result was that the rebels surrendered, laid down their arms and paid fines imposed on them.

In 1896, the bubonic plague started at Bombay. By slow degrees, it spread to the various parts of the country and resulted

in a very heavy loss of life. The measures adopted by the Government to check it led to a lot of misunderstanding and unpleasantness among the people. Two British officers at Poona were murdered.

Between 1896 and 1898, there took place a severe famine in U.P., C.P., Bihar and the Hissar District of the Punjab. A Commission was appointed in 1898 to go into the question of famines once again.

During this period, the Government of India was required to tackle the problem of opium production. A Commission known as the Opium Commission had been appointed in 1893 to inquire and report on the effects of the use of opium on the health of the people. As the production of opium was the monopoly of the Government, the Government of India was making huge profits by exporting the same to China. Protests were raised against the practice. The report of the Commission was that the evil effects of opium were exaggerated. The Government of India could not afford to give up its revenues from the production of opium. It was also pointed out that if opium was not imported from India into China, the people of China will use a substitute of an inferior quality and that will have a worse effect. Ultimately, it was decided to reduce the quantity of opium to be sent to China.

A reform was also made in the army. Formerly, there used to be separate Commanders-in-Chief of the three Presidencies. According to the new arrangement, there was to be one Commander-in-Chief of India and under him were put Lieutenant-Generals in the various provinces.

CHAPTER XVI

LORD CURZON (1899-1905)

Lord Curzon was one of the greatest and most influential Governors-General of India. He was born in 1859 and entered into Parliament in 1886. Before his appointment as Governor-General of India, he worked as Under Secretary of State for India. He made a state-entry in Calcutta on 3rd January 1899. A young man of 40, he was full of vigour and energy. He had already visited India four times and possessed an intimate knowledge of the East. He had written three important books on Asian questions. He spent six eventful years in India and can be compared only with Lord Dalhousie. He worked hard not only himself but practically drove his subordinates to hard work.

Curzon's foreign policy: (1) His tribal area policy:

When Lord Curzon assumed office, the tribal area on the North Western Frontier of India demanded his immediate attention. It has already been pointed out that in the time of Elgin II there arose trouble in Chitral and British forces were sent there to maintain law and order. Those forces were not withdrawn. There was also a Jihad against the British and the English sent two expeditions to meet the situation. In 1899, about 10,000 troops were still in Chitral, the Tochi Valley, Landi Kotal and the Khyber Pass. Lord Curzon himself belonged to the forward school of thought and it might have been expected that he would follow a policy of further penetration into the tribal area. However, Lord Curzon followed neither the forward policy nor "back to the Indus" policy. He followed a middle-of-the-road policy. He was not prepared to evacuate Chitral, Quetta and the other frontier posts occupied by the British, but at the same time he was not prepared to carry the policy to its logical conclusion.

What Lord Cornwallis actually did was that he ordered the gradual withdrawal of the British troops from the tribal area. The place of these British troops was taken over by the tribal levies which were trained and commanded by British officers. To give only one example, the Afridis of the Khyber Rifles were put in charge of the Khyber Pass. Strategic railways were constructed up to

Dargai, Jamrud and Thal. Jamrud was at the entrance of the Khyber Pass and Thal was at the gate of the Kurram Valley. The Government of India put a limit on the import of arms and ammunition into the tribal area. The people of the tribal areas were warned that the Government of India would respect their independence, but their outrages on the Indian soil will not be tolerated. The Government of India recruited a special police force for the purpose of protecting the people of India from the tribal raids. The members of this police were always to be on their guard to meet any attack at any time and also to pursue the raiders into the tribal area. Roads were constructed in the tribal area so that there may be no difficulty if the raiders were to be pursued in the tribal territory. The tribal people were given a lot of work at the time of construction of these roads and their maintenance was also given to them so that they may be able to make some money. The Indian troops which were withdrawn from the tribal area were stationed at the cantonments which were established on the borders of the tribal area. These cantonments were linked up with roads. The object of all these measures was to enable the Government of India to rush reinforcements into the tribal area at the time of an emergency.

Previous to Lord Curzon, the North-West frontier districts were under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Government of India had no direct control over them. The result was that everything had to be done through the Punjab Government. This resulted in a lot of delay. Moreover, on account of the pre-occupation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab with the Punjab affairs, the problems of the North West Frontier were not given the attention that was due to them. That resulted in inefficiency. Lord Lytton had suggested the creation of a separate province under the direct control of the Government of India. However, his suggestion had not been accepted. In 1901, Lord Curzon was able to set up a separate North-Western Frontier Province under the control of a Chief Commissioner who was directly responsible to the Government of India. The new province had an area of 40,000 sq. miles. The move was opposed by some officials of the Punjab, but that had no effect.

The policy of Lord Curzon towards the tribal area was followed by his successors. Lord Curzon himself defended his policy in 1908 in these words: "If anybody had been disposed to doubt the success of the scheme of frontier policy which has now been in

existence for 10 years, his doubts must have been dispelled, and I hope that we shall now hear no more of the wild-cat schemes of advancing into ribal territories, annexing up to the border, and driving routes through the tribal country."

(2) **Afghanistan:** The relations of the Government of India with Afghanistan were not very cordial from the time of Lord Elgin II. Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Kabul, was in a very difficult position. He was accused by the British Government of creating trouble on his side of the frontier against the British. The Afghans accused him of a weak policy towards the Government of India. On the whole, he followed a policy of caution. He asked his countrymen to maintain peace and not to talk in terms of war. He declared that when the time for war came, he would himself lead them against the British. Unfortunately, Abdur Rahman died in 1901. His son, Habib Ullah, came to the throne without any war of succession, but the relation of the Government of India with him were not cordial. That was due to the difference of opinion with regard to the interpretation of the treaty between Abdur Rahman and the Government of India. The point of view of the Government of India was that the treaty was a personal one and consequently a new treaty had to be entered into with Habib Ullah. The contention of Habib Ullah was that the treaty was between the two countries and consequently there was no necessity of a revision or reaffirmation at the time of a new succession. This resulted in a deadlock. The new Amir did not receive the subsidy which his father was getting from the Government of India and there was practically no intercourse between Afghanistan and the Government of India for three years.

In 1904, Lord Curzon was away to England and in his absence Lord Ampthill acted as the Viceroy. He sent Sir Louis Dane on a mission to Kabul. That mission remained in Kabul for about three months and a half. It is true that certain concessions were made to the Amir of Kabul and his interpretation of the treaty was accepted, and his title of "His Majesty" was recognised, friendly relations were also established between the countries. The Amir agreed to draw the arrears of his subsidy.

(3) **Persian Gulf:** In the time of Lord Curzon, efforts were made by certain powers to establish their hold in one part or the other of Persia, but all those attempts were foiled by the vigilant Viceroy. In 1898, the Sultan of Oman gave to the French Government

a coaling station with the right to fortify it. This place was near Muscat. When Lord Curzon came to know of it in 1899, he sent a naval squadron. The Sultan was threatened that if he did not withdraw the concession, strong action will be taken against him. The Sultan submitted and cancelled the concession.

In 1900, the Russians tried to establish a coaling station on the northern shore of the entrance to the Persian Gulf. That attempt was also foiled.

In 1899, the Government of India entered into an agreement that the ruler of Koweit by which he bound himself not to make any concession to any foreign power. The result was that when Germany approached him for a site for the terminus of the Berlin-Bagdad railway, he refused.

In 1903, Lord Lansdowne, the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, declared that Great Britain would regard the establishment of a naval base or a fortified post in the Persian Gulf by any power "as a very grave menace to British interests which we should certainly resist with all the means at our disposal."

It is true that in certain cases Lord Curzon's policy towards the Persian Gulf was too provocative, but that helped to make the Persian Gulf secure for the British Government. No foreign power was allowed to have a footing from which it might challenge the British authority.

(4) **Tibet:** As regards the relations of the Government of India with Tibet, it was Warren Hastings who sent in 1774-5 Mr. George Bolgle to Lhasa. In 1783, Samuel Turner was sent. In 1811-12, Manning went to Lhasa and met the Dalai Lama. In 1885-6, the Chinese Government gave permission for a British commercial mission to Tibet. In 1886, the Tibetians invaded Sikkim, but they were beaten back. In 1890, a convention settled the frontier between Sikkim and Tibet. In 1893, a trade mart was established at Yatung. In spite of all this, the Tibetians were not willing to have free intercourse with India "except through fear of something which they may regard as a greater calamity."

When Lord Curzon became the Governor-General, certain new factors made their appearance. The people of Tibet began to show a strong desire to become independent of China. The new Dalai Lama proved himself to be a strong ruler. He was influenced by Mr. Dorjjeff who was a Russian subject by birth. Mr. Dorjjeff had gone to Russia to collect money from the Budhists in the territory

of the Czar. In 1900 and 1901, Dorjjeff was received by the Czar of Russia. The Russian press gave a lot of importance to the visits of Dorjjeff to their country. No wonder, there was a lot of uneasiness in the Government of India. Lord Curzon was not prepared to tolerate the increase of Russian influence at the capital of Tibet. It is true that the Russian Foreign Minister categorically stated that the visits of Dorjjeff had absolutely no political importance, but that did not remove the suspicions of the Government of India. It could not be denied that the new Dalai Lama was himself in favour of increasing the Russian influence in his country with a view to oust the Chinese influence.

Lord Curzon was in favour of sending a mission to Tibet. It was contended that the isolation of the Government of Tibet "is not compatible either with proximity to the territories of a great civilised power at whose hands the Tibetan Government enjoys the fullest opportunities both for intercourse and trade, or that due respect for the treaty stipulations into which the Chinese Government had entered on its behalf". The home Government was not in favour of sending a mission to Tibet. It was thinking more in terms of establishing friendly relations with Russia than to antagonise her by sending a mission to Tibet. The Government of India pressed hard but the home Government followed delaying tactics. Ultimately, the home Government agreed to the dispatch of a mission under Younghusband. Once the mission started, it went on and on till it reached Lhasa itself. The resistance by the Tibetans was futile.

Younghusband entered into a treaty with the Dalai Lama and that treaty is known as the treaty of Lhasa (1904). According to this treaty, the Chumbi Valley was to be occupied by the British troops till the whole of the war indemnity was paid. The amount of indemnity was fixed at Rs. 75 lacs and it was to be paid in 75 equal instalments. Trade marts were to be established at Yatung, Gyantse and Gurtok. A British commercial agent was to be stationed at Gyantse but he was given the power to go to Lhasa if circumstances required. Great Britain was given complete control over the foreign policy of Tibet. No agent of any foreign power was to be allowed in Tibet. No part of Tibetan territory was to be given to any other country. No concessions were to be granted to any foreign power in the form of railways, roads, telegraph etc. If such concessions were given to any power, similar concessions had to be given to the British Government.

Younghusband had gone beyond the powers given to him and no wonder the home Government refused to accept the treaty of Lhasa. The Russian Government protested. Ultimately, in spite of the opposition of Lord Curzon, the treaty of Lhasa was revised. The war indemnity was reduced from Rs. 75 lacs to Rs. 25 lacs. It was also provided that after 3 annual instalments were paid, the British troops were to withdraw from the Chumbi valley. The British agent at Gyantse was not to be allowed to go to Lhasa.

There has been a lot of controversy with regard to the Tibetan policy of Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon complained of the uncalled-for interference of the home Government. It is pointed out that it was not proper for the Government of India and the Home Government to differ. Either the home Government should not have allowed the mission of Younghusband and if it did so, it should not have revised the treaty of Lhasa. The justification of the home Government was that the higher interests of the British empire demanded that friendly relations must be established with Russia. The danger of Germany was so great that all other considerations could be set aside. It was under these circumstances that the Home Government had to overrule Lord Curzon. When all has been said, it cannot be denied that the expedition of Lhasa was successful. Undoubtedly, "it was a triumph of organisation and daring."

Internal administration of Curzon: Lord Curzon carried out a very large number of reforms in very many fields.

Famine: It has already been pointed out that there was a famine in the time of Lord Elgin II. Lord Curzon himself toured the affected areas and asked for help from every quarter. In spite of that, his Government was criticized on account of too much of economy in famine relief and its failure to give concessions to the people in the form of taxation and land revenue. A Commission was appointed under Macdonell to inquire into the administration of famine-relief and make recommendations for its efficient working. The Commission submitted its report in 1901. It emphasized the lack of real preparation. The Commission suggested the measure to be adopted to check the recurrence of famines and also to remove their defects. It emphasized the necessity of preventing demoralisation. The Government was to follow a policy of "moral strategy." It was to take early action to stop demoralisation among the people. The commission also put emphasis on the advantages of non-official assistance. It also recom-

mended an increase in the railways and the establishment of agricultural banks and irrigation works. The famine codes were revised in the light of the recommendations made by the Commission.

Agriculture: Lord Curzon adopted many measures for the improvement of the lot of the agriculturists. The Punjab Land Alienation Act was passed in 1900. The result was that the lands of the statutory agriculturists could not be got by the non-agriculturists without the consent of the Government. Agricultural banks and cooperative societies were set up for the purpose of saving the agriculturists from the tyranny of the money-lenders. In 1904 was passed the Cooperative Credit Societies Act. This Act provided for the formation of Cooperative Societies in urban and rural area. The main object of the Act was to give relief to rural indebtedness. The Government was to render all necessary assistance.

Lord Curzon also tried to apply scientific methods to agriculture in India. To quote him, "Our real reform has been to endeavour for the first time to apply science on a large scale to the study and practice of Indian agriculture." In 1901, Lord Curzon appointed an Inspector-General of Agriculture. He also established an Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa in Bengal "to assist in the solution of the fundamental problems of tropical agriculture." The Government of India gave an annual grant of £ 130,000 for purposes of research and experimentation.

In 1901, a Commission was appointed to go into the question of irrigation in India. Sir Volvin Scott-Moncrieff was appointed its Chairman. The Commission submitted its report in 1903. It recommended an expenditure of Rs. 44 crores in 20 years. It was expected to increase the area under irrigation by $6\frac{1}{2}$ million acres. Lord Curzon accepted many of the recommendations of the Commission. The result was that the Punjab canals were improved. The construction of the Upper Chenab Canal, the Upper Jhelum Canal and the Lower Bari Doab Canal was started.

Railways: Before Lord Curzon, there existed two system of railway management. Some railway were managed by Companies and the others were managed by the Government of India through the Public Works Department. Lord Curzon appointed Sir Thomas Robertson to report on the railway system in India. The latter submitted its report in 1903. He recommended a complete overhauling of the whole system. His view was that railways should be worked "more as commercial enterprises than they have been in

the past." Lord Curzon abolished the Railway Branch of the Public Works Department in 1905. The work of railways was given to a Railway Board of three members. New railway lines were opened. More than 28,150 miles of railway lines were completed and about 3,167 miles were under construction.

Police Reforms: The work of the police system introduced in 1861 was not up to the expectations of the people and there was a lot of dissatisfaction when Curzon assumed office. In 1902, Curzon appointed the Fraser Commission to inquire into the working of police administration in the country. After a thorough investigation of the matter, the Commission submitted its report. It criticised in strongest terms the working of the police system. To quote "The police force is far from satisfactory; it is defective in training and organisation; it is inadequately supervised, it is generally regarded as corrupt and oppressive; and it has utterly failed to secure the confidence and cordial cooperation of the people."

The recommendations of the Fraser Commission aimed at the utilisation of indigenous local institutions, employment of a better class of people with improved position and prospects, making arrangements for the better training of officers and rank and file, and closer supervision of the lower classes in the police force.

(1) The Commission recommended the substitute of direct recruitment in place of promotion to higher ranks from lower ranks. (2) The minimum pay of a constable was to be such as to give him a reasonable living wage and was not to be less than Rs. 8/- p.m. in any case. (3) The Commission recommended an increase in provincial police force and the employment of existing village agencies available for police work. The system of beats of villages was to be abolished. The visits of the police constables to villages were to be restricted for the purpose of obtaining specific information. (4) The establishment of training schools for the training of constables and officers was also recommended. (5) The Commission recommended that the investigation of offences should be made on the spot. The detention of suspects without formal arrest was to be declared illegal. The practice of working for or relying on confessions was to be discouraged. The police work was not to be judged by statistics, but by local inspection and inquiry. (6) A Criminal Investigation Department was to be constituted in every province and it was to work under the Central Department with its Director of Criminal Intelligence. The Government of India accepted the

recommendations of the Commission. The implementation of the recommendations increased the police expenditure considerably. It was £26,91,344 in 1901-2 and it was £46,02,977 in 1911. However, there was no proportionate improvement in the working of the police system.

Military Reforms: Certain reforms were carried out in the military sphere. Between 1902 and 1904, Moplahs, Gurkhas and Punjabis replaced local recruits in infantry and cavalry to a large extent. In 1900, the native infantry was re-organised into four double Company battalions. Native officers remained in charge of each Company for internal administration, but British officers commanded them in parade and in the field.

Under Lord Kitchner, the native regiments were re-armed. Better guns were supplied to the artillery. The whole of the transport system was overhauled. In 1901, the Imperial Cadet Corps consisting of youngman of princely and noble families was started. The services of the Indian army were utilised abroad. The Indians were employed against the Boer insurgents in China and also in Somaliland. Indian troops in South Africa helped to save Natal and Ladysmith.

In 1871, a Naval Defence Squadron was set up for coastal defence. In 1903, the Indian defence was taken over by the Royal Navy and internal Defence Squadron was abolished.

While Kitchner made useful reforms in the army, his influence in the matter of army control proved disastrous. He was determined to secure for himself complete authority over military affairs, whether executive or administrative. He wanted to reduce to impotence the Military Member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Lord Kitchner criticized the existing dual system in these words: "There is no doubt that if we had a big war on the frontier, there would be a frightful crash. A system under which Transport, Supply, Remounts, Ordnance are entirely divorced from the executive command of the army, and placed under an independent authority, is one which must cost an entire reorganisation as soon as war is declared—rather late to begin." Lord Kitchner recommended the abolition of the dual control and the putting of the whole of the military administration under a single individual member known as "Commander-in-Chief and War Member of Council."

The home Government did not appreciate correctly the point involved in the controversy. Lord Roberts and Lord Landsdowne

supported the compromise scheme for a Member for Military Supply. Lord Curzon opposed the creation of a single Army Department of which the Commander-in-Chief was the head and to whom the whole business of military administration was to be transferred. A compromise was suggested. The Commander-in-Chief was to control exclusively the strictly military departments of all the administration and he alone was to possess the right to speak in the Executive Council of the Governor-General as an expert on military affairs. Other subsidiary departments, not purely military, were to be put in charge of a Military Supply Member. Lord Curzon did not approve of the compromise formula and resigned. He was definitely of the opinion that the new arrangement was defective. His view was vindicated at the expense of the Indian soldiers and British honour, in the Mesopotamian Fiasco when the Commander-in-Chief failed to sustain his main duty of command.

Decentralisation of Finance (1904): The Quinquennial Settlement made by Lord ^{Ripon} Curzon in 1882 was declared quasi-permanent.

Indian Universities Act, 1904: Lord Curzon tried to reform the education system in the country. He summoned a Conference at Simla in 1901 and to this conference were invited the highest educational officers of the Government and the official representatives of the leading universities. The conference was followed by a Universities Commission. This Commission was presided over by Sir Thomas Raleigh who was the Law Member of the Government of India. Indian members were also associated with it. The Commission submitted its report and a Universities Bill was framed accordingly. The principal features of the Bill were explained by Lord Curzon in these words: "Its main principle is to raise the standard of education all round, and particularly of higher education. What we want to do is to apply better and less fallacious tests than at present exist, to stop the sacrifice of everything in the colleges which constitute our university system, to cramming, to bring about better teaching by a superior class of teachers, to provide for close inspection of colleges and institutions which are now left practically alone, to place the Government of the Universities in competent, expert and enthusiastic hands, to reconstitute the Senates, to define and regulate the powers of the Syndicates, to give statutory recognition to the elected Fellows who are only appointed on sufferance. To show the way by which our universities, which are now merely examining bodies, can ultimately

be converted into teaching institutions; in fact to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham."

Although the Indian Universities Bill was severely criticised by the people, it was passed in 1904. The provisions of this Act are given in another Chapter on education. Suffice it to say that this Act completely officialised the Indian Universities.

Reform of the bureaucratic machinery: One of the difficulties that Lord Curzon found in carrying out his policy of centralisation was the unsatisfactory condition of the bureaucratic machine which has settled down in a well-worn groove and it became "clogged and over-weighted in all its parts." The amount of noting and report-writing that was going on in the Government Departments was so great that it took interminable time to wade through the file of a single case. According to Lord Curzon, "The system of working here is so radically vicious that a stage arises at which a question gets tied up in a tangle of manuscript and print in which the real issues are utterly obscured and from which no one seems able to extricate it." Curzon compared the system to a "gigantic quagmire or bog," into which every question that comes along either sinks down. "Unless you stick a peg with a label over the spot at which it disappeared and from time to time go round and dig out the relics, you will never see anything of them again."

Lord Curzon had come across cases which had taken years to reach him. There was one case which was lingering on for full 61 years.

Lord Curzon's recommendations were embodied in the formation of regulations drawn up by a Committee of departmental secretaries and put into force throughout the Central Secretariat. Copies of the regulations were sent to the Provincial Governments for enforcement in their respective Secretariats. Lord Curzon tried to induce the departments to settle their business by personal consultation, avoid protracted controversies and to reduce the practice of noting and to prevent delay in arriving at conclusions.

Lord Curzon also tried to effect considerable reduction in the printing of Government reports and statistics. According to Fraser, that was not a wise step. On account of their reduction in size, the reports of the Government became "a repellant collection of the driest bones imaginable." The Government failed to appreciate the importance of supplying statistics to the people.

The Calcutta Corporation: Lord Curzon got an oppor-

tunity to curtail the sphere of local self-Government in India. A Bill to amend the Calcutta Corporation was before the Bengal Legislative Council. It was introduced as a result of the agitation carried on by the anti-Ripon organisation. The critics maintained that the Calcutta Corporation then constituted was unfit to deal with the difficult problem of sanitation. The object of the new Bill was to decrease the powers of the Calcutta Corporation and to give more authority to the executive. The majority of elected representatives was retained in the Corporation, but "actual control over the affairs of the city" was transferred "to the Executive Committee largely British in character and composition."

Lord Curzon characterised this device as a clumsy and mischievous form of dualism. Ultimately, the Bill was changed according to the wishes of Lord Curzon and it became law in 1900. The new Act reduced the size of the Calcutta Corporation from 75 to 50. The 25 elected members of the Corporation who were the representatives of the rate-payers were cut down. The British element was given a definite majority. The Corporation became an Anglo-Indian house. According to S.N. Banerji, the Act of 1900 marked the extinction of Local Self-Government in Calcutta.

Status of Presidency Governors : Lord Curzon believed in a policy of centralisation in every field. He wanted to gather all the leading strings into his own hands. He wished to know everything that was happening in all parts of India. He could not tolerate the least signs of independence on the part of officials, howsoever high and dignified their position might be. This is illustrated by the unsuccessful attempt made by him to reduce the status and powers of the Presidency Governors.

Lord Curzon did not approve of the attitude of aloofness assumed by the Governors of Bombay and Madras. In 1899, he wrote to the Secretary of State for India thus: "De-centralisation is all very well, but it appears to me in the case of Bombay and Madras to have been carried to a point in which the supreme Government is nowhere, and in which the petty kings of those Governments are even conscious that responsibility attaches to any one but themselves."

Lord Curzon complained of the silence of the Governors of Madras and Bombay and asked them to keep him informed of the events in their provinces. He suggested that the position of Presidency Governors should be reduced to that of the Governors of U.P. etc. His contention was that his proposal possessed

the additional merit of reviving the popularity of the Indian Civil Service by adding two more attractive posts. However, his views were not accepted by the British Cabinet.

Policy of officialisation: Lord Curzon believed that the Indians were lacking in all those qualities which made Englishmen good administrators. He had no faith in governing through the people or with their aid. He decided to reserve all higher posts for Englishmen. According to him, Englishmen possessed, partly by heredity, partly by upbringing and partly by education the knowledge of the principles of Government, the habits of mind and the vigour of character which are essential for the task. The key-note of his Government was that "the bureaucracy knows what is for the good of the people." He had no faith in the policy of educating Indians for self-Government. He had no wish to sacrifice efficiency in the present for efficiency and freedom in the future. His fetish was efficiency then and now.

The result was that the share of the people in the administration of the country decreased during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and the development of self-governing institutions received a set-back. According to Henry Cotton, "Lord Curzon had weakened and discouraged the schemes of self-Government. He had officialised the universities and as far as possible the whole system of popular education; he had substituted a system of nomination to Government service in place of competitive examination; and he had announced a practical declaration of race disqualification for the higher public offices. The end in view was to officialise the administration by every means in his power and this sinister aim was known to be underlying the partition of Bengal."

Lord Curzon held the Indians in contempt. In his Convocation Address to the Calcutta University in 1905, he declared thus: "I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception... Undoubtedly truth took a high place in the moral codes of West, before it had been similarly honoured in the East where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute. We may prove it by the common innuendo that lurks in the words 'Oriental diplomacy' by which is meant something rather tortuous and hyper-subtle."

Reference may be made to a few other reforms carried out by Lord Curzon. The Mines Act and the Assam Labour Act were

passed to give some protection to labour. The recommendations of the Currency Commission were given effect to in 1899 by establishing a 16 d.—rupee ratio and the gold exchange standard. Lord Curzon also levied countervailing duties upon bounty-fed sugar from Germany. He appointed a Director-General of Archaeology and passed in 1904 the Ancient Monuments Protection Act by which the Government took under protection the old historical buildings. Lord Curzon also provided for the appointment of the Chief Inspector of Mines, the Sanitary Inspector, Inspector-General of Agriculture, Inspector-General of Irrigation and Director-General of Intelligence.

Partition of Bengal, 1905: The large size of the province of Bengal with its huge population of 78 millions was considered to be too much for administration by the Lieutenant-Governor. Lord Curzon divided it into two parts. A new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was created by amalgamating Assam and Chittagong with 15 districts of old Bengal. The new province was to have an area of about 106,000 Sq. miles and a population of about 31 millions.

Regarding the reaction of the people to the partition, Sir S.N. Banerjee writes thus: "The announcement fell like a bombshell. We felt that we had been insulted, humiliated and tricked. We felt that it was a deliberate blow aimed at the growing solidarity and self-conscience of the Bengali-speaking population. Originally intended to meet administrative requirements, we felt that it had drawn to itself a political flavour and complexion, and, if allowed to be passed, it would be fatal to our political progress and to that close union between Hindus and Muslims upon which the prospects of Indian advancement so largely depended."

The people of Bengal regarded the agitation as a challenge to their nationalism and a strong agitation flared up. It was cleverly manipulated by the literary and legal classes whose vested interests were considered to be threatened by the new change. To the Government, the partition of Bengal was merely a readjustment of administrative boundaries. To the Indians, it meant the partition of a nation, an attempt to divide a homogenous people, a deliberate and sinister attack upon the traditions, history and the language of the Bengalees. The partition split the Hindus of Bengal into two parts. In Eastern Bengal, they were out-numbered by the non-Bengalees. Lord Curzon refused to accept the proposal that Bengal, like Bombay and Madras, should be ruled by a Governor assisted by an Executive Council. He refused to submit to the agitation started by the people. The result was

that the agitation went on growing in proportions with the lapse of time. It became a great national movement which agitated the minds of all the Indians. No wonder, the partition had to be cancelled in 1911.

Estimate of Lord Curzon: There is a lot of difference of opinion with regard to the achievements of Lord Curzon. It is probably true that much of the unrest in India was due to the restless energy of Lord Curzon. He condemned the people of India altogether. He had great contempt for the people of the country. He believed that Providence had appointed the Englishmen to carry on the administration of India and he would be going against the will of God if he gave any concessions to the people. To quote him, "If I felt that we were not working here for the good of India in obedience to a higher law and a noble aim, then I would see the link that holds England and India together severed without a sigh. But it is because I believe in the future of this country and the capacity of our race to guide it to goals that it has never hitherto attained that I keep courage and press forward." He refused to consider the public opinion in the country because, to quote him, "I searched my conscience and I asked myself who and what are the real Indian people." According to him, the Congress was "tottering to its fall, and one of my gr at ambitions while in India... is to assist it to a peaceful demise." Lord Curzon declared in 1905 "that I have not offered political concessions is because I did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India to do so. More places on this or that Council for a few active or eloquent men will not benefit the ryot."

Lord Curzon possessed great initiative, will-power and eloquence. He was too much devoted to his duty. He worked hard inspite of his ill-health, physical pain and domestic sorrow. He believed that Englishmen's justification in India lay in giving Indians a little more of "justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring of duty where it did not exist before." His view was that he had "worked for no other aim. Let India be my judge." He was a worshipper of efficiency and his false God made him commit many a blunder. According to Mr. Montague, Lord Curzon was like a motor-driver who spent all his energy and time in polishing the different parts of the machinery but he drove it without any destination. Like Dalhousie, he sowed the wind and left to his successor to reap the whirlwind. Although he was a great administrator, he was

a failure as a statesman." According to Rash Behari Ghosh, "Lord Curzon left undone everything which he ought to have done and did everything which he ought not to have done." We may conclude with the following words of P.E. Roberts: "Whatever errors, whatever failures,—and both error and failure are inseparable from human agency—critics may detect in his six years of office, it cannot be doubted that when the flood-belts of contemporary detraction have cleared away, Lord Curzon's name will stand amongst the foremost of those that make up the illustrious role of the Governors-General of India."

CHAPTER XVII

LORD MINTO TO RAJENDRA PRASAD (1905-1953)

Lord Minto II (1905-10) : Lord Minto, the successor of Lord Curzon, was the great grandson of Lord Minto who was the Governor-General from 1807-13. He had a varied career. He fought in the Second Afghan War and also worked as Governor-General of Canada from 1898 to 1904. Prof. Dodwell has summed the character of Lord Minto in these words: "The new Governor-General was no politician, but had enjoyed a wide and varied experience of men. He had always been a keen sportsman; he had served for many years in the army, and fought in the Second Afghan War, and Egypt; he had taken an active part in the local administration according to the admirable tradition of English aristocracy, and he had occupied the high administrative post of the Governor-General of Canada. He had, therefore, seen men from many angles and his vision derived from this experience a solidity which is denied to those who only watch life from the study window, or confuse the problems of statesmanship with the fluctuations of party debate. In addition to these advantages, he has acquired in his entirely practical career the art of managing men, the knack of getting his own way or as much of it as circumstances permitted, without domineering over or irritating those with whom he worked."

Lord Minto had to deal with a very difficult situation created by the partition of Bengal. As time passed on, the agitation became stronger and stronger. No amount of repression on the part of the Government succeeded in crushing the movement. British goods were boycotted and violent speeches were made against the British Government. Many murders and dacoities were committed. The object of all these was to terrify the British imperialists in the country. Attempts were made on the lives of magistrates, police officials, collectors of revenue etc. Even the informers of the Government were not spared. Their relatives even became the target. The Government passed many severe laws such as the Acts of 1908 and 1910. Thousands of people were put behind the bars. Some of them were deported from the country.

Anglo-Russian Convention (1907) : Another important

event of the viceroyalty of Lord Minto was the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. By this, all the outstanding differences between Great Britain and Russia were settled, and the two countries became near to each other. As regards Afghanistan, it was settled that Russia was to deal with Afghanistan through the Government of India. It is to be noted that Habib-Ullah, the Amir of Afghanistan, did not approve of this Accord because he himself was not consulted. As regards Persia, its territorial integrity and independence were guaranteed both by Russia and by Great Britain. It was also agreed that Northern Prussia was to be under the sphere of influence of Russia and Southern Prussia under the sphere of influence of Great Britain. As regards Tibet, both Great Britain and Russia agreed to accept the territorial integrity of Tibet and also abstain from interfering into its internal affairs. They both agreed to deal with Tibet through China and not to send any emissary to Tibet. Evidently, the object of preventing the spread of Russian influence in Tibet was achieved.

Trade with China: From the time of the English East India Company, the Government of India used to export a lot of opium to China. This brought an annual revenue of 8 to 10 crores. The Chinese Government had raised objections to the trade of opium and had requested many a time the Government of India to stop it. In 1907, the Government of India agreed to reduce every year the export of opium. Thus it was that the export of opium was to be stopped altogether after the lapse of some time. It is true that the Government of India had to suffer a lot of revenue but it was undoubtedly a humanitarian step.

Minto-Morley Reforms: In 1909 was passed the Indian Councils Act which not only increased the number of the non-official members of the Legislative Councils but also increased their powers. This topic has been discussed at length in the Chapter on constitutional development.

In 1910, King Edward VII died and George V succeeded him. Lord Minto left India in November 1910. He was succeeded by Lord Hardinge.

Lord Hardinge (1910-16): Lord Hardinge was the grandson of that Lord Hardinge (1844-48) who fought the First Sikh War. Before coming out to India, he had no administrative experience, although he had some experience in the field of diplomacy. The new Governor-General was very sympathetic with the Indian aspirations. He identified himself so thoroughly with the cause of the

Indians at home and abroad that he was probably the most popular Viceroy of India. We are told that he mixed freely with the Indians and sometimes visited the hostels and colleges of the Indian students. He won the confidence of the people of India by his sincerity of purpose.

The Delhi Durbar (1911): After his accession to the throne in 1910, King George V paid a visit to India in 1911. A grand Durbar was held at Delhi near the present Radio Colony on 12th December 1911. A lot of money was distributed on that occasion. It was announced that the capital of India will be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi. The partition of Bengal was cancelled. Assam was to be placed under a separate Chief Commissioner. According to Prof. P.E. Roberts, "These changes were striking and dramatic. The transfer of the capital had no doubt many theoretical and logical advantages; it was defended by the Government on the ground that the consolidation of British rule in India and the development of the railway system made it no longer necessary for the Government to be upon the seaboard. The Viceroy henceforward would be increasingly concerned with matters of purely imperial interest, and the subordinate provincial Governorships would become more autonomous in their administration. Delhi, from its central position and its historical association, was obviously the best-fitted city in India for the capital of a quasi-federal Empire. The re-union of Bengal was said to be not a reversal of the partition but a re-arrangement after experience—a statement hardly consistent with facts."

Critics pointed out to the many concessions made at the time of the Coronation Durbar of Delhi. It was contended that the changes should have been brought about by an Act of Parliament and not by a declaration of the Government. That was not a proper procedure. It was also pointed out that the construction of a new capital at Delhi would involve a lot of unnecessary expenditure. That would also give a setback to the prosperity of Calcutta. It was also maintained that the cancellation of the partition of Bengal in 1911 was not opportune because the agitation against it had become very weak by that time and such a step was absolutely not necessary at that stage.

On 23rd December 1912, a bomb was thrown on Lord Hardinge when he was to make his state entry into Delhi. He himself was wounded and the person sitting behind him on the elephant was killed. In spite of this provocation, Lord Hardinge maintained his

previous attitude of sympathy towards the Indians.

In 1912, it was rumoured that China would be conquering Tibet. The result was that the British Government gave a warning to the Chinese Government that the latter must desist from such a course. The result was that the fear of Chinese conquest of Tibet disappeared.

From the beginning of the 20th century, the Government of South Africa was following a policy of harassing the Indians in South Africa. Although the Indians were as much responsible for the prosperity of South Africa as the Europeans, the latter seemed to be determined to drive out the Indians from that territory. In 1913, a law was passed by which the immigration of Indians was limited and they were prohibited from trading, farming and holding property. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indians of South Africa offered Satyagraha against the unjust laws. Both Gandhi and his followers were arrested and put behind the bars. There was also a resentment in India and Lord Hardinge shared the feelings of the people of the country. The result was that the Government of South Africa appointed a Commission and ultimately passed the Indian Relief Act of 1914. The new Act recognised as valid the monogamous marriages of the Indians. It also abolished the tax of £3 on every Indian labourer. It is true that the new Act did not remove all the grievances of the Indians in South Africa, but it was characterised by Mahatma Gandhi as the Magna Carta of Indian liberty in South Africa. As regards the system of indentured labour from India, the matter was taken in 1910 by Gokhale and the system was ultimately abolished in 1917. The First World War started in September 1914. As Great Britain joined the War against Germany and Austria-Hungary, India also joined the war on the side of the British Government. The Indians gave unconditional help to the English in their hour of need and danger. Indian troops fought along with other troops in the battlefields of France, Flanders, Egypt, Africa, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Macedonia.

Lord Chelmsford (1916-21): Lord Chelmsford succeeded Lord Hardinge at a time when the first World War was going on. Before coming to India as Governor-General, he had worked in one of the states of Australia. In August 1917, the famous declaration was made by Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, with regard to the goal of the British Government in India. That declaration runs thus: "The policy of His Majesty's Government with which

the Government of India are in complete accord, is the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of Local Governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representatives bodies and others.

"I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

After the declaration, Mr. Montagu came to India and toured the country in the company of Lord Chelmsford. Many deputations were met and views were exchanged. Ultimately, the report was submitted and published. In 1919, the Government of India Act was passed. This Act introduced dyarchy in the provinces and added to the powers of the Central Legislature.

Reference may be made to the First Afghan War of 1919. What actually happened was that the people of Afghanistan did not approve of the pro-British policy of Habib-Ullah. The result was that he was murdered. Aman-Ullah came on the throne of Kabul. There were disturbances in the Punjab in 1919 on account of the Rowlatt Act. The new king was able to occupy some parts of the North-Western Frontier. Ultimately, his advance was checked, and he was completely defeated. A treaty was made in August 1921. By this treaty, the King of Afghanistan got the right to conduct his foreign affairs himself. The British control was abolished. The annual subsidy which the Government of India used to give to

Afghanistan was also stopped.

Reference may be made to the non-cooperation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. The object of the movement was to protest against the acts of high handedness on the part of the British Government. Meetings were held all over the country and Hartals were organised. The British Government started martial law. General Dyer was responsible for the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar. In this non-cooperation movement, both the Hindus and Muslims cooperated.

Reference may also be made to what is called the Khilafat movement. This movement was organised by the Muslims of India as a protest against the shabby treatment meted out to Turkey by the Allies inspite of the repeated promises and assurances of the Indian Muslims. The Khilafat movement stood for the integrity of the Turkish Empire. The Caliph was to have his capital at Constantinople. They also demanded the establishment of a Muslim State of Palestine.

Lord Reading (1921-26): Lord Reading was born a humble Jew but rose to the high position of the Lord Chief Justice of England by sheer dint of hard work. There was a lot of opposition in the Government. There were strikes and riots in many places. There was a split in the Congress. One Section of the Congress was in favour of entering the legislatures and thereby wrecking the constitution from within. These Congressmen were known as the Swarajists and were led by men like C.R. Dass and Moti Lal Nehru. Ultimately, the Swarajists were allowed to enter the legislatures. On account of persistent demands of the Indians, the Muddiman Committee report was published with regard to the working of dyarchy under the new constitution.

Lord Irwin (1926-31): Lord Irwin had to deal with very serious problems during his term of Viceroyalty. In 1927 was appointed the famous Simon Commission. The Indians protested against its composition which was all-White. No wonder, the Commission was boycotted by the people of India. There were Hartals and boycotts all over the country. There were Lathi-charges and shootings. In December 1928, the Congress at its Calcutta session passed a resolution asking from the British Government the grant of Dominion Status within a year. It is true that in October 1929, Lord Curzon made a statement on behalf of the British Government that the goal of British Government in India was to give Dominion Status to India, but such a declaration did not satisfy the

Indian leaders and consequently at its Lahore session in December 1929, the Congress declared the achievement of full independence as its goal.

26th January, 1930 was declared as the Independence Day for India and Civil Disobedience Movement started in the country. Mahatma Gandhi himself led the movement. Thousands of people were arrested and punished. Their properties were confiscated.

It was in this atmosphere that the Simon Commission submitted its report and the First Round Table Conference met in 1930 in London. Not much could be accomplished on account of the absence of the Congress. Through the efforts of Sapru and Jayakar, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was made in 1931 and Gandhiji sailed for England as the sole representative of the Congress.

The work of Lord Irwin has been variously estimated. Some condemned him for his weakness and others condemned him for his repressive policy. There was a time when the Conservatives demanded a re-call of Lord Irwin. Undoubtedly, he was a noble soul.

Lord Willingdon (1931-36): Before his appointment as Governor-General in 1931, Lord Willingdon had acted as the Governor of Bombay and Madras from 1913 to 1924. He had also acted as the Governor-General of Canada, from 1926 to 1930.

The Second Round Table Conference met in London during the period of his Viceroyalty. It failed to achieve its purpose on account of the attitude of Mr. Jinnah. As soon as Mahatma Gandhi came back from London, he was arrested. The reign of terror and repression started in the country. The more the movement was suppressed, the stronger it became. The ordinances passed by the Government were ineffective to crush the spirit of the people.

In August 1932 was announced the famous Communal Award by Ramsay Macdonald. Mahatma Gandhi strongly protested against it and threatened to go on fast unto death if the clauses relating to the Depressed Classes were not changed. Ultimately, the Poona Pact was signed and this Pact altered the Communal Award so far as the representation of the Depressed Classes was concerned.

In 1932 was summoned the Third Round Table Conference in London. In March 1933 was issued the White Paper containing the proposals of Government of England with regard to the new constitution of India. In 1935 was passed the Government of

India Act.

During the viceroyalty of Lord Willingdon, earthquakes took place in Bihar and Quetta. There was a lot of loss of life and property.

Lord Willingdon was hated by the Indians on account of his policy of repression. Indian nationalism triumphed inspite of all the efforts of this great bureaucrat.

Lord Linlithgow (1936-44): Before his appointment as Governor-General, Lord Linlithgow had a brilliant career. He was the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. He was also the Chairman of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms. He also had a hand in the drafting of the Government of India Act, 1935. No wonder, he was sent to India to enforce the law which he had helped in making.

The Federal Part of the Act was not introduced at all. Only the Provincial Part was introduced. Elections were held in the beginning of 1937 and the Congress got a majority in many provinces. In spite of that, it refused to form ministries unless an assurance was given that the Governors will not interfere in the day-to-day affairs of the departments under the control of the Indian Ministers. When such an assurance was given, Congress Ministries were formed and they continued to function till 1939 when they resigned after the declaration of the second World War.

There was a split in the Congress during this period. Subhas Chandra Bose got himself elected as the Congress President in 1938 and 1939. There arose differences between him and Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. Ultimately, Subhas Chandra Bose left the Congress and formed the Forward Bloc. In 1940, Lord Linlithgow made his famous August Offer, but the same was rejected by the Congress.

In March 1942, Mr. Cripps came to India to enter into some sort of an agreement with the Congress on the basis of the proposals brought by him with himself and approved by the British Cabinet. The Cripps Mission was also a failure.

In August 1942, the Congress passed the famous "Quit India" resolution. As a result of this, the Congress leaders were arrested and remained in jail throughout the World War II.

Lord Wavell (1944-47): During the period of Viceroyalty of Lord Wavell, the World War II came to a successful end. Germany was defeated and Japan surrendered. All this happened in 1945.

Lord Wavell called in June 1945 a Conference with the object of coming to some sort of agreement with the major political parties in India. Unfortunately, the Simla Conference failed on account of the attitude of Muslim League.

When the Labour Party came to power in England, fresh elections were ordered in India for the provincial legislatures. A Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander came to India in March 1946. After long negotiations, the Cabinet Mission issued its formula on 16th May, 1946. The Cabinet Mission scheme provided for an Interim Government and also the procedure for the framing of a constitution of India and also of the groups into which the provinces were to be combined. The Muslim League accepted the scheme and the Congress rejected it on certain grounds. However, when the Congress accepted it, the Muslim League rejected it. There was the famous Calcutta Killing in August 1946. On 2nd September, 1946, Pandit Nehru formed the Interim Government. However, the Muslim League refused to join at the beginning, but later on did so.

The Constituent Assembly met in December 1946 at New Delhi. The Muslim League boycotted it. There was a controversy as to whether the grouping of provinces was compulsory or not and the British Government gave its verdict in favour of compulsory grouping.

Lord Mountbatten (March 1947 to June 1948): In March 1947, Lord Wavell was replaced by Lord Mountbatten. When the latter reached India, he found the situation very critical. The Muslim League was carrying on its wear and tear campaign all over the country especially in the Punjab. There were riots in March 1947. Lord Mountbatten felt that the only way to tackle the situation was to complete the work of transfer of power into the Indian hands within as short a period as possible. He held consultations with the Indian leaders for the same purpose. He went to London in May 1947 to discuss the matter with the British Government. On his return, he announced his famous June 3rd Plan. By this Plan, it was proposed to divide India into two parts *viz.*, the Dominion of India and Dominion of Pakistan. Both the Dominions were to be given independence. The Plan was accepted by both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress. The Indian Independence Act, 1947, was passed to give effect to the June 3rd Plan. The division of the country took place on 15th August 1947.

After the independence of India, Lord Mountbatten was again selected as the Governor-General of India and he continued to occupy that position till June 1948. It was during this period that the invasion of Kashmir by the raiders took place. Kashmir acceded to India and the case of Kashmir was taken to the United Nations.

There was a lot of bloodshed both in India and Pakistan on account of communal riots. There was wholesale exodus of populations from India to Pakistan and *vice-versa*.

C. Rajagopalachariar (June 1948-January 1950):

Chakravarti Rajagopalachariar was the first and the last Indian Governor-General of India. During this period, Pandit Nehru was the Prime Minister of India. The police action was taken against the Nizam of Hyderabad. Kasim Razvi and his Junta were defeated, and Hyderabad became a part of the Indian Union.

During this period, the Constituent Assembly passed the new Constitution of India and the same came into force on 26th January 1950.

The relations between India and Pakistan were not cordial. There was a lot of tension on account of the problem of Kashmir and the evacuee property.

The Indian Parliament passed very many laws for the welfare of labour in India. In many provinces, laws were passed for the abolition of Zamindari.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad (1950-): The new constitution of India came into force on 26th January 1950. It provides for the election of the President of India in place of the Governor-General of India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad is first elected President of the Indian Republic. He is a true follower of Gandhian philosophy. His nobility of character lends charm to his status in the country. India is lucky to have Nehru as Prime Minister and Rajendra Prasad as the President.

The most important event of this period is to finalisation of the Five Year Plan. It is hoped that the implementation of this Plan will bring prosperity to this country. Pandit Nehru and his colleagues are determined to leave no stone unturned to implement the Plan.

The foreign policy of India has added to the glory of the country. The Indian resolution on Korea was carried through the U.N. Assembly. In the Anglo-Sudanese Agreement, India has been given a significant place.

The Government of India has declared to create Andhra into a separate state from 1st October 1953. As regards Kashmir, an agreement was entered into last year. The Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir has to draft its own constitution.

Pandit Nehru went to London in June 1953 to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

The Anglo-Afghan friendship treaty came into force from October 1950. It provided for an everlasting peace and friendship between the two countries. Both the countries have agreed to strengthen and develop cultural ties between the two countries and also to help each other in the industrial and agricultural field.

In October 1950 was held the Pacific Relations Conference at Lucknow.

Every effort is being made to industrialise the country, but the hope and future of India rest on the successful implementation of the Five Year Plan.

PART II

TOPICS

CHAPTER XVIII

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1773-1950)

The Regulating Act (1773): The Regulating Act was the first great landmark in the constitutional development of India. It is well-known that Lord Clive got the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from Shah Alam, the Moghul Emperor in 1765. The shareholders demanded larger dividends and the same was raised to 12½%. The British Government also got annually a sum of £ 4 millions from 1767 onwards. Edmund Burke condemned the British Government and maintained that the Government had "sanctified the bloodshed, this rapine this villainy, this extortion—for the valuable consideration of £ 4,000,000. This crime tax being agreed to, we heard no more of malpractices."

Although both the shareholders of the English East India Company and the British Government gained, the position of the people of Bengal became most unhappy. The people were the victims of famine and the corruption of the servants of the Company. According to Lecky, "Never before had natives experienced a tyranny which was at once so skilful, so searching and so strong. Whole districts which had been populous and flourishing were at last utterly depopulated, and it was noticed that on the appearance of a party of English merchants the villages were at once deserted and the shops shut, and the roads thronged with panic-stricken fugitives." According to Chatham, "India teems with inequities so rank as smell to earth and heaven." The things were so rotten that in April 1772 was appointed a Select Committee of 31 members to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company. In August of the same year, the English East India Company asked for a loan from the British Government. The Parliament appointed a Select Committee to examine the affairs of the Company and submit its report. The Committee submitted its final report in May 1773. It was then that the Parliament passed the Regulating Act of 1773.

Provisions of the Regulating Act: (1) The Regulating Act gave the right of vote for the election of Directors of the Company to shareholders holding stock worth £ 1,000/- for 12 months preceding the date of election. Formerly, Directors were elected for one

year but the Act provided that in future they were to be elected for 4 years. However, one-fourth of them were to retire every year. The Directors were required to submit copies of letters and advices received from the Governor-General-in-Council. Copies of letters relating to revenue were to be sent to the Treasury and those relating to civil and military affairs were to be sent to one of the Secretaries of State. Governor-General of Bengal in Council and the Governors of Bombay and Madras were required to pay due obedience to the orders of the Directors and also keep them constantly informed of all the matters affecting the interests of the Company.

(2) Provision was made for a Governor-General of Bengal and his Council of 4 members. They were vested with "the whole civil and military Government of the said Presidency, and also the ordering, management and Government of territorial acquisitions and revenues in the Kingdoms of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa." Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of Bengal and Clavering, Monson, Philip Francis and Barewell were appointed the members of his Council. Members of the Council were to hold office for 5 years and they could not be removed except by His Majesty on the representation of the Directors. Governor-General of Bengal was required to carry on the work according to the majority opinion of the Council. He could not over-rule the majority view of his council. However, he was given a casting vote in the case of a tie. Governor-General was also given the power of superintending and controlling the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. However, in case of emergency and direct orders from the Directors in London, Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were not to act according to the orders of the Governor-General of Bengal.

(3) Governors-in-Council of Bombay and Madras were required to pay due obedience to the orders of Governor-General of Bengal. They were required to submit to the Governor-General in-Council advice and intelligence on transactions and matters relating to the government, revenues and interests of the Company. They were required to forward all rules and regulations framed by them to the Governor-General-in-Council. If they failed to carry out the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council, or did not perform their duties properly, they could be suspended by the Governor-General-in-Council. The Governors-in-Council of Madras and Bombay were required to keep Governor-General-in-Council informed of all the rules and regulations

which they might make.

(4) Governor-General-in-Council was given the power to make rules, ordinances and regulations for the good order and civil government of Company's settlement at Fort William and factories and places subordinate to it. These rules and regulations were not to be against the laws of England and were required to be registered with the Supreme Court. These could be dissolved by the King-in-Council within two years.

(5) The Regulating Act provided for a Supreme Court with a Chief Justice and three puisne judges. Sir Elijah Impey was appointed the Chief Justice. The Supreme Court was given the power to try civil, criminal, admiralty and ecclesiastical cases. It was to be a Court of Record and Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol delivery in and for the town of Calcutta, the factory and Fort William and other factories subordinate to it. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was to extend to all the British subjects residing in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Court was empowered to try all cases of complaints against any of His Majesty's subjects for crimes or oppressions. The Supreme Court tried suits, complaints or actions against any person in the employment of the Company or His Majesty's subjects. It was given both original and appellate jurisdiction. These cases were to be tried by means of a jury.

(6) The Regulating Act prohibited the receiving of presents and bribes by the servants of the Company. "No person holding or exercising any civil or military office under the Crown, shall accept, receive or take directly or indirectly any present, gift, donation, gratuity or reward, pecuniary or otherwise." It was made clear that the offenders were to make double payment and were liable to be removed to England.

(7) No British subject was to charge interest at a rate higher than 12 per cent. If the Governor-General, Governor, Member of Council, a judge of Supreme Court or any other servant of the Company committed any offence, he was liable to be tried and punished by the King's Bench in England. The Act also settled the salaries of the Governor-General, Governors, Chief Justice and other judges. Thus, Governor-General was to get £25,000 annually. Every member of the Council was given £ 10,000/- a year. The salary of the Chief Justice was fixed at £ 8,000/- and that of an ordinary judge £ 6,000/-.

Criticism of Regulating Act: It is universally admitted

that the Regulating Act had many short-comings. Whatever the reason for those defects, a reference has to be made to them at this place. (1) A serious defect of the Regulating Act was that it did not define clearly the exact jurisdiction of the Governor-General, the members of his Council and the Supreme Court. Whether the omission was deliberate or unintentional, there was a lot of conflict. The relations between the Governor-General and the Supreme Court were never happy. The result was that they always pulled in different directions.

(2) The Supreme Court claimed to serve writs on all the inhabitants of the country and make them appear before itself. Warren Hastings resisted this claim of the Supreme Court. In the case of Cassijurah, the Sheriff and the officers accompanying him were prevented by a Company of Sepoys from executing a writ against a Zamindar. These Sepoys maintained that they were merely acting under the orders of the Governor-General.

(3) Supreme Court claimed to have jurisdiction over the collectors of revenue of the Company for the wrongs done by them in their official capacity. It also claimed to try judicial officers of the Company for similar wrongs. It refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the provincial or country courts. It released a district treasurer who was imprisoned on a charge of embezzlement and remarked thus: "We know not what your Provincial Chief and the Council are: you might just as well have said that he was confined by the King of Fairies." Warren Hastings tried to remove this conflict by appointing Sir Elijah Impey as the judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. However, this arrangement did not last long because Impey was called back home. The Regulating Act did not specify as to which law was to be applied by the Supreme Court. It was a moot point as to whether the Hindu law, Mohammadan law, Christian law or the English law was to be applied. It was also not made clear as to whether the law of the defendant was to be applied or that of the plaintiff in case the two professed different religions. As a matter of fact, the judges of the Supreme Court knew only the English law and applied the same practically in every case. Evidently, this had very unfortunate results.

(4) The Regulating Act did not contain any answer to many questions. It was not clearly defined as to who the servants of the English East India Company were and what actually constituted employment under the Company. A question could be asked as

to whether farmers of revenue could be considered as servants of the Company.

(5) The Regulating Act made the position of the Governor-General very weak. As a matter of fact, he was merely at the mercy of the majority of the members of his Council. We are told that for 6 years there was a bitter struggle between the Governor-General and the members of his Council. He was outvoted and over-ruled and on many occasions had to follow a policy which he did not approve of. It is only after the death of Monson and Clavering that Warren Hastings was able to manage his Council. Previous to this, his position was so hard that at one time he actually instructed his agent in London to tender his resignation to the Directors.

(6) The raising of the qualifications of the voters from £500 to £1,000 converted the Court of Directors into an oligarchy. About 1246 holders of stock were disfranchised. "The whole of the regulations concerning the Court and Proprietors relied upon two principles, which have proved fallacious, namely, that small numbers were a security against faction and disorder and that integrity of conduct would follow the greater property."

(7) The control of Bengal over Madras and Bombay was not effective.

(8) According to Burke, the Regulating Act was "an infringement of national rights, national faith and national justice." According to Roberts, the Act was a half-measure and disastrously vague on many points. The titular authority of the Nawab of Bengal was left by implication in tact and no assertion was made of the sovereignty of the Crown or Company in India. Principal Sri Ram Sharma has made the following observations: "In this way the Regulating Act made a bold attempt at securing good government in the Company's territory in India without the Crown's directly assuming the responsibility for the same. It was the first measure by which a European government assumed the responsibility for governing territories acquired by it outside Europe and inhabited by civilized people. No other European nation had so far made any such attempt. For the English as well, it was the first measure of its kind. The Act was passed at a time when controversy in colonial America was about to flare up into the War of American Independence. The British political philosophy at the time was dominated by Adam Smith's *Wealth of the Nations* on the one hand and the

struggle between George III and the Whigs on the other. The Act bore the impress of all these stresses and strains. Its most praiseworthy feature was the setting up of the Supreme Court as a guarantor of good government in Bengal for all. It introduced the thin end of the wedge of direct administration by the Crown by insisting on securing timely information from the Company about its affairs in India. It recognised the Board of Directors for another 60 years in India; it translated the Directors' demand for honest administrators in India into a parliamentary mandate when it prohibited private trade and acceptance of gifts by the Company's public servants. Its principle of collegiate authority in the Governor-General and Council of Bengal remained substantially unmodified till 1861. It made an amateurish attempt at setting up one supreme authority for the Company's dominions in India."

Amending Act of 1781: It was admitted on all hands that there were many shortcomings in the Regulating Act and consequently an Act was passed in 1781 to remove them. The new Act provided that the public servants of the Company were not to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court for things done by them in their official capacity. Revenue collectors and judicial officers of the Company's courts were also exempted from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court for things done by them in their official capacity. Governor-General and the members of his Council were also exempted from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court both individually and collectively "for anything counsell'd, ordered or done by them in their public capacity."

As regards the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, it was provided that it was to have jurisdiction over all the inhabitants of Calcutta. It was to administer the personal law of the defendant. It was subsequently stated that "no person was to be subject to the jurisdiction of Supreme Court by reason of his being a land-owner or farmer of land or of land-rent or for raising a payment or pension in lieu of any title to, or ancient possession of land or land-rent or for any compensation or share of profits for collecting rents..." Servants of the Company were to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court for wrongs done by them or trespass. Several cases could be brought before the Supreme Court by the agreement of both the parties. In cases relating to inheritance or succession to lands or or goods, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was excluded. "The Supreme Court was required to take into consideration and respect

the religious and social customs and usages of the Indians while enforcing its decrees and processes. Government was also to keep them in view while making regulations.

Governor-General-in-Council was given the power to make regulations for the provincial courts and Councils. Formerly, the rules and regulations made by the Governor-General were required to be registered with the Supreme Court. This led to a lot of inconvenience. Consequently, the Act of 1781 provided that no such registration was required.

The Act provided that appeals were to be taken from the provincial courts to the Governor-General-in-Council. The latter was to be the final Court of Appeal except in those civil cases which involved £5,000 or more. In case the amount involved was more than £ 5,000, an appeal was to be taken to the King-in-Council.

According to Dr. Keith, the Act of 1781 "effected important changes in the system of 1773. The preamble showed clearly who had won the contest; it asserted the necessity of supporting the Government, the importance of the regular collection of the revenues and the maintenance of the people in their ancient laws."

Fox India Bill: Fox who was the Prime Minister in 1783, introduced the famous Fox India Bill in Parliament. The Bill provided for the creation of a Board of 7 Commissioners to which all the powers of the Court of Directors and Proprietors were to be transferred after abolishing them. Those commissioners were to be named in the Act. They were to be irremovable for 4 years except on an address from either House of Parliament. Their vacancies were to be filled by the King. The Board was to control the revenues and territories in India. It was given power to appoint and remove all the servants of the Company. The Board was to sit in London and Parliament was to have power to inspect the minutes of its proceedings. The commercial business of the company was to be carried on by 9 Assistant Directors appointed for 5 years by the largest number of shareholders. Casual vacancies were to be filled by the Court of Directors. It is true that the Fox India Bill was passed by the House of Commons but it was rejected by the House of Lords on account of the intervention of George III, King of England.

Pitt's India Act (1784): Although the Fox India Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords and Fox resigned, a Bill on the same lines was introduced by Pitt, the Younger, the Prime Minister

of England, and passed in 1784. The Pitt's India Act provided for a Board of Control of six Privy Councillors. The Board was given comprehensive powers of supervision, direction and control over the Indian administration. All the dispatches from India were to be submitted to them and they were to have the right of modifying any instruction sent by the Directors to India. They were empowered to call the old files and thereby review the administration. Regarding the composition of the Board, it may be stated that real power fell into the hands of the President of the Board of Control from the very beginning. Two of its members, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Secretary of State, never attended its meetings. Out of the remaining four members, only the senior member attended and the other three members absented themselves. The President of the Board of Control managed to get the signatures of the Secretary of State and Chancellor of Exchequer.

(2) A Committee of Secrecy, consisting of three Directors, was appointed to take the place of the Court of Directors in political and military matters.

(3) Directors were to retain the right of making appointments to different offices in India. They were also given the power of revising and reviewing the acts of Indian administration.

(4) The Court of Proprietors was deprived of its right of over-riding the decisions of the Court of Directors.

(5) Governor-General-in-Council was given the power of superintending, controlling and directing the several Presidencies. Formerly, the Executive Council of the Governor-General consisted of four members. The Pitt's India Act provided that the Councils of Governor-General and Governors were to consist of 3 members and one of them was to be the local Commander-in-Chief.

(6) It was declared that the official offenders were not to be pardoned if they were found guilty of having committed any offence. Better provision was made for the trial of those offences in England which were committed in India. For the purpose of dealing with those cases, a Special Court of 3 Judges, 4 Peers and 6 members of the House of Commons was created.

(7) The Act disapproved of the policy of intervention as following by the servants of the Company in India. The following clause was inserted into the Act: "Whereas to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and the policy of this nation, the Governor-General and his

Council were not without the express authority of the Court of Directors or of the Secretary Committee, to declare war, or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war, against any of the country, provinces or states in India..."

(8) Governor-General was to be appointed by the Directors with the approval of the Crown. However, no such approval was required in the matter of the appointment of the Governors of the Presidencies and their Councils and also the members of the Governor-General's Council. The Crown could recall the Governor-General or the Governors.

Act of 1786: The Act of 1786 made Cornwallis the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian forces. He was also given the power to over-ride his Council on his own responsibility.

Charter Act of 1793: The English East India Company was given a new charter in 1793. Act of 1793 is a very long one. It repealed many old laws and consolidated the existing ones. However, it did not make any alterations. (1) The Governor-General and the Governors were given the power to over-ride their Councils. This power had been given specially to Cornwallis in 1786.

(2) The control of the Governor-General over the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay was emphasised. It was laid down that when the Governor-General went to a Presidency, he superseded the Governor.

(3) The Governor-General was given the power to appoint a Vice-President of his Executive Council from the members of the Council. The Vice-President was to act in place of the Governor-General when the latter was absent from Bengal.

(4) The Commander-in-Chief was not to be a member of the Council of the Governor-General unless he was specially appointed to be a member by the Court of Directors.

(5) No leave of absence out of India was to be allowed to the Governor-General, Governors, the Commander-in-Chief and a few other high officials during their tenure of office.

(6) The admiralty jurisdiction of the Calcutta Supreme Court was extended to the high seas.

(7) Power was given to appoint members of the civil service as Justices of the Peace, to appoint scavengers for the Presidency towns, to levy a sanitary rate and to forbid the sale of liquor without a license.

(8) It was provided that the payment of the members and the staff of the Board of Control should be made out of the Indian revenues. This system continued upto 1919.

(9) It was provided that the two junior members of the Board of Control need not be Privy Councillors.

(10) The Act tried to regulate the finances of the company. A particular amount was assumed to be the annual surplus of the Company. Out of that annual surplus, five lacs of pounds were to go to the liquidation of the debts of the Company, and a similar amount was to be absorbed in increasing the dividend from 8 per cent to 10 per cent.

(11) The Charter of the Company was renewed for 20 years. 3,000 tons were allowed for private trade but this right was never exercised.

Charter Act of 1813: The Charter Act of 1793 had renewed the charter of the Company for 20 years. When the time for the renewal of the Charter arrived, there was a lot of agitation. The people demanded the ending of the commercial monopoly of the Company. They were determined to have a share in the trade with India. They pointed out four advantages which the abolition of monopoly would bring, *viz.*, the extension of British Commerce and Industry, the prevention of the diversion of Indian trade to other countries of the Europe or America, the reduction in the cost of trade, especially in transportation and warehousing charges, and the cheapening of the Indian raw imports into Britain. Stalwarts like Warren Hastings, Malcolm and Munro defended the monopoly of the Company. Ultimately, the Charter Act of 1813 was passed after many changes and compromises.

(1) The Act of 1813 renewed the charter of the East India Company for 20 years. The Company was deprived of its monopoly of trade with India, but she was to enjoy her monopoly of trade with China for 20 years. The Indian trade was thrown open to all British merchants, although they had to work under certain limitations. The Directors were to grant licenses to those Englishmen who applied for permission to trade with India. Licenses were also to be given to persons who wanted to come to India for the purpose of enlightening or reforming the Indians or for other lawful purposes. If the Directors refused to issue a license, the Board of Control could be approached for the same purpose. The persons who tried to go to India without a license were to be regarded as interlopers and were

liable to punishment.

(2) The Act laid down certain rules for the application of the Indian revenues. Maintenance of forces was to be the first charge on the revenues of the Company, payment of interest was the second charge, and the maintenance of the civil and commercial establishment was the third charge. Provision was also made for the reduction of the debt of the Company. The company was required to keep its commercial and territorial accounts separately.

(3) It was provided that not more than 29 thousand troops were to be maintained out of the revenues of the Company.

(4) The company was authorised to make laws, regulations and articles of war for the Indian troops. It was also authorised to provide for the holding of Court Martials.

(5) The powers of superintendence and direction of the Board of Control were not only defined but also enlarged to a very great extent.

(6) The local Governments in India were empowered to impose taxes on persons, and punish those who did not pay them. These powers were to be exercised by the local governments subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

(7) The Act provided for the religious learning and education of the people of India. A sum of Rs. 100,000 a year was to be set "apart and applied to the revival and to the improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India."

(8) The Act also made provision for the training of the civil and military servants of the Company. The college at Haileybury and military school at Adiscombe were to be maintained and brought under the authority of the Board of Control. The colleges at Calcutta and Madras were also to work according to the regulations of the Board of Control.

(9) The Act provided for the appointment of a bishop and three arch-deacons for the religious welfare of the Europeans in India.

(10) The Act made special provisions for the administration of justice in cases in which the Britishers and Indians were involved. Special penalties were provided for theft, forgery and coinage offences.

Charter Act of 1833: The Charter of the Company was renewed in 1833. There was a lot of controversy before the Charter was actually renewed. The Englishmen were opposed to the continuance of the monopoly of the Company and consequently one of the provisions of the new Charter was that the monopoly of the Company was to be abolished. While the commercial functions of the Company ended, its political functions were to continue. The Government of India was to pay the debts of the Company. The shareholders of the Company were guaranteed a dividend of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum out of the Indian revenues for the next 40 years. The Indian possessions of the Company were declared to be held by the Company in trust for the British Crown.

(2) The Charter Act restricted the patronage of the Directors. It was provided that nominations to seats in the Haileybury college were to be double the number of vacancies in the services. Nominated persons were to join the college and the top-most candidates among them were to be selected to fill the vacancies. This provision was amended in 1834 in favour of the Directors and continued up to 1853.

(3) President of the Board of Control became the Minister for Indian affairs. His colleagues disappeared both in fact and in name. The minister was to have two Assistant Commissioners who were to be assistants and not colleagues. The Secretary of the Minister occupied a position of great importance on account of his presence in Parliament and he spoke for his chief when the latter sat in the House of Lords.

(4) The Charter Act centralised the administration of the English Company in India. Governor-General of Bengal became the Governor-General of India. Governor-General-in-Council was given the power to control, superintend and direct the civil and military affairs of the Company in India. Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal and the other possessions were placed under the control of the Governor-General-in-Council. All revenues were to be raised under the authority of the Central Government. The Central Government was to have complete control over expenditure. So far as the Presidencies were concerned, they were permitted to expend only that amount which was approved for them by the Central Government. The creation of any new office which carried a pension, was to require the sanction of the Central Government. Governor-General-in-Council could suspend any member of the Governments

of Madras and Bombay who disobeyed him. If a Provincial Government failed to carry out the orders of the Central Government, it could be superseded. When the Governor-General went to a Presidency, he was to supersede the Governor and exercise the right of over-riding the local Council.

(5) The Charter Act also brought about the legislative centralisation of India. Formerly, the Presidencies could make their own laws and consequently there was a lot of confusion in the laws of the country. With a view to set up a uniform system of laws for the whole of the country, the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were deprived of their law-making powers. In future, the Governor-General-in-Council alone was to make laws. He could make laws on all subjects. Those laws were to apply to all things and to all persons in British India. Those laws were enforceable by all the courts in the country and no one could refuse to enforce them. Governor-General-in-Council was authorised to make Articles of War and Code of military discipline and provide for the administration of justice. The power of making laws included also the power of making, repealing, amending or altering any laws and regulations in force in India. However, there were certain limitations on the law-making power. Governor-General-in-Council could not alter the constitution of the Company or amend the Charter itself. It could not alter the Mutiny Act. It could not alter the prerogatives of the Crown. It could not pass laws against the laws of England. The laws passed by the Government of India were to be called Acts. Before 1833, they were known as regulations.

(6) The Charter Act added a new Member to the Executive Council of the Governor-General and he was to be known as the Law Member. His work was purely legislative. He attended meetings of the Executive Council of the Governor-General by special invitation. He was not given any vote. Neither the presence nor the concurrence of the Law Member was necessary either for the consideration of the bill or for its passage. The quorum of the Executive Council was fixed at three for legislative work and two for administrative work.

(7) The number of the members of the Councils of the Governors of Bombay and Madras was reduced to two.

(8) Bombay and Madras were to keep their separate armies under their Commanders-in-Chief, but they were to be under the control of the Central Government.

(9) The Act provided for the codification of laws in India. Provision was made for the appointment of a Law Commission for that purpose. It was recognised that there was a lot of confusion and uncertainty in the laws in force in the country. The laws varied from Presidency to Presidency. What was legal at one place was illegal at another. What was considered to be a trivial offence at one place, was considered to be a serious one at another. To quote the Law Commission, "The British regulations having been made by three different legislatures, contained, as might be expected, very different provisions. Thus, in Bengal, serious forgeries were punishable with imprisonment for a term double of the term fixed for perjury. In the Bombay Presidency on the contrary perjury is punishable with imprisonment for a term double of the Madras Presidency. There were many more and equal glaring discrepancies. The result was utter chaos and confusion in administering the law of crimes." Referring to the confusion and uncertainty of the law, the judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta stated that no one could pronounce an opinion or form a judgement, however sound, upon any disputed right of persons respecting which doubt and confusion may not be raised by those who may choose to call it in question ; for very few of the public persons in office, at home not even the law officers, can be expected to have so comprehensive and clear a view of the present Indian system, as to know readily and familiarly the bearings of each part of it on the rest. There are English Acts of Parliament specially provided for India, and others of which it is doubtful whether they apply to India wholly, or in part or not at all. There is the English common law and constitution of which the application, in many respects, is still more obscure and perplexed ; Mohammadan law and usage ; Hindu law, usage and scripture ; Charters and Letters Patent of the Crown ; Regulations of the Government, some made declaredly under Acts of Parliament particularly authorising them, and others which are founded, as some say, on the general power of Government entrusted to the Company by the Parliament, and others assert on their rights as successors of the old native Governments ; some regulations require registry in the Supreme Court, others do not ; some have effects generally throughout India, others are peculiar to one Presidency or two." Again, according to Campbell, "Our criminal law is very much a patch-work..... engrafted at all times and seasons on a ground nearly covered and obliterated. The general result is that all the worst and most common

crimes are satisfactorily provided for by special enactments ; but that there is very great want of definition, accuracy and uniformity as to the miscellaneous offences... We have the main points of a tolerable system ; but it wants re-modelling, classification and 'codification.' Regarding the condition of the local system at that time, another writer has remarked thus : " At this time, each of the three Presidencies enjoyed equal legislative powers ; though the Governor-General possessed the right of veto over the legislation of the subordinate Governments, it had in fact been little exercised. There had come into existence three series of regulations, as these enactments were called, frequently ill-drawn, for they had been provided by inexperienced persons with little skilled advice ; frequently conflicting in some cases as a result of varying conditions but in others merely by extent ; and in all cases enforceable only in the Company's Courts, because they had been submitted to and registered by the King's Court." (Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. V, p. 5).

No wonder, Section 53 of the Charter Act, 1833 provided thus : " And whereas it is expedient... that such laws as may be applicable in common to all classes of the inhabitants of the said territories, due regards being had to the rights, feelings and peculiar usages of the people, should be enacted and that all laws and customs having the force of law within the same territories should be ascertained and consolidated and as occasion may require amended. Be it therefore enacted... and the said Commission shall fully inquire into the jurisdiction powers and rules of the existing courts of justice and police establishments in the said territories and all existing forms of judicial procedure and into nature and operation of all laws whether civil or criminal, written or customary, prevailing and in force in any part of the said territories and whereto any inhabitants of the said territories whether Europeans or others are now subject ;

" and the said Commission shall from time to time make reports in which they shall fully set forth the result of their said enquiries and shall from time to time suggest such alterations as may in their opinion be non-officially made in the said courts of justice and police establishments, forms of judicial procedure and laws, due regard being had to the distinction of castes, difference of religion and the manners and opinions prevailing among different races and in different parts of the said territories."

(10) Section 87 of the Act declared that no Indian subject of the Company in India was to be debarred from holding any office

under the Company "by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent and colour." This was a declaration of very great importance. It is true its immediate effect was very little, but it was to have far-reaching effect in the long run.

(11) Europeans were allowed to come to India and settle. However, they were required to get themselves registered on their landing on the Indian soil. Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to take measures to protect Indians from insult and outrage with regard to their person, religion, and opinions at the hands of Europeans.

(12) The Bishops of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta were to be appointed for the benefit of Christians in India.

(13) The Government of India was required to take measures for the abolition of slavery and betterment of slaves.

(14) The Act proposed to divide the Presidency of Bengal into two Presidencies, *viz.*, Presidency of Agra and Presidency of Bengal. However, this provision was suspended by the Act of 1835 which authorised the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor, for the North Western Provinces. The Governor-General of India was to continue as the Governor of Bengal.

Charter Act of 1853: The Charter of the Company was renewed again in 1853. According to the new Act, the Law Member was made a full member of Executive Council of the Governor-General. Governor-General was given power to nominate a Vice-President of his Council. Discussions of measures which had already begun, was thrown open to public. Different legislative measures were entrusted to Select Committees for examination. Consent of Governor-General was made necessary for all legislative proposals.

(2) Provinces were allowed to send one representative each to the Central Legislative Council. No measure concerning any Province was to be considered unless the representative from that Province was present. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta was to be an *ex-officio* member of the Council and one more member was also to be appointed. The Governor-General was given the power of appointing two more civil servants as members of the Council. However, the power was never exercised.

The Council in its legislative capacity was to consist of 12 members. Those were the Governor-General, Commander-in-Chief, 4 members of the Council, and 6 legislative members. Out of these 6 members, 4 were the representatives from the provinces

and the other two were the Chief Justice and a puisne judge. Representatives from the provinces were to be given £ 5,000 annually. "There was at least one member present with local knowledge and what may be called the English element in the Council was greatly increased."

(3) Provision was made for the appointment of a separate Governor for the Presidency of Bengal, and until that was made, the Court of Directors might authorise the Governor-General of India in Council to appoint a covenanted servant of ten years' standing as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. The latter appointment was made as it was the cheaper of the two.

(4) Power was given to the Court of Directors to constitute a new Presidency. Power was also given to alter and regulate from time to time the limits of the various provinces. This power was used to create the Punjab into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

(5) The patronage of the Court of Directors was taken away. In future, vacancies were to be filled up by competitive examination. A Committee was appointed in 1854 with Lord Macaulay as President for that purpose.

(6) The number of the Directors was reduced to 18 and 6 were to be nominated by the Crown.

(7) The Act authorised the Crown to appoint a Law Commission in England. This Law Commission was required to examine and put into shape the mass of reports and drafts of the Acts left by the Indian Law Commission and to recommend what legislation was necessary. The appointment of the English Law Commission was resented. It made the Home Government interfere in the details of the Indian legislative enactments and attempted to reduce the Indian Legislative Council to the position of a mere registration office. Sir Charles Wood quarrelled with Lord Dalhousie on the question of the extent of the independence to be allowed to the Council.

(8) The Charter Act of 1853 renewed the powers of the Company and allowed it to retain possession of the Indian territories "in trust for Her Majesty, her heirs and successors" only until Parliament shall otherwise provide.

ACT OF 1858.

There was a lot of agitation in England against the continuation of the rule of the English East India Company. It was pointed out that a trading company whose main objective was profit could

not be entrusted with the work of the administration of a sub-continent like India. The out-break of the Mutiny and its suppression strengthened the hands of those who demanded the abolition of the rule of the Company. The Government of Great Britain decided to abolish the Company. Naturally, the Company protested. It challenged the most searching investigation into the causes of the Mutiny and maintained that the British Government was also responsible for errors of omission and commission of the Company because the British Government had the deciding voice in the affairs of the Company. The Company also took pride in its achievements in India. However, in spite of all this, Lord Palmerston introduced his Bill for the Better Government of India in Parliament. While introducing the Bill, he declared thus: "The principle of our political system is that all administrative functions should be accompanied by ministerial responsibility, responsibility to Parliament, but in this case the chief functions in the Government of India are committed to a body not responsible to Parliament, not appointed by the Crown but elected by persons who have no more connection with India than consists in the simple possession of so much India stock". In spite of the opposition, the Act was passed by the Parliament in 1858.

PROVISIONS OF THE ACT.

1. The Act of 1858 declared that henceforth "India shall be governed by and in the name of the Queen", and vested in the Queen all the territories and powers of the Company. However, the Government of India was to be carried on by the Viceroy on behalf of the Queen. The military and naval forces of the Company were transferred to the Crown.

2. The Board of Control and the Court of Directors were abolished and all the powers possessed by them were given to the Secretary of State for India and his India Council. The Secretary of State was given the power to superintend, control and direct the affairs of the Government of India. He was to sit in Parliament and was also to be assisted by a Parliamentary Under-Secretary. Secretary of State was to be a member of the Cabinet, but his salary and allowances were made a charge on the revenues of India.

3. As regards the India Council of Secretary of State, it was to consist of 15 members. Out of the total, 7 were to be elected by the Court of Directors and the rest of the 8 members were to be appointed by the Crown. More than half the members of the Council were to be

those persons who had lived in India for 10 years or more and had not left India for more than 10 years at the date of appointment. The members were to hold office during good behaviour. Each member was to get a remuneration of £ 1,200 annually from the revenues of India.

4. The Secretary of State was to preside over the meetings of the India Council. He was given not only a vote but also a casting vote. The Council was to meet twice a week. The members of the India Council could be divided into various committees for purposes of administrative convenience. Ordinarily, Secretary of State was given the power to over-rule even the majority decisions of the India Council. But in the case of grants or appropriation of Indian revenues, Secretary of State was not authorised to act against the majority view of his Council. The concurrence of a majority of members present at a meeting was required for division and distribution of patronage, for making contracts, sales and purchases on behalf of the Government of India and in all matters connected with the property of Government of India. The India Council was given control over civil and military servants of the Crown. Secretary of State was given the power of sending and receiving secret messages and dispatches from the Governor-General without the necessity of communicating them to the India Council. The India Council was a body of permanent civil servants who had expert knowledge about the affairs of India.

5. The Secretary of State for India was declared to be a corporate body which could sue and be sued in England and in India. Secretary of State was required to present every year in the British Parliament a report on the moral and material progress of India. Rules and regulations made in India or by the Secretary of State were to be placed before the House of Commons. The Governor-General and the Governors of the Presidencies were to be appointed by the Crown. The Lieutenant-Governors were to be appointed by the Governor-General subject to the approval of Her Majesty. Members of the various Councils were to be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council.

6. It was laid down that except for the purposes of repelling invasion or for any other sudden or urgent necessity, Indian revenues were not to be employed for military operations outside India without the consent of Parliament.

7. The Act of 1858 divided the patronage between the Govern-

ment of India and the Secretary of State in Council. All appointments and promotions "which by law or under any regulations, usage or custom are not made by any authority in India, shall continue to be made in India by the like authority". Appointments to the Covenanted Civil Service were to be made by open competition in accordance with the rules made by Secretary of State in Council with the help of the Civil Service Commissioners.

It was rightly pointed out by Sir H.S. Cunningham, that the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown was rather a formal than substantial change. Even before 1858, all power had passed into the hands of the President of the Board of Control. The British Government had complete control over him. The Act of 1853 had already prepared the ground for the Act of 1858. While previously, the Charters of the Company were renewed for 20 years, the renewal in 1853 was not made for any definite period. The British Government could take over the administration of the country at any time it pleased. The Act of 1853 had already deprived the Directors of their patronage. Their number was also reduced from 24 to 18. Out of the 18 members, 6 were already appointed by the Crown.

QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION OF 1858.

A Durbar was held by Lord Canning at Allahabad on November 1, 1858 to declare the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown. On that occasion, Lord Canning also read out the Queen's Proclamation to the princess and people of India. We are told that the ministers were directed to frame the draft "bearing in mind that it is a female sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people, on assuming the direct government over them and after a bloody war, giving them pledges, which her future reign is to redeem and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization." As a matter of fact, the Queen's Proclamation was worded in accordance with her sentiments.

The following is the text of the Queen's Proclamation:—

"Victoria by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Colonies and dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia, Queen

Defender of the Faith.

“Whereas for diverse weighty reasons, we have resolved by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the Government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company :

“Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said Government ; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

“And we reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and Councillor Charles John Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories and to administer the government thereof in our name and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall from time to time receive from us through one of our principal Secretaries of State.

“We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

“We desire no extension of our present territorial possession ; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of our Native Princes as our own ; and we desire that they as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity, and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

“We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations by the blessing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

“Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be any wise favoured, none molested or disqualified by reason of their religious faith and observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law, and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

“And it is our further will that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge.

“We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the Natives of India regard the land inherited by them from their ancestors and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India.”

The proclamation went on to declare unconditional pardon, amnesty and oblivion for the late offences and ended by declaring that

“When by the blessings of Providence internal tranquility shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry, to promote works of public utility and improvement and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.”

To put in simple language, the Queen's Proclamation assured the Indian princes that their territories will not be annexed by the British Government and they shall be given the right of adoption. The British Government ordered its servants in India not to interfere in the religious affairs of the Indians. In framing and administering law in India, due regard was to be shown to the customs, ancient rites and usages of the Indians. Indian subjects of Her Majesty were declared equal with the British subjects in other parts of the Empire. Equal rights and opportunities were guaranteed to the Indians along with other British subjects. Pardon and amnesty were offered to all those Indians who were still in arms against the

British Government and who were not guilty of murder of British subjects. Treaties of the English East India Company were declared to be in force.

The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 is a great landmark in the constitutional history of India. This declaration of policy remained the basis of Indian administration up to 1917 when a new declaration was made by the British Government with regard to India. The declaration tried to remove the fears of the Indian princes by guaranteeing to them their position. It also gave an assurance to the Indians that the Englishmen will not interfere in their religious affairs.

Indian Council's Act, 1861: The Act of 1858 which transferred the Government of India into the hands of the Crown, did not make any changes in the Indian administration. That was done by the Act of 1861. The new Act provided for the addition of a fifth member to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. He was required to be a gentleman of legal profession, a jurist rather than a technical lawyer.

(2) The Act empowered the Governor-General to delegate special business to individual members of the Executive Council, and henceforward the various members of the Council had their own portfolios and dealt on their own initiative with all but the most important matters. The most important matters were placed before the Governor-General and if any differences of opinion appeared, those were considered by the whole Council. Governor-General was authorised to nominate a President who was to preside over the meetings of the Executive Council in his absence. He was given the power of making rules and regulations for the conduct of the business of the Executive Council.

(3) The Executive Council of the Governor-General was to be strengthened by the addition of not less than 6 and not more than 12 members nominated by the Governor-General for purposes of legislation. Not less than half of the additional members were to be non-officials and they were to hold office for two years. The function of the Council was strictly limited to legislation and the Act expressly forbade the transaction of any other business. It was empowered "to make laws and regulations for all persons whether British or native, foreigners or others, and for all places and things whatever within the said territories, for all servants of the Government of India within the dominions of princes and states in alliance with Her Majesty." Certain restrictions were put on the legislative

powers. The previous sanction of the Governor-General was required for introducing any legislation concerning certain specified subjects such as public debts, public revenues, Indian religious rites, military discipline and policy towards the Indian states. No law could be made which infringed the authority of the Home Government or violated the provisions of certain Acts made by the Parliament. Governor-General was given the power of vetoing any law passed by the Council. In case of emergency, he was also empowered to issue ordinances which possessed the same authority as law. These ordinances were to remain in force for 6 months unless they were disallowed or repealed by an ordinance or law. The cause of issuing an ordinance was to be notified to the Secretary of State for India at once. The approval of the Governor-General was made necessary to every Act passed. The right to disallow Acts was reserved for the Crown and the general authority of the British Parliament and Crown were expressly reserved.

(3) The Government of Bombay and Madras were given the power of nominating the Advocate-General and not less than four and not more than 8 additional members of the Executive Council for purposes of legislation. These additional members were to hold office for two years. The business of the Council was to be strictly legislative. The consent of the Governor and the Governor-General was made necessary for all legislation passed or amended by the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

(4) No distinction was made between the central and provincial subjects. However, measures concerning public debt, finances, currency, post-office, telegraph, religion, patents and copyrights were ordinarily put under the control of the Central Government.

(5) The Governor-General was given the power to create new provinces. He was also given the power to appoint Lieutenant-Governors. He was also authorised to divide or alter the limits of any presidency, province or territory.

The Indian Councils' Act of 1861 marked an important step in the constitutional history of India. It made a beginning in representative institutions and legislative devolution. It helped the Governor-General to associate non-official Indians for purposes of legislation. The Central and Provincial Councils fulfilled the three-fold purpose of publicity, discussion and information. The people got an opportunity to put forward their grievances and the Government got an opportunity to defend its policy. However, it

is to be noted that the non-official members of the Council were nominated by the Viceroy and not elected by the people. These non-official members were either the Indian princes or their Diwans, big Zamindars or retired officials, and not the natural leaders of the people who could really reflect and mirror their views and aspirations. The non-official members did not show much interest in the meetings of the Council. As a matter of fact, they showed the utmost reluctance to come and utmost hurry to depart. That may be due to the fact that the powers of the Legislative Councils were very much restricted. The non-official members had practically no say in the matter. The Council merely registered the decrees of the executive. No doubt the experiment was a failure, but it made the beginning of representative institutions.

The Act of 1867 has been considered to be a retrograde measure. The right of asking questions and the right to deliberate on matters of policy were not given to it. The position of the legislative councils has been described thus: "They are committees for the purpose of making—law—committees by means of which the Executive Government obtains advice and assistance in their legislation, and the public derive the advantage of full publicity being ensured at every stage of the law-making process—the Councils are not deliberative bodies with respect to any subject but that of immediate legislation before them. They cannot enquire into grievances, call for information or examine the conduct of the executive." (Report on Constitutional Reforms, pp. 40-41).

According to Prof. G.N. Singh, the Indian Councils Act, 1861, is important in the constitutional history of India for two chief reasons. "Firstly, because it enabled the Governor-General to associate the people of the land with work of legislation, and secondly, by vesting legislative powers to the Governments of Bombay and Madras and by making provision for the institution of similar legislative Councils in other provinces, it laid the foundations of the policy of legislative devolution which resulted in the grant of almost complete internal autonomy to the provinces in 1937."

Indian Council's Act of 1892: For full 31 years, the British Government did not consider it necessary to give a further instalment of reforms to the people of India. Ultimately, Lord Dufferin suggested the grant of further reforms so that there may be no agitation. His detailed proposals, after modification, were carried through by Lord Cross Indian Councils' Act. This Act enlarged

the functions of the Legislative Councils. They were authorised to discuss the annual financial statement under certain conditions and restrictions. According to Lord Curzon: "It is not contemplated to vote the budget in India item by item in the manner in which we do it in this House. But it is proposed to give opportunities to the members of the Councils to indulge in a full, free and fair criticism of the financial policy of the Government." The great merit of the new provision was that "the Government will have an opportunity of explaining their financial policy, of removing misapprehension, of answering calumny and attack; and they will also profit by the criticism delivered in a public position, and with a due sense of responsibility by the most competent representatives of non-official India." (2) The members of the Councils were given the right of addressing questions to the Government on matters of public interest. A previous notice of 6 days was to be given to the Government for asking a question. The President might disallow any question without giving any reason. Questions on matters of public interest could be asked "subject to such conditions and restrictions as may be prescribed in the rules made by the Governor-General for the provincial Governors." (3) The number of additional members in the Council was increased. It was to be not less than 10 and not more than 16 in the case of the Supreme Council and not less than 8 and not more than 20 in the case of Madras and Bombay. The maximum number for Bengal was fixed at 20 and for North-Western Province and Oudh 15. Two-fifths of the additional members were to be non-officials.

As a result of the pressure brought by the Indian National Congress, the Government agreed to allow elections to be held in India under the rules, though the members so elected could take their seats only after being nominated by the Government. It was assured by the Government that "under this clause, it will be possible for the Governor-General to make arrangements by which certain persons may be presented to him, having been chosen by election, if the Governor-General should find that such a system can properly be established."

It has been rightly pointed out that the Act of 1892 "was an attempt at compromise between the official view of the Councils as pocket legislators and the educated Indian view of them as embryo parliaments. While no efforts were made to enlarge the boundaries of the educated class, to provide them with any training in responsible

Government or to lay the foundations of future electorate to control them, the Act deliberately attempted to dally with the elective idea." According to Gokhale, "the actual working of the Act manifested its hollowness. Bombay Presidency was given 8 seats. Two seats were assigned by the Government of India in their rules to the University of Bombay and Bombay Municipal Corporation. The Bombay Government gave two seats to the European mercantile community, one seat to the Sirdars of the Deccan, one to the Zamindars of Sind and only two seats to the general public." Public representation was practically nil. The functions of the legislative Councils were strictly circumscribed. The system of election was a round-about one and consequently there was no link between the representatives and the people. The whole system was a sham.

Minto-Morley Reforms (1909): The period between 1892 and 1909 was one of storm and stress. The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon witnessed a lot of agitation and discontentment in the country. The same could be said about Lord Minto. The agitation against the partition of Bengal was widespread. The Government of India had to resort to very harsh measures to put down the nationalist movement in the country. However, the Government thought of winning over the moderates and for their purpose passed the Indian Councils' Act in 1909. It was Lord Morley who piloted the Bill through the British Parliament.

Provisions of the Act: (1) The Act of 1909 increased the size of the Legislative Councils. The additional members of the Governor-General's Council were increased up to a maximum of 60, those of Madras, Bengal, U.P., Bombay and Bihar and Orissa to a maximum of 50 and those of the Punjab, Burma and Assam to 30.

(2) Lord Morley insisted on retaining a substantial official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council and consequently it was provided that the Imperial Legislative Council shall consist of 37 officials and 23 non-officials. Out of the 37 officials, 28 were nominated by the Governor-General and the rest were to be ex-officio. The ex-officio members were to be the Governor-General, 6 ordinary members of the Council, and two extraordinary members. Out of the 32 non-official members, 5 were to be nominated by the Governor-General and the rest were to be elected.

(3) The Act did not provide for any official majority in the Provincial Legislative Councils. The majority of the members

were to be non-officials. However, this does not mean that there were to be non-official elected majorities in the Provincial Councils. Some of the non-officials were to be nominated by the Governor and the Government could always depend upon the unflinching loyalty of the nominated elected members. The Government could manage to have a working majority in the Provincial Legislative Councils with the help of the officials and the nominated non-officials. To take one example, the Madras Legislative Council consisted of 21 officials and 25 non-officials. The ex-officio members were Governors, 3 members of the Executive Council and the Advocate-General. The remaining 16 officials were nominated by the Governor. Out of the 26 non-officials, 5 were nominated and only 21 were elected. It is clear that there were 26 nominated members and only 21 elected members. Evidently, there was a nominated majority. The same applied to other Provinces.

(4) According to the Government of India, territorial representation was not suited to the people of India. "Representation by classes and interests is the only practicable method of embodying the elective principle in the constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils." The Act provided for separate or special electorates for the due representation of the different communities, classes and interests. The remaining seats were allotted to the municipalities and district boards which were called "general electorates."

In the case of Madras, there were 21 elected members of the Legislative Council. Out of these, two were elected by the Mohammadans, 2 by Zamindars and 3 by landlords other than the Zamindars, one by the Corporation of Madras, one by the Madras Chamber of Commerce, one by the Madras traders association and one by the planting community. The rest of the 9 members were elected by the Municipal Councils, and District and Taluka Boards. In the case of the Imperial Legislative Council, the total number of the elected seats was 27. Out of these, 6 were allotted to the landlords, 5 to the Mohammadans and one to the Mohammanan landlords and one each to the Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce. The remaining 13 seats were filled by the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Councils.

(5) The functions of the Legislative Councils were increased. Elaborate rules were made for the discussion of the budget in the Imperial Legislative Council. Every member was given the right to move any resolution relating to any alteration in taxation, any

new loan or any additional grant to local Governments proposed or mentioned in the financial statement or explanatory memorandum. The Council was not permitted to discuss expenditure on interest on debt, ecclesiastical expenditure and State Railways etc. It is to be noted that the financial statement was first referred to a Committee of the Council with the Finance Member as its Chairman. Half of its members were to be nominated by the head of the Government and the other half were elected by the non-official members of the Council.

(6) The members were given the right of asking questions and supplementary questions for the purpose of further elucidating any point. But the Member in charge of department might refuse to answer the supplementary questions off-hand. He may demand some time for the same.

(7) The members were given the power to move resolutions in the Councils. These resolutions were to be in the form of a definite recommendation to the Government. They must be clearly and precisely expressed and must raise definite issues. The resolutions were not to contain arguments, inferences, ironical expressions etc. The President may disallow any resolution or part of a resolution without giving any reason for the same.

(8) Rules were also framed under the Act for the discussion of matters of general public interest in the Legislative Councils. No discussion was permitted on any subject not within the legislative competence of the particular Legislature, any matter affecting the relations of the Government of India with a Foreign Power or a native state, and any matter under adjudication by a court of law.

(9) The Act raised the number of the members of the Executive Council in Bombay, Bengal and Madras to 4. It also empowered the Government to constitute an Executive Council for a Lieutenant-Governor's province also.

(10) In the Provinces, the University Senates, landlords, District Boards and Municipalities and Chambers of Commerce were to elect members. Muslims were given separate representation. Muslim members of the Legislatures were elected by the Muslims themselves.

(11) Disqualifications were imposed on political offenders. They could not offer themselves for election. However, the heads of the Governments were given the power to remove those disqualifications.

Criticism of the Act: (1) The reforms of 1909 could not come up to the expectations of the Indians. What the people of India demanded was that there should be set up a responsible government in the country. But the sacred heart of the reforms of 1909 was "benevolent despotism." While introducing the Bill in the Parliament, Lord Morley had declared that he had no intention to give to people of India responsible government. Under the circumstances, the reforms could not satisfy the people. It has been rightly pointed out that the people of India presented a cheque for £ 1,000 and they were given only £ 1. No wonder the people were not satisfied. The reforms introduced a change not of kind but of degree. Minor additions were made in the powers of Legislatures and also in their size. But that was hardly substantial. The people were dissatisfied.

(2) The reforms led to a lot of confusion. While parliamentary forms were introduced, no responsibility was given. The result was thoughtless and irresponsible criticism of the Government. Indian leaders made legislatures the platforms for denunciation of the Government. The feeling that they will not have to shoulder responsibility made the members critical of the government.

(3) The reforms introduced the system of elections. But the number of voters was very small. In some cases, the number of voters in a constituency did not exceed 9 or 10. Since the number was small, all the votes could be bought. Women were completely excluded.

(4) The system of elections was indirect. The people elected members of local bodies. The latter elected members of an electoral college. The electoral college elected members of the provincial legislature and the members of the provincial legislature elected members of the Imperial Legislature. The result was that there was no connection between the people and the members sitting in the legislature. The members felt no responsibility towards the people.

The representation of the people at large became in fact a process of infiltration through a series of sieves. The authors of the Joint Report of 1918 remarked thus: "There is absolutely no connection between the supposed primary voter and the man who sits as his representative in the Legislative Council, and the vote of the supposed primary voter has no effect upon the proceedings of the Legislative Council. In such circumstances, there can be no

responsibility upon, and no political education for the people who nominally exercise a vote. The work of calling into existence an electorate capable of bearing the weight of responsible government is still to be done."

(5) The Act of 1909 introduced separate electorates for Muslims. The evil did not end here. In 1919, the Sikhs also got separate electorates. The Act of 1935 gave separate representation to Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and the Harijans. It cannot be denied that one of the effects of communal representation was the establishment of Pakistan in 1947.

(6) The Act gave great importance to the vested interests by giving special representation to them *e.g.* landholders, Chambers of Commerce etc.

(7) The Indians resented the maintenance of an official majority in the Imperial Council. Although the Government of India had expressed their willingness to allow the Indians to have a majority at the centre, Lord Morley did not agree to it on the ground that since the Indians were given a non-official majority in the provincial councils, the Imperial Council should be maintained as their place of refuge in case they were defeated in the provinces.

(8) Although non-official majority was given in the provincial councils, the practical result was nothing. The non-official majority was nullified by the fact that it included nominated members. There was no real majority of those who represented the people.

(9) The Indians wanted the Government of England to make a clear indication as to what their goal was going to be in India. Was it to be the establishment of a responsible Government in India? If so, within how much time? and by what means? The Act of 1909 gave no answer to all these important questions.

(10) The reforms were in the nature of a half-way house which could scarcely satisfy the expectations of the Indians who wanted the transfer of power.

(11) The principle of responsible government was not allowed to germinate in the system. The responsibility still lay with the government. Parliamentary usages were adopted and generally followed, but the spirit of parliamentary government was absent. The result was friction. Influence without responsibility has always been disastrous in its operation. The debates lacked life because they could not affect the government. Whatever might be the opinion of the non-officials, the government always carried the day

with the help of the official bloc. The authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reports put the condition created by the Reforms of 1909 in these words: "The Morley-Minto Reforms in our view are the final outcome of the old conception which made the Government of India a benevolent despotism (tempered by a remote and only occasionally vigilant democracy) which might as it saw fit for purposes of enlightenment consult the wishes of its subjects. To recur to Sir Bartle Frere's figure, the Government is still a monarch in durbar: but his councillors are uneasy, and not wholly content with his personal rule: and the administration in consequence has become slow and timid in operation. Parliamentary usages have been initiated and adopted in the councils up to the point where they cause the maximum of friction, but short of that at which by having a real sanction behind them they begin to do good. We have at present in India neither the best of the old system, nor the best of the new. Responsibility is the savour of popular government and that savour the present councils wholly lack."

Dr. Zacharias sums up his criticism of the Reforms of 1909 in these words: "The essence of these Reforms lay in conceding what at once was evacuated of all meaning. Thus the elective principle of democracy was adopted: yet at the same time the anti-democratic communal representation was added. The official majority was done away with; but the elected members remained in a minority. The membership was considerably enlarged; but an emphatic disclaimer was issued simultaneously that the new Councils in no way meant the introduction of a parliamentary system. The Council of India and even the Viceroy's Executive Council were opened to some very few select Indians; but the liberal aspect of admitting Indians to the arena of government could in no way disguise the fact that real power remained safely in British hands."

The critics pointed out that Reforms of 1909 gave the people the shadow rather than substance. "They granted influence and not power" and according to George Waashington, "influence is not government." No wonder, Mazumdar described the reforms as "mere moonshine."

Circumstances leading to Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919): It goes without saying that the reforms of 1909 failed to satisfy the people of India. Even a moderate like Gokhale got convinced of the hollowness of the reforms. The reforms did not

give any answer to the Indian demand that the British Government should declare as to what their goal in India was and as to what the British Government intended to do to achieve the same. The recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission of 1909 were utterly inadequate and disappointing. Lord Crewe who became the Secretary of State after Lord Morley, appointed a Public Service Commission in 1912. This Commission spent two years in taking evidence, but its report was not published until 1917. The way in which the machinery of the Government moved infuriated the people.

A critical study of the reforms of 1909 will show that the main object of the authors of the reforms of 1909 was to win over the Moderates. But that object was not realised as is evident from the contemporary utterances of the Moderate leaders. The discontentment and disappointment of the people resulted in revolutionary activities. The cult of the bomb became popular. The number of outrages committed by the terrorists was on the increase. Even a person like Lord Hardinge was not spared.

The Muslims were also getting restive. They had come to realise the importance of their position from their experience of separate electorates. They had found that the Government of India was only too glad to please them. This made them conscious of their position. The revision of the Partition of Bengal in 1911 did not satisfy the Hindus because they had got the thing done after a lot of suffering. This act of Government annoyed the Muslims. The latter did not like the re-incorporation of the Muslim population of Eastern Bengal into the Hindu province of Bengal. The Muslims interpreted the action of the Government as a concession to the Hindus who had agitated and intimidated the Government. They emphasized "the connection between bombs and boons."

Moreover, the pre-war foreign policy of the British Government was a source of uneasiness to the Muslim population of India. The Muslim territories were being absorbed by the Christian Powers of Europe in the Balkans. The Muslims were annoyed for the acts of omission and commission of the British Government in the case of Morocco, Persia and Tripoli. The Balkan Wars were considered a part of a general attack on Islam. It is clear that the Muslims were as much annoyed as the Hindus, although for different reasons.

The treatment of the Indians abroad was creating a lot of discontentment in India. Their cruel treatment in Natal and

Transvaal especially aroused the Indians against the British Government and the latter was accused of the neglect of the Indian interests. In 1913, Lord Hardinge voiced the unanimous opinion of the Indians when he stated "that the sympathy of India, deep and burning, and not only of India, but of all lovers of India like myself, goes for their compatriots in South Africa in their resistance to invidious and unjust laws." Mr. Gokhale went to South Africa to negotiate on behalf of the Government of India. However, nothing substantial was done to redress the grievances of the Indians. A Commission of Enquiry and Indian Relief Act were considered inadequate.

The Sikhs who had settled in Australia and Canada were badly treated. As regards the Western Coast of Canada, the position was complicated by the activities of a few Indian revolutionaries who had settled in U.S.A., and were responsible for the murder of anti-revolutionaries and of Mr. Hopkins who was working on behalf of the Government of India and the Dominion Governments. The dispute culminated in the dispatch of the Komagata Maru, a Japanese boat requisitioned to make a direct journey from India to Vancouver with the object of defeating the immigration restrictions. The Sikhs on board the ship were not allowed to land. Returning after the commencement of the Great War in 1914 after great sufferings and privations, they formed the nucleus of a revolutionary movement in the Punjab.

It was in an atmosphere of discontentment that the Great War started in 1914. But inspite of all this, there was a generous response from the Indians. Mahatma Gandhi advised the Indians to render all possible help to the British Government. The Indian political parties made a sort of a truce, and allowed the Government to concentrate their attention on war-effort. This attitude of the Indians facilitated the recruiting of some 8,00,000 combatants and 4,00,000 non-combatants on a voluntary basis. The Government of India contributed almost annually a sum ranging between £ 20 and 30 million. A free gift of £ 1,00,000,000 also was given to England. The Government of India met the normal charges of the Indian troops not employed in India or within her boundaries. Further responsibilities were taken in April 1918, although the war ended before these amounted to more than £ 12,000,000. Large contributions were given to the Red Cross Societies and a War Loan was started in India. The general goodwill was so great that the British Government was able to withdraw from the Indian soil a major

part of their British troops. At one time, the British troops in India were not more than 15,000.

However, by 1916, the things had changed. All hopes of a speedy and conclusive victory had disappeared and disillusionment had begun. The methods employed by the British Government in the matter of recruitment and collection of funds for the Red Cross, added insult to injury. Prices went up and added to the distress of the people especially on account of the help rendered by them to the British Government. The Indians had been made to work under the august authority and supervision of some European officers. An idea began to gain ground that the people of India had nothing to do with the War. The Indian patriots were emboldened by the Irish rebellion and the apparent collapse of Western civilization. The commercial classes of India were at logger-heads with the Government on account of the war-time restrictions. They demanded the policy of protection. The Moderates were weakened by the death of Gokhale. Lord Sinha who had led the Congress to support the war-efforts of the Government, lost all his influence in the organisation. Mr. Asquith's declaration that "henceforth Indian questions would have to be approached from a different angle of vision", was not translated into action in full two years.

In 1915, Lord Sinha, the Congress President of the Bombay Session, advised the British Government to make a declaration of their goal in India with a view to pacify the Indian youth who were "intoxicated with ideas of freedom, nationality and self-Government."

Lord Chelmsford who succeeded Lord Hardinge in 1915, at once came to the conclusion that the creation of British India "as an integral part of the British Empire with self-government was the goal of British rule." But it was difficult to define precisely the steps by which the Government hope to realise that ideal. Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, was not prepared to be more explicit and precise in the matter of a formula "than to avow an intention to foster a gradual development of free institutions with a view to self-government." However, he had to resign on the Mesopotamian issue and was succeeded by Mr. Montagu.

August Declaration: Mr. Montagu was a great friend of India. He had sympathised with the aspirations of the people of India and as such can be compared with persons like Lord Pathick Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps. He brought a new outlook to

his office. When the fortunes of the Allies were at their lowest ebb, he made the following declaration in August 1917: "The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government of India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local Governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others.

"I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the cooperation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

The importance of the declaration lies in the fact that it stated in categorical terms as to what exactly was going to be the goal of the British Government in India. It can be put on the same footing as the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. While the authors of the Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms regarded it as "the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history" which marked "the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one," Pradhan declared that it was a "revolutionary pronouncement." To quote him again, "With the announcement of August 20, 1917, modern India has entered on a new era in her history."

Proposals for Reforms: Indian politicians were busy in drafting their proposals regarding the future set-up of the country. A society known as the Madras Parliament (connected with the Home Rule League of Mrs. Besant) drafted a "Commonwealth of India Act" which suggested the constitution of Legislative Assem-

blies in the provinces.

Nineteen elected members of the Indian Legislative Council made similar suggestions in October 1916. In the same year was signed the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League. The scheme provided a Legislative Council of 125 members in big provinces and 50 to 75 in minor provinces. Four-fifths of these members were to be elected directly by the people. The Imperial Council was to consist of 150 members. The Provincial councils were to be given a lot of independent control over legislation and finance. Only matters of All-India importance were to be left to the Central Legislature. A vague and general power of supervision and superintendence was reserved for the Government of India. The provincial Governors ordinarily were not to belong to the covenanted services on account of their conservative outlook. Half of the members of the Governor's Councils were to be Indians elected by the elected members of the Provincial Councils. Legislative Councils were to elect their own Presidents. More freedom was to be given for supplementary questions and motions of adjournment. The Muslims were to be represented through special electorates in certain specified proportions which were in excess of their population in the provinces where they were in a minority.

The students of the "Round-Table" in London made a substantial contribution towards the solution of the problem confronting the country regarding its future set-up. They were busy in examining the question as to "how a British citizen in the Dominions can acquire the same control of foreign policy as one domiciled in the British Isles." In 1915, they examined the case of India and came to the conclusion that the Indians could not be invested with responsibility for Imperial policy unless they had some responsible share in their own Government. In 1916, Sir William Duke, a member of the Round-Table, suggested that certain departments and functions might be administered by some form of responsible Government. Mr. Curtis, another member of the Round-Table, came to India in 1916 and for a year was engaged actively by correspondence and conferences in examining and testing this suggestion.

In a public letter to the people of India in 1917, Mr. Curtis expressed his belief in a policy of granting responsible Government to India by stages. His view was that for the present, a partially responsible Government should be set up in the provinces. Public Works, primary education, local self-Government etc. were to be

entrusted into the hands of responsible ministers in the provinces. The scheme was rejected by the Indian National Congress, but it is to be noted that the system of dyarchy as embodied in the Government of India of 1919 was based on this scheme.

Instead of appointing a royal commission to make a report as to what should be given to the people of India, Mr. Montagu left London on October 18, 1917, at the head of a delegation and reached Bombay on November 10, 1917. After a study of about 5½ months in India, he left for London towards the end of April 1918. During his stay in India, only one idea had taken possession of his mind and that was the mission that had brought him to this country. According to Mr. Montagu himself, "I spent my whole time rocking my brains as to how I am going to get something which India will accept and the House of Commons will allow me to do without whittling it down." He had to work so hard that he developed insomnia towards the end. Literally, he had worked himself to exhaustion. He not only toured the country but also met a large number of deputations. After prolonged thinking and study in conjunction with Lord Chelmsford, Montagu published his report in 1918. Montagu's Diary is both interesting and illuminating.

Recommendations of 1918: The joint report of Montagu and Chelmsford analysed the meaning of the word "responsible government" and suggested that initial steps for the development of responsible Government should be taken in the provinces. The Government of India was to remain responsible through the Secretary of State to the British Parliament.

Full provincial autonomy was considered to be premature. However, the Governor was to have an Executive Council of two members of which one was to be an Indian. The Governor-in-Council was to deal with reserved subjects. The other subjects were to be transferred into the hands of the Indian ministers who were to be responsible to the Provincial Legislature. In his relations with the ministers, the Governor was not always to occupy the position of a constitutional ruler. It was suggested that local self-government, Education, medical and Sanitation, Agriculture, Public Works (except irrigation works), and Excise might be transferred to the ministers. The number of the non-official members was to be increased and direct elections were to be ordered wherever possible.

However, no substantial change was to be made in the Central Government. But the Council of the Governor-General was to

have an Indian member. The control of the Secretary of State was to remain substantially the same as before.

The Report was published in July, 1918 and met with universal condemnation. Unfortunately, the whole atmosphere was poisoned by the publication of the Rowlatt Committee Report during the summer. The recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee were incorporated into two bills. According to them, judges were to have the power to try political cases without juries in the notified areas and Provincial Governments were given the powers of internment. The people forgot the recommendations of Montagu and were furious at the reward given by the British Government in the form of Rowlatt Bills. Both Mahatma Gandhi and B.G. Tilak condemned the action of the Government in strongest possible terms.

At that time, there occurred the famous Jallianwala Bagh tragedy in 1919. Disturbances also took place in many other places in March and April, *e.g.*, Delhi, Kasur, Lahore etc., Martial law was declared in certain parts of the Punjab. The arrests of the leaders also added fuel to the fire.

It was in this atmosphere of storm and stress that a Bill embodying the recommendations made in the Report of 1918, was introduced in Parliament on June 2, 1919. It was passed by both the houses on 18th December, 1919 and received the Royal assent on December 23, 1919.

Main provisions of the Act of 1919 : (1) The Government of India Act, 1919, made many changes in the administration of India. Formerly, the Secretary of State for India used to be paid out of the Indian revenues. The new Act provided that in future he was to be paid out of the British revenues. However, some of the functions of the Secretary of State for India were taken away from him and given to a High Commissioner for India who was to be appointed by the Government of India and paid by the Government of India. He acted as the agent of the Governor-General-in-Council. He was to be incharge of the Stores Department, the Indian Students Department etc. The control of the Secretary of State was reduced in the provincial sphere in so far as the transferred departments were concerned. But in the case of the Central Government of India, it remained as complete as before. The Secretary of State possessed and exercised the power of superintendence, direction and control over the affairs of India. It was the duty of the Governor-General to carry out the orders of the Secretary of State.

(2) The Act of 1919 set up a bicameral legislature at the Centre in place of the Imperial Council consisting of one house. The names of the two houses were the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Council of State consisted of 60 members out of which 33 were elected and 27 were nominated by the Governor-General. The Central Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members, out of which 103 were elected and the rest were nominated. Out of the nominated member, 25 were officials and the rest non-officials. Out of the 103 elected members, 51 were elected by the general constituencies, 32 by communal constituencies (30 by Muslims and 2 by Sikhs), and 20 by special constituencies (7 by land-holders, 9 by Europeans and 4 by Indian Commerce).

(3) The life of the Central Legislative Assembly was 3 years and the Council of State 5 years but the same could be extended by the Governor-General. It is to be noted that the last Assembly sat for 11 years. The first speaker of the Assembly was nominated by the Government, but the subsequent speakers were elected by the members of the Assembly.

(4) The Franchise Committee had recommended a system of indirect elections to the Central Assembly on the ground that direct elections though preferable were impracticable on account of the unwieldy character of the constituencies. Ultimately, the Government of India decided in favour of direct elections for both houses of the Central Legislature.

(5) As regards the franchise for both houses of the Central Legislature, it was very much restricted. In the case of the Council of State, voters were assessed either to income-tax on an annual income of not less than Rs. 10,000/- to Rs. 20,000/- or to land revenue of Rs. 750/- to Rs. 5,000/-. In addition, those who had previous experience in public work or who were recognised as men of high scholarship or academic worth were entitled to have their names enrolled on the election roll of general constituencies for the Council of State. As regards the qualifications of the voters for the Central Assembly, these were either the payment of municipal taxes amounting to not less than Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- per annum, or occupation or ownership of a house of the rental value of Rs. 180/- or assessment to income-tax on an annual income of not less than Rs. 2,000/- to Rs. 5,000/- or assessment to land revenue for Rs. 50/- to Rs. 150/- per annum, varying from province to province. It is to be noted that the total number of voters for the Council of State was about

17,364 and for the Central Assembly was about 909,874 in 1920.

(6) The Governor-General was given the power to summon, prorogue and dissolve the chambers. He was also to have the right of addressing the members of the two Houses.

(7) The Central Legislature was given very wide powers. It could make laws for the whole of British India, for the subjects of His Majesty and Services of the Crown in other parts of India, for the Indian subjects of His Majesty wherever they may happen to be, and for all persons employed in His Majesty's defence forces. It could also repeal or amend laws for the time being in force in British India or applicable to the persons mentioned in the preceding sentence. However, the previous sanction of the Secretary of State-in-Council was required to pass any legislation abolishing any High Court. The Indian Legislature had no power to amend or repeal any Parliamentary statute relating to British India or to do anything affecting the authority of Parliament or the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom.

The previous sanction of the Governor-General was required to introduce bills concerning the following subjects:—

- (i) The public debt or public revenues of India.
- (ii) Religion or religious rites and usages of the British subjects in India.
- (iii) Discipline or maintenance of His Majesty's military, naval or air forces.
- (iv) Relations of the Government of India with foreign states or Indian States.
- (v) Any measure which repeals or amends any Act of a legislature or any ordinance made by the Governor-General etc.

In addition to the above, the Governor-General was given the power of preventing the consideration, at any stage, of a bill or a part of a bill in either chamber of the Central Legislature if in his opinion it "affects the safety or tranquility of British India, or any part thereof." The Governor-General was empowered to enact laws which he considered essential for the safety, tranquility or interests of British India or any part thereof if either chamber refused or failed to pass them. Every Act so passed required the assent of His Majesty. The Governor-General possessed the power of making and promulgating ordinances for the peace and quiet Government of British India in cases of emergency. An ordinance issued by the Governor-General had the same

force of law as a law passed by the Indian Legislature. It lasted for 6 months. The Governor-General had the power of returning any measure passed by the two houses of the Central Legislature for reconsideration before signifying his assent or dissent. The assent of the Governor-General was essential for the enactment of a law by the Legislature. He had the power to give his assent or reserve the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure on the same. The Crown had the power of disallowing any Act made by the Indian Legislature or the Governor-General. The vetoing power of the Governor-General was real and was actually exercised on many occasions.

Members of both houses of the Central Legislature were given the right of putting interpellations and supplementary questions, of moving resolutions and making motions of adjournment, and of introducing projects of legislation according to the rules. The members were given the right of freedom of speech in the two chambers.

(7) As regards the Central Budget, the Government submitted proposals for the appropriation, in the form of demands for grant, to the vote of the Indian Legislative Assembly. However, there were certain non-votable items in the Budget. These items were not open to discussion in either chamber, "unless the Governor-General otherwise directs." All other items of expenditure were submitted to the vote of Assembly which "may assent or refuse its assent to any demand or may reduce the amount referred to in any demand by a reduction of the whole grant." If the Governor-General was satisfied that any demand which had been refused by the Assembly was essential for the discharge of his responsibilities, he could restore the grant even if it was rejected by the Assembly. In cases of emergency, he was empowered "to authorise such expenditure as may, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquility of British India or any part thereof."

It is evident that the Central Legislature was helpless before the Central Executive. The Executive was not only independent of the Legislature, but also had the power of over-riding the Legislature in almost all respects.

(8) It has been rightly pointed out that the Act of 1919 introduced responsive and not responsible Government at the Centre. The members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General were nominated members. The people had neither any hand in their appointment nor in their removal. No vote of no-confidence

by the legislature could turn them out. But it cannot be denied that the members of the Executive Council did respond to the wishes of the members of the Central Legislature and through them to the people of the country. Some of the members of the Legislature were the members of the Standing Committees such as Finance Committee and the Committee on Public Accounts. As such, they got an opportunity to influence the Government. The members could also expose the Government by putting them questions, supplementary questions and moving motions of adjournment. They could also reject the Budget and move and pass resolutions against the Government. It is these factors which made the Government respond to the wishes of the members of the Legislature. Even the most irresponsible Executive Councillors could not afford to ignore the wishes of the members of the Legislature. Thus it was that although the Executive was independent of the Legislature, the latter could influence its citizens. The large majority given to the elected members of the Central Assembly made the things hot for the Government and the only way to improve the state of affairs was to carry on the administration according to the wishes of the people.

(9) The new Act provided for two lists of subjects: Central List and Provincial List. The principle underlying this division was that matters in regard to which uniformity in legislation was necessary or desirable for the whole of India or in more than one province should be regarded as central, while others in which only a particular province was interested, should be treated as provincial. The central subjects were defence, foreign and political relations, public debt, tariffs and customs, posts and telegraphs, Patents and Copyright, Currency and Coinage, Communications, Commerce and Shipping, Civil and Criminal Law and Procedure, Major Ports etc. The provincial subjects were Local self-Government, Public Health and Sanitation and Medical Administration, Education, Public Works, Water Supplies and Irrigation, Land Revenue Administration, Famine Relief, Agriculture, Forests, Cooperative Societies, Law and Order etc. As regards the residuary subjects, they were divided between the centre and the provinces on the same principle on which the Lists were drawn up. It is to be noted that the division was not clear-cut or definite. There was a lot of overlapping. Critics point out that while subjects like commerce and laws regarding property were placed in the Central List, important subjects like Excise and laws regarding Land Tenure were given

of which are reserved subjects." While the Education was a transferred subject, the education of the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians was a reserved subject.

Shri C.Y. Chintamani, a minister of the U.P., has given us some examples of the way in which dyarchy worked. In 1921, an inquiry was started in the Department of Agriculture on the question of the fragmentation of lands. When the report was submitted in 1922, it was felt that the question should have been dealt with by the Revenue Department and the case was transferred to that Department. In 1924, it was decided that the case should be sent to the Cooperative Department to which it related. Similar examples can be multiplied.

(2) There was no love lost between the two halves of the Government. The ministers were the representatives of the people. The members of the Executive Council belonged to the bureaucracy. They usually never pulled together. There was constant friction. Sometimes the ministers and the Executive Councillors condemned each other in the public. As a result of this, the work of administration suffered. As a rule, the Governor backed the members of the Executive Council because he himself belonged to the same service to which they belonged.

(3) The position of the ministers was very weak. They had to serve two masters. Those were the Governor and the Legislative Council.

A minister was appointed by the Governor and dismissed at his will. He was responsible to the Legislature for the administration of his Department. He could be turned out by the Legislature by a vote of no confidence. From the point of view of practical politics, the ministers cared more for the Governor than the Legislature. There were no strong parties in the provincial legislatures. The result was that no minister had a majority to back him in office. He had always to depend upon the backing and support of the official bloc in the Legislature. While the elected members of the provincial Legislature were divided into many groups on the basis of various religions, the support of the official bloc which always voted under the instruction of the Governor, was always available to a minister who cared for the Governor. No wonder, the ministers always looked up to the Governor and were dependent upon him. It is said that the Raja of Panagal openly used to say in the Madras Legislative Council that he was responsible only to the Governor and none else. In certain

cases, the ministers hoped to become Executive Councillors after the expiry of their term of office as ministers. The result of all this was that the ministers sank to the position of glorified secretaries. C.Y. Chintamani rightly said that the ministers had no power. "The power is with the Governor and not with the ministers." The Governor could interfere in any matter under any minister. According to Kelkar of the C.P., he was allowed to have his way in matters of policy, but was constantly over-ruled in matters of detail. "For instance, I could not picture myself how a Governor could support my policy of non-interference with a Municipal Committee who wanted to hoist a national flag on the municipal office and how the same Governor could ask me to uphold an order of a Deputy Commissioner who had suspended a Committee's resolution to the effect that its servants should put on Khaddar dress."

(4) The Governors did not care to encourage the principle of joint responsibility amongst the ministers. The ministers never worked as a team. They were always quarrelling among themselves. In the case of the Calcutta Municipal Bill, the Nawab Sahib and Sir Surendranath Banerjee openly canvassed against each other in the Council. In 1928, Sir Feroz Khan Noon publicly criticized and condemned the action of his Hindu colleagues. It is to be noted that the dismissal or resignation of a minister did not affect his colleagues. The Governor dealt with every minister individually.

(5) The position of the permanent services created many difficulties. The appointment, salary, suspension, dismissal and transfer of the members of All-India Services was under the control of the Secretary of State for India. These persons continued to be under the control of the Secretary of State for India even if they were appointed in the transferred Departments. They did not care for the ministers. The ministers had no power to choose their own subordinates when vacancies occurred in their Departments. Most of the important jobs were reserved for the members of All-India Services. In the case of Madras, when the post of Surgeon-General fell vacant, the minister concerned could not get his nominee appointed. An I.M.S. officer was sent to fill the post. Although the minister desired to encourage the Indian system of medicine, the Surgeon-General did not care for his views. We are told that if there were certain superfluous jobs, the minister concerned had no right to abolish those jobs. In the case of the U.P., a district officer refused to apply for appeal in an excise case as required by a minister. He was supported

by a member of the Executive Council. As a general rule, the Governors could be expected to support the members of the civil services against the ministers.

(6) According to the rules of executive business, cases in which the minister differed from the opinion of the Permanent Secretary or the Head of the Department, or the Commissioner of a Division, had to be submitted to the Governor for his final orders. Both the Secretary and the Head of the Department had direct access to the Governor. The Secretary had a weekly interview with the Governor and could discuss everything about his Department with the Governor. This must have weakened the position of the ministers. Sometimes the Governor knew things about a Department which even the minister concerned did not know.

(7) Another cause of the failure of dyarchy was the reservation of the Department of Finance in the hands of a Member of the Executive Council. All the nation-building Departments were given to the ministers, but they were given no money for the same. The result was that the ministers had to depend upon the sweet-will of the Finance Secretary. As a member of the Indian Civil Service, the Finance Secretary had no sympathy with the aspirations of the Indians as represented by ministers. He cared more for the needs of the reserved Departments than for the transferred Departments. According to C.Y. Chintamani, "The Finance Member was certainly more anxious to see that his Reserved Departments got all the money they required, before other Departments got what they wanted." In certain cases, the Finance Department refused even to examine any scheme on the ground that no money was likely to be available. In the case of the U.P., the Finance Department once upon a time issued a circular to all the Heads of the Departments directing them not to send proposals involving expenditure. When actually money was found available, it was contended by the Finance Department that no money could be granted as proposals had not been put in for examination at the right time. Many a time, the reply of the Finance Department was that the proposals were not "worth spending money on." We are told that even when schemes were approved, ways and means were found to defeat them or to delay them till the end of the financial year which compelled the minister to start from the very beginning once again. According to Chintamani, "I am prepared to state this without any exaggeration that it was from general experience of both the ministers in the United Provinces that they had to

contend with great difficulties when they went to the Finance Department, that pretty frequently they had to go before the Governor, pretty frequently the Governor did not side with them and pretty frequently they could only gain their point in the end by placing their offices at the disposal of the Governor."

(8) There was another hindrance in the way of the successful working of dyarchy. It was born under an unlucky star. The political atmosphere in the country was surcharged with suspicion and distrust on account of the happenings in the Punjab and the attitude of the British Government towards Turkey. The Monsoons failed in 1920 and added to the misery of the people. Slump also came in the market. The result of all this was that the finances of both the Central and Provincial Governments were upset. The favourable balance of trade of India was upset. Under the Meston Award, the Provincial Governments were required to make certain annual contributions to the Government of India. On account of the financial crisis, the Government of India demanded the full contributions from the Provincial Governments which themselves were in a worse condition. Dyarchy could not be expected to work without finances.

(9) The man in the street knew that the reforms of 1919 were in the nature of a half-way house. The Indians knew that they were going to get more in the future. The result was that the people of India were not in a mood to give the reforms a fair trial.

Regarding the working of dyarchy, Sir H. Butler says: In India, it has almost become a term of abuse. I have heard one man shouting to another: "you are a dyarchy." "I will beat you with a dyarchy," said one Indian boy to another and when questioned as to what dyarchy was, replied, "a new kind of tennis racket." "I have been received in a Burma village by a dyarchy band braying against a Home Rule band with all the vigour of village faction neither having the least idea of what Home Rule or dyarchy meant."

According to Roberts, "Dyarchy was the best transitional mechanism that appeared after a prolonged examination of alternatives. Herein, indeed, lurked the seeds of trouble. There have often no doubt been transitional periods in history, but they were only discovered to be such in the retrospective survey of historians. Successive stages in national development have generally been regarded as final by each generation in turn. The peculiarity about the decade 1919-1929 is that it was a period required by statutory

enactment, to contemplate self-consciously its own ephemeral nature, with the inevitable result that it was always hastening despairingly to a long anticipated death bed" (British India, pp. 589-90).

Government of India Act, 1935: The reforms of 1919 were declared by the Indian National Congress as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing," and no wonder the Congress refused to take part in the elections when the reforms were introduced for the first time. However, later on the Swarajist Party entered the Central Legislature. The Report of the Muddiman Committee was published but its recommendations were not carried out. Later on, the Simon Commission toured India and submitted its report in 1930. Three Round Table Conferences were held in London in 1930, 1931 and 1932 to decide the future of the new constitution of India. In August 1932 was given the famous Communal Award by Ramsay Macdonald. In March 1933 was published the famous White Paper. The report of the Joint Select Committee was published in 1934 and in 1935 was passed the famous Government of India Act.

Provisions of the Act: (1) The Act provided for an All-India Federation. The question of Indian federation presented a peculiar problem on account of the disparity between the Indian States and the Provinces of the British India with regard to their legal status and their internal political structure. The Indian States were under the complete control of the Political Department of the Government of India. The Provinces, on the other hand, had some sort of a democratic Government. According to the Act of 1935, all the provinces were to join the Indian Federation automatically. Entry into the Federation was to be a purely voluntary action on the part of each State, however small and insignificant that State may be. At the time of joining the Federation, the ruler of the State was to execute an Instrument of Accession in favour of the Crown. On acceptance of that Instrument, the State was to become a unit of the Federation. The Crown was forbidden to accept an Instrument of Accession if its terms appeared to be inconsistent with the scheme of the Federation. While the provinces were to be alike in respect of the position of the quantum of Legislative and Executive powers in the Federation, the States were to differ regarding the extent of their powers in the Federation. The scope of the Federal jurisdiction in the States was to depend solely upon the transfers made by their respective rulers through their Instruments of Accession. The Instrument was to authorise the various Federal Authorities to exercise their respective functions

under the Act in relation to that particular State. It was to be the duty of the ruler to see that due effect was given within his State to the provisions of the Act in so far as those provisions were made applicable by virtue of the Instrument. The ruler was authorised to extend the functions of the Federal authority in respect of his State by a subsidiary Instrument, but no subsequent Instrument could decrease the scope of the authority of the Federation as provided by the original Instrument of Accession.

The Indian States were to send 125 members to the Federal Assembly and 104 members to the Council of State. The provinces were to send 250 members to the Federal Assembly and 156 members to the Council of State. The members from the Indian States were to be nominated by the rulers, but those from the provinces were to be elected on communal lines.

The functions of the Crown with regard to the Indian States were to be performed in India by his representative who in fact was the Viceroy himself.

The Indian Federation as provided by the Act of 1935 was different from the other federal systems. There was no simple division of powers between the Centre and the units. The Act provided for three lists: Federal List, Provincial List and the Concurrent List. The Federal Government was authorised to pass laws on the subjects given in the Federal List. The subjects given in the Provincial List were within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature. As regards the Concurrent List, both the Federal Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures could pass laws on the subjects given in that List. However, if a law was passed by the Federal Legislature on any subject given in the Concurrent List, the Provincial Legislature could not make law on the same subject afterwards. As regards the residuary powers, the Governor-General in his discretion was given the power to decide as to which of the three Lists a particular subject was to be allotted.

(2) The Act of 1935 also provided for dyarchy at the Centre. That dyarchy which was abolished by the Act of 1935, was introduced at the Centre. Certain Federal subjects were reserved in the hands of the Governor-General to be administered by him with the assistance of not more than 3 Counsellors to be appointed by him. Those subjects were Defence, External Affairs, Ecclesiastical Affairs and the administration of Tribal Areas. In the administration of the other Federal subjects, the Governor-General was to be aided and

advised by a Council of Ministers whose number was not to exceed 10. The Federal Ministry was to administer all the Federal Departments except the above-mentioned reserved Departments. The Federal Ministry was to be formed on the usual cabinet lines except that it was to include the representatives of the important minorities. It is true that the inclusion of these elements was not obligatory under the Act, but the Governor-General was instructed by means of an Instrument of Instructions to secure such representation to the best of his ability. In spite of the composite character of the Ministry, their responsibility was to be collective. The Ministry was to be responsible to the Federal Legislature.

The critics pointed out to the weakness of the position of the Ministers on account of the large number of powers given to the Governor-General and to be exercised by him in his individual judgment and in his discretion. According to Prof. K.T. Shah, "The position assigned under the new Constitution to the Council of Federal Ministers is ornamental, without being useful, onerous without ever being helpful to the people they are supposed to represent, responsibility without power, position without authority, name without any real influence" (Federal Structure, p. 223). To quote the same author, "It seems extremely doubtful if the popular ministers of the Federation of India will have any real opportunity to inaugurate constructive schemes of economic betterment or social reconstruction. The necessary funds are either unavailable because earmarked already for non-productive expenditure and lavish scale of over-head charges ; or difficult to find in the absence of new taxation proposals which the Governor-General may not always view with favour. Additional burdens are especially difficult in a Federation to propose and particularly unwelcome in popular Governments... If the communal curb upon ministerial enthusiasm does not prove quite effective, there are the enormous powers of the Governor-General, as protector and champion of the vested interests and imperialist exploitation, which are bound to be employed to impede or frustrate too enthusiastic ministers. There are specific provisions in the constitution as any discrimination against British vested interests... which will hamper the work of the ministers in their work. The ministers' own internal difficulties, want of solidarity etc.—may prevent them from achieving anything beneficial to the people." (*Ibid*, pp. 249-50).

(3) The Federal Legislature was to be bicameral, consisting of

the Federal Assembly and the Council of State. The Federal Assembly was to have a life of 5 years from the date of its first meeting. On the expiry of that period, it was to be automatically dissolved. However, the Governor General was given the power to extend its life. The Council of State was to be a permanent body of which one-third members were to retire after every 3 years. The members from the States were to be nominated by the rulers. The representatives from British India were to be elected. The Hindu, Muslim and Sikh members were to be elected on communal lines.

(4) The powers of the Indian Legislatures were severely restricted. There were certain subjects on which neither the Federal Legislature nor the Provincial Legislatures could legislate. The Indian Legislatures were debarred from making any law affecting the Sovereign or the Royal Family or the succession to the throne or suzerainty of the Crown or any part of India, or the law of British nationality, or the Army Act, the Air Force Act, or of the law of Prize Courts. The Indian Legislatures could not make any law amending any of the provisions of the Act of 1935, or any order-in-Council made under it, or any rules made thereunder by the Secretary of State or by the Governor-General or a Governor in his discretion or in the exercise of his individual judgement. They could not make any law affecting the prerogative right of the Crown to grant special leave to appeal to the Privy Council except in so far as that was expressly permitted by the Act. They could not pass any legislation which discriminated against the British interests in commercial and other spheres. Moreover, there was a large number of subjects of vital importance on which initiation of legislation required previous sanction of the Governor-General in respect of Federal Legislation, of the Governor-General and the Governor in respect of Provincial legislation.

There were many non-votable items in the budget over which the Federal legislature was given absolutely no control. These non-votable items constituted about 80% of the Federal budget. If any item of the budget was rejected by the Federal Assembly, the same could be put before the Council of State if the Governor-General so directed. If the two houses of the Federal Legislature differed with respect to any demand, the Governor-General was required to summon a joint sitting for voting on that demand and the decision of the majority was to prevail.

The Governor-General was empowered to summon a joint sitting of the two Houses of the Federal Legislature when a Bill passed by

one chamber was rejected by the other, or was amended in a form to which the first chamber was not agreeable. After a Bill was passed by both the chambers of the Federal Legislature, the Governor-General, in his discretion, might assent to it, or veto it or send it back for reconsideration or reserve it for His Majesty's consideration. The Act assented to by the Governor-General could be disallowed within a year by the King-in-Council.

(5) The Act provided for the establishment of a Federal Court with jurisdiction over the States and the Provinces. The Court was to consist of a Chief Justice and two puisne judges. It was given both original and appellate powers. It was the duty of the Federal Court to interpret the constitution and to see that the provinces and the Federal Council acted only within those spheres which were reserved for them by the constitution. However, the last word in this matter was to be said by the Privy Council sitting in London.

(6) The Act of 1935 abolished the India Council of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State was given advisers who may or may not be consulted, or whose advice may or may not be followed, except in regard to their advice in respect of the Services. This change was made because there was a lot of agitation in India against the continuation of India Council on account of its anti-Indian attitude.

(7) In the exercise of powers in their individual judgement and in their discretion, the Governors, through the Governor-General, and the Governor-General himself, were made strictly responsible to the Secretary of State. However, it is to be noted that the control of the Home Government over Indian affairs was lessened. This was partly due to the introduction of provincial autonomy in the provinces and responsible Government at the Centre. There was no control from London when the Governor-General and the Governors acted according to the advice and consent of their ministers.

(8) Another important feature of the Act was the provision of elaborate safeguards. These safeguards were vital subtractions from the principle of responsible Government as well as of self-Government. These safeguards were of two kinds. In the first place, there was a denial of legislative powers to the Indian Legislatures in regard to a large number of subjects. Secondly, there was the grant of powers to the Governor-General or the Governors to

over-ride their ministers and legislators in certain circumstances including the assumption of absolute dictatorial powers in the event of the breakdown of the constitution. Critics pointed out that the provisions of the safeguards were against the territorial integrity of the country. In the words of Dr. Keith, "With the safeguarding of minorities, the essence of responsible Government is seriously, if not fully, compromised."

(9) The constitution of 1935 was rigid. The British Government alone was given the authority to amend the constitution. According to S.M. Bose, "The Indian Legislatures have only been given powers to express by resolution to His Majesty's Government their intention of a constitutional change in respect of the matters specified in this section. But the actual power of modifying the Act has been placed by the Act in the hands of His Majesty's Government by the order-in-Council laid in draft before both Houses as provided in Section 309. In other words, no amending legislation by Parliament will be required. In respect of those other matters specifically mentioned in the Act, variations may be made by Order-in-Council.

(10) But the most important characteristic of the Act of 1935 was the provision of provincial autonomy. This was in accordance with the August Declaration of 1917. The Act of 1919 had given a little control in the provincial field into the hands of the Indian ministers. The Act of 1935 was a definite improvement on the Act of 1919 in as much as there were no reserved subjects with the Governor. However, this does not mean that the Act of 1935 established a full-fledged responsible Government in the provinces. That could not be so on account of the fact that the Governor was given many powers which he was to exercise in his discretion and in his individual judgement.

Defects of the Act: (1) It seems desirable to state the important points of criticism levelled against the Act of 1935. According to Pandit Nehru, the new Indian constitution was a "machine with strong brakes and no engine." According to another critic, "The India Act of 1935 tests to the full Indian capacity for administration and government exactly as a man's capacity with hands and feet tied. To call the new Indian constitution an edifice of self-Government is a grim joke which the joker may enjoy, but not those at whose expense it is cracked." "Remember, the new Federal structure has got to be fought tooth and nail. It is difficult to find suit-

able language to characterise this. It is disgusting, poisoning and offensive." According to Pandit M.M. Malviya, "The new Act has been thrust upon us. It has a somewhat democratic appearance outwardly, but it is absolutely hollow from inside." According to Sir Shaanmukham Chetty, "It is indeed a far cry between the Government of India Act and Dominion Status." According to C. Rajagopalachariar, "The new constitution is worse than dyarchy." According to Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the scheme of 1935 was "thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable." Dr. Keith denounced the proposed Federation as "bastard Federalism."

(2) The Indians were not given control over the Government of their country. They could not change or amend their constitution. The Whitehall framed the policy which was followed by the Government of India. The Indians detested the control from London.

(3) The Indians detested the dyarchical form of Government at the Centre. It was pointed out that the evils of dyarchy which were found in the provinces under the Act of 1891 were bound to be repeated at the Centre also.

(4) The inauguration of the All-India Federation depended upon the condition that a specified number of States joined the Federation. However, the Act gave the Indian States the choice to join or not to join the Federation. This was a serious drawback.

(5) The Indian States were given a privileged position under the constitution. The representation given to them both in the Council of State and the Federal Assembly was more than what was due to them on the basis of their territory, population or the contributions to be made by them to the revenues of the Federal Government. While the members from British India were to be elected by the people, the Indian princes were allowed to nominate their quota. The critics pointed out that as the Indian princes were absolutely under the control of the Political Department of the Government of India and did what they were directed to do, the representatives from the Indian States were to be under the control of the British Government. They dare not vote against their masters. The nominees from the Indian States could be used by the British Government in India to serve their own interest and stop the progress of the country.

(6) The Indians protested against the system of indirect elections to the Federal Assembly. It was contended that indirect elections were against the very canons of democracy. They were against the spirit of the times.

(7) The Indians protested against the control which was to be exercised by the Secretary of State for India over the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service and other All-India Services.

(8) The Indian Army got the lion's share out of the Indian budget but the Indians were given absolutely no control over it as Defence was made a reserved subject. The Indians also protested against the pace at which the Indianisation of the Army was going on.

(9) The seats in the Legislatures were to be filled on the basis of the Communal Award. The result was that the constitution was communalism-ridden. The Communal Award cut at the very root of Indian nationalism and solidarity and was consequently the most dangerous. It was pointed out that longer the period for which the Communal Award worked, the greater will be the difficulty in keeping the unity of the country.

Development from 1937 to 1950: The whole of the Government of India Act, 1935 was not introduced. Only the part dealing with provincial autonomy came into force on 1st April, 1937. The Congress took part in the elections and got a clear majority in six provinces. Later on, the number was increased to 7. There was a deadlock to begin with but very soon the Congress ministries were formed. They remained in office till 1939 when the World War II broke out. The Congress ministries resigned on account of differences with the British Government. Throughout the war, efforts were made by the British Government to win over the cooperation of the Indians. In 1940, the famous August Offer was made by Lord Linlithgow. However, the Congress refused to cooperate. In 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps, the Leader of the House of Commons, came with his proposals to Delhi. His proposals embodied the procedure by which the British Government was to allow the Indians to have their own Constituent Assembly to make their constitution and also decide their future. The mission failed because the Congress refused to accept the short-term arrangements. The deadlock continued up to 1945 when Lord Wavell put forward his own plan to end the deadlock. However, his efforts also failed.

When the Labour Party came to power in England, it sent the famous Cabinet Mission to India in 1946. After a lot of consultation and deliberations, the Cabinet Ministers published their scheme on 16th May, 1946. The Scheme ruled out Pakistan

and provided for a Union of India and the grouping of provinces into three parts. The Scheme was accepted by the Muslim League to begin with but was rejected later on when the Congress accepted it.

In September 1946 was formed the Interim Government with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as the Prime Minister. To begin with, the Muslim League refused to join, but later on it came in. In December, 1946, the Constituent Assembly met at Delhi, but the Muslim League boycotted it. In March 1947, Lord Mountbatten was appointed the Governor-General of India and in June he gave his scheme for the partition of India. On 18th July, 1947, was passed by the British Parliament the famous Indian Independence Act, 1947.

The Indian Independence Act: The object of this Act was to give effect to June 3 Plan of Lord Mountbatten. It merely legalized what had already been promised to the people of India.

(1) The Act provided for the partition of India and the establishment of two Dominions of India and Pakistan from the appointed day (15th August, 1947). The Act also provided for the legislative supremacy of the two Dominions.

(2) The Legislatures of the two Dominions were given full power to make laws having extra-territorial jurisdiction.

(3) The British Government was to have no control over the affairs of the Dominions, Provinces or any part of the Dominions after 15th August, 1947.

(4) Until a new constitution was framed for each Dominion, the Act made the existing Constituent Assemblies the Dominion Legislatures for the time being. The Assemblies were to exercise all the powers which were formerly exercised by the Central Legislature, in addition to its power regarding the framing of a new constitution.

(5) Pending the framing of a new constitution, each of the Dominions and all Provinces were to be governed in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935. Each Dominion was authorised to make modifications in the Government of India Act, 1935 under the Indian Independence Act.

(6) The Governor-General was given the power to modify or adapt the Government of India Act, 1935 as might be considered necessary till 31st March, 1948. After that day, it was open to the Constituent Assembly to modify or adapt the old Government of India Act, 1935.

(7) The right of the King to veto laws or to reserve laws for

his pleasure was given up. This right was given to the Governor-General. He was given the full right to assent in the name of His Majesty to any law of the Dominion Legislature made in its ordinary legislative capacity.

(8) The Act provided for the termination of the suzerainty of the Crown over the Indian States. All treaties, agreements and functions exerciseable by His Majesty with regard to States and their rulers were to lapse from 15th August, 1947. It was also provided that the existing arrangements between the Government of India and the Indian States were to continue pending the detailed negotiations between the Indian States and the new Dominions.

(9) Agreements with the tribes of the North Western Frontier Province of India were to be negotiated by the successor Dominion.

(10) The office of the Secretary of State for India was to be abolished and his work was to be taken over by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs.

(11) The title of "Emperor of India" was to be dropped from the royal style and titles of the King of England.

(12) The Act terminated British authority over India, set up two independent Dominions, each with full authority to make any constitution it pleased. Both the Dominions were given full powers and rights to leave the British Commonwealth of Nations if they so pleased.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 was a great landmark in the Anglo-Indian relations. It marked the ending of the British rule in India. It was a recognition of the right of the Indians to be free. But unfortunately, it divided India into two parts. Only the future can show as to how far the partition of India was in the best interests of the country.

On 15th August, 1947, India became free. The Constituent Assembly went on with its work and prepared a draft of the new constitution of India in February 1948. The Constituent Assembly gave the constitution its final shape on 26th November 1949. The same constitution came into force on 26th, January, 1950.

The New Constitution of India : (1) The Preamble of the Indian constitution resolves to establish a Sovereign, Democratic Republic. It declares that sovereignty vests in the people of the country. The Preamble also refers to justice, liberty, equality and fraternity.

(2) There are four kinds of States under the constitution *viz.*,

Part A States, Part B States, Part C States, and Part D States. Part A states were previously the Governors' provinces. Part B States were previously ruled by Indian princes. Part C States were under Chief Commissioners and Lt.-Governors. There are Governors in Part A States and Rajpramukhs in Part B States.

(3) As regards the citizenship of India, persons born or domiciled in India, refugees who have migrated to India from Pakistan and the Indians overseas who apply for Indian citizenship, are Indian citizens. The constitution has adopted the principle of single citizenship for the whole of India. No person is entitled to claim that he is a citizen of two countries.

(4) The constitution provides for a large number of fundamental rights which are guaranteed to every citizen of India. Those rights are to be found in Articles 12 to 35 of the constitution. The Supreme Court and the High Courts have been appointed the guardian of these fundamental rights. Those rights are right to equality before law, prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, abolition of untouchability, right to freedom of speech and expression, right to assemble peacefully and without arms, the right to form associations and unions, the right to move freely throughout the territory of India, the right to reside and settle in any part of India, the right to secure, hold and dispose of property, the right to practice any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business, the right to life and personal liberty, the right to freedom from arrest and detention in certain cases, the prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour, the prohibition of employment of children in any factory or mine or in any other hazardous work, the right to freedom of conscience and free profession, the right to practice and propagate religion, the freedom to manage religious affairs, cultural and educational rights, the right to property and the right to constitutional remedies.

(5) The constitution also contains what are known as the Directive Principles of State policy. These principles relate to those matters which the Government of India is to keep in view for the welfare of the people of the country. Accordingly, all the Indian citizens are entitled to adequate means of livelihood. There is to be the equitable distribution of the material resources of the country. The economic freedom of the country demands the avoidance of the concentration

of wealth and the means of production. There is to be equal pay for equal work for both men and women. The wealth and strength of the workers are not to be abused. Children and youngmen are to be protected against exploitation and moral and material abandonment. All workers are to get a living wage. There must be established just and humane conditions of work. All people have the right to work, to education and public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness etc. There is to be a uniform civil code for all the people of the country. There is to be free and compulsory education for children. It is the duty of the state to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living of the people. The state is to promote international peace and security, maintain just and honourable relations between nations, inculcate respect for international law and treaty obligations and encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration. However, it is to be noted that Directive Principles of State policy differ from fundamental rights in as much as they cannot be enforced by courts as is the case with fundamental rights.

(6) The constitution provides for a President of Indian Republic. He is elected indirectly by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of both houses of Parliament and Legislatures of the State. The President must be a citizen of India. He must have completed the age of 35 and he must be qualified for election as a Member of the House of the People. He is not eligible for election if he holds a job under the Government. He holds office for 5 years but can be re-elected. He gets a salary of Rs. 10,000/- and allowances. He can be impeached for the violation of the constitution. The constitution provides a special procedure for the impeachment of the President. The President has been given a large number of powers in the legislative, executive and judicial spheres. He is also authorised to act in times of emergency. He is expected to act as a constitutional head like the King of England.

(7) The Vice-President of India is the ex-officio Chairman of the Council of States. Any citizen of India who is 35 years of age or more and who is qualified for the membership of the Council of States can be elected to this office by both the Houses of Parliament. When the President is ill, or resigns, or dies, or is removed or is absent for any other reason, his place is taken over by the Vice-President of India till such time as a new President of India is elected.

(8) The constitution provides for a Council of Ministers to assist

the President. The President is to appoint the Prime Minister and the other Ministers are to be appointed by him on the advice of the Prime Minister. All the Ministers are collectively responsible to the House of the People. It is the duty of the Prime Minister to communicate to the President all the decisions arrived at in the Cabinet. The Prime Minister is the link between the President and the Cabinet. His position is the same as that of the Prime Minister of England.

(9) The Indian Parliament consists of two houses, *viz.*, the House of the People and the Council of States. The House of the People consists of 500 members who are directly elected by the voters in the several states. Every adult or grown up citizen of India is given the right to vote. The life of the House of People is 5 years. The House of the People has a Speaker and a Deputy speaker. The Council of States is a permanent body of 250 members. Its members are elected indirectly. About one-third of its members retire after every two years. Twelve members of the Council of States are nominated by the President from men of learning and persons of experience. A member of the Council of States must be a citizen of India and must not be less than 30 years of age.

It is to be noted that the House of the People is stronger than the Council of States. It has practically complete control over money bills. Even in the case of ordinary bills, the opinion of the House of the People prevails on account of its numerical majority in the joint session of the two houses.

(10) The constitution provides for the Supreme Court of India. It consists of a Chief Justice of India and not more than 7 other judges. However, the number can be increased by Parliament. All the judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President. Judges hold office during good behaviour till the age of 65. Provision is also made for *ad hoc* judges of the Supreme Court. Supreme Court has been given both original and appellate jurisdiction. As regards its original jurisdiction, it can try any dispute between the Government of India and one or more states, or between the Government of India and any State or States on one side and one or more other states on the other, or between two or more States if and in so far as the dispute involves any question, whether of law or fact, on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends. Supreme Court has the power to issue directions or orders in the nature of writs of Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Prohibition, Quo Warranto and Certiorari, or any of them for the enforcement of fundamental rights.

The appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is of three kinds, *viz.*, constitutional, civil and criminal. An appeal can be taken from a High Court to the Supreme Court if a case involves a substantial question of law with regard to the interpretation of the constitution. In civil cases, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court if the value of the subject matter of the dispute is not less than Rs. 20,000/-. In criminal cases, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court if the High Court on appeal reverses an order of acquittal of an accused person and sentences him to death. An appeal also lies if the High Court tries the accused and sentences him to death. Provision is made for the increase of its powers in criminal cases by Parliament.

Supreme Court also possesses advisory jurisdiction. It is to advise the President on questions of law and fact. It has also the power to grant special leave to appeal in certain cases. It has also the power of review. It has been rightly said that the Supreme Court of India has more powers than any other Supreme Court in the world.

The constitution also provides for a High Court for every state. It is to consist of a Chief Justice and such other judges as the President of India may from time to time think fit. Every High Court has control over all courts subordinate to it throughout the territory under the court except any court constituted for the Armed Forces of India. Appointments, promotions and posting of district judges are to be made by the Governor in consultation with the High Court of the State.

(11) The constitution provides for a Union Public Service Commission and also for State Public Service Commissions. Two or more States can have a joint Public Service Commission. The main functions of the Public Service Commissions are to recommend candidates for appointment and also to conduct examinations for recruitment to the Services.

(12) The constitution also provides for a Comptroller and Auditor-General. He is to be appointed by the President to perform all duties and exercise powers relating to the accounts of the Union, and the States. His main duty is to keep a careful watch on the finances of the Union and the States and especially to see that the expenses voted by the Parliament or the Legislature of a State and laid down in Appropriation Act are not exceeded or varied.

(13) The constitution provides for the distribution of powers between the Union and the States. The Union List contains those subjects

on which laws can be passed by the Indian Parliament. The States List contains those subjects on which laws can be made by a state legislature. The Concurrent List contains those subjects on which laws can be passed both by the Union Parliament and the State Legislatures. The residuary powers are given to the Union Parliament. The result of all this is that the Union Government is very strong under the new constitution.

(14) The constitution provides for the freedom of trade, commerce and intercourse throughout the territory of India. However, certain restrictions can be placed in the interests of the public. According to the constitution, no tax can be levied or collected except by authority of law. There are provisions for the creation of civil funds. The general fund is called the Consolidated Fund of India and into this fund goes all the income of the Government of India. There is also a Consolidated Fund for each State. In addition to these, there is a public account of India and a public account for each state. Provision is also made for what is called a Contingency Fund of India and similar funds in every state. These funds are at the disposal of the President of India, the Governor of a State or the Rajpramukh of a State. According to the constitution, the superintendence, direction and control of elections to Parliament and Legislature of every state and of President and Vice-President including appointment of Election Tribunals are vested in the Election Commission. There will be only one general Electoral Roll for every territorial constituency. No person is ineligible for inclusion in that roll only on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex or any of them. There is no property-qualifications for the voters. Every person who is a citizen of India and who is not less than 21 years of age and who is not otherwise disqualified is entitled to vote at the elections of the House of the People and the Legislative Assemblies of States.

(15) The constitution provides that Hindi in Devanagari script shall be the official language of the Union. The English language shall continue for all official purposes of the Union for a period of 15 years, but the President may authorise the use of Hindi in addition to English language during the same period. If at the end of 15 years it is found that Hindi cannot replace English completely, Parliament may provide for the use of English for such purposes as may be specified by law. The constitution recognizes the use of the Indian languages as regional languages for various states.

(16) Provision is also made for the amendment of the constitution. The constitution is amended when the President gives assent to any bill after it is passed in each house of Parliament by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of the House present and voting. Exception is made in the case of amendments of certain particular provisions in which cases amendments require ratification by not less than one-half of the state legislatures.

Criticism of the constitution: (1) In the first place, the critics point that there is nothing original in the new Constitution of India. Many sections have been taken word for word from the Government of India Act, 1935. Similarly, many provisions have been borrowed from the Constitutions of other countries of the world. There is nothing indigenous about it. There is no mention of the Sabha or the Samiti of the Hindu period. There is also no reference to the political institutions of Medieval India. But it may be pointed out that there is nothing wrong in borrowing a political institution which otherwise works well. Moreover, it is difficult to fit in the ancient political institutions of India in a modern constitutional set-up.

(2) The critics point out that the Indian Constitution is over-centralised and the Units have been reduced to the level of local bodies. It has already been pointed out that the Central Government has been made particularly strong with the object of maintaining the integrity and security of India. It was felt that there was no other way of checking the centrifugal tendencies which exist in the body-politic of India. The enormous powers of the Central Government are required to be used as a remedy for the disease.

(3) The critics point out that the fundamental rights as provided in the Constitution are illusory and not real. They have been hedged in on all sides by so many limitations that the people are not materially benefited by their inclusion into the Constitution. But it must be conceded that the courts have acted enthusiastically in the matter of the enforcement of the fundamental rights. Moreover, the limitations have been imposed on the rights because absolute rights cannot be enjoyed by all. They are always the property of a few individuals only.

(4) It is pointed out that the directive principles of state policy were included into the Constitution without any purpose. Since they are not justiciable, they are ineffective. Every Government can afford to ignore them with impunity. They are merely moral

precepts about which the politicians need not bother themselves. But it may be pointed out that these directive Principles are bound to influence the course of legislation in the country. They are like a mandate from the people. No government which cares to retain public confidence will ever dare to act against these Principles.

(5) It is true that the Constitution makes provision for those things which insure the independence of the Judges of the High Courts and the Supreme Court, the members of the Public Service Commissions and also the Comptroller and Auditor-General, but the members of the subordinate judiciary complain that there is nothing to insure their independence. The Constitution has simply ignored them. Likewise, the government servants are not happy about their status under the new Constitution. In certain cases the officer concerned may not be given reasonable opportunity to prove his innocence. It rests with the authority empowered to dismiss or remove a public servant to decide as to whether it is reasonably practicable to give such opportunity or not, and his decision is final.

(6) The Constitution provides for the promulgation of the ordinances by the President of India, Governor of a State or Rajpramukh of a State. The critics point out that such a thing is not proper under a democratic set up. There is no such provision in a free country like England and there is no reason why it should be retained in the new Constitution of India. There was some justification for such a power when India was ruled by a foreign country. It is improper to borrow one of the worst features of the old Constitution of India.

(7) The critics condemn the emergency powers of the President. It is pointed out that these powers may not be used by the President for the purpose of setting up a dictatorship in the country. The experience of Germany is pointed out as a warning. But future alone can show as to how these powers will be used in this country. Even the prophets may fail in this field.

CHAPTER XIX

GROWTH OF CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

Growth of the Central Legislature: According to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, "The germ of legislative power of the Government of India lies embedded in Elizabeth's Charter of 1600 which authorised the East India Company to make reasonable laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances not repugnant to English law for the good Government of the Company and its officers". No copies of any laws made under the early Charters are known to exist. The subsequent Charters changed the powers of the Company according to its needs. The Charter of 1726 empowered the Governor-in-Council and the three Presidencies to make laws, ordinances and regulations in their respective jurisdictions.

The Regulating Act of 1773 required that the Governments of Madras and Bombay must send copies of their laws and orders to the Government of Bengal. It is not clear as to whether the Governor-General of Bengal had any right to modify them or not. The Act of 1807 empowered the Governors-in-Council of Madras and Bombay to make regulations. In short, the power of legislation was exercised by the Executive Governments in the three Presidencies. Every Presidency had its system of laws which may be different from the one existing in another Presidency.

Charter Act of 1833: The Charter Act of 1833 is a great landmark in the field of legislation. It simplified the legislative machinery. It deprived the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay of their powers of legislation. The Governor-General-in-Council was given the power to make laws on all the subjects for the whole of India. The Act also provided for the appointment of a Law Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council. His duties were purely legislative.

Charter Act of 1853: The Charter Act of 1853 made the Law Member a full Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. The provinces were allowed to send one representative each to the Government of India. No measure concerning any province was to be considered unless the representative from that province was present. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of

Calcutta was made an ex-officio member of the Council and one more member was appointed. The Governor-General was given the power of appointing two more civil servants as members of the Council. The Council in its legislative capacity consisted of 12 members. Those were the Governor-General, Commander-in-Chief, 4 members of the Executive Council, and 6 legislative members. Out of these 6 members, 4 were the representatives from the provinces and the other two were the Chief Justice and a puisne judge. The representatives from the provinces were to be given £ 5,000/- annually, It is clear that there was at least one member present with local knowledge.

Experience showed that the Council as constituted by the Act of 1853 "evinced an inconvenient tendency to interfere with the Executive." Sir Charles Wood complained in the House of Commons that the "Council had become a sort of debating society or petty Parliament." The members of the Council asked all kinds of questions to the Government which put the latter in a very awkward position. It was pointed out that the Council had become an Anglo-Indian House of Commons.

Act of 1861: The Indian Councils' Act of 1861 provided that the Executive Council of the Governor-General was to be strengthened by the addition of not less than 6 and not more than 12 members nominated by the Governor-General for the purpose of legislation. Not less than half of the additional members were to be non-officials. They were to hold office for two years. The function of the Council was strictly limited to legislation and the Act expressly forbade the transaction of any other business by the Council. It was empowered "to make laws and regulations for all persons whether British or native, foreigners or others, and for all places and things whatever within the said territories, for all servants of the Government of India within the Dominions of Princes and States in alliance with Her Majesty."

However, many restrictions were put on the powers of the Central Legislature. The previous sanction of the Governor-General was made necessary for introducing any legislation concerning certain specified subjects such as public debts, public revenue, Indian religious rites, military discipline and policy towards the Indian students. No laws could be made which infringed the authority of the Home Government or violated the provisions of certain Acts made by Parliament. Governor-General was given the power

of veto. In cases of emergency, he was authorized to issue ordinances which had the same force as any other law. These ordinances were to remain in force for 6 months. However, they could be dissolved or repealed earlier. As soon as an ordinance was issued, it had to be intimated to the Secretary of State. The approval of the Governor-General was made necessary for every Act passed. The right to disallow Acts was reserved for the Crown and the general authority of Parliament and the Crown were expressly preserved.

Act of 1892: The Indian Councils Act of 1892 also changed the position and the powers of the Central or Imperial Legislature. The number of the additional members was increased. It was not to be less than 10 and not more than 16 in the case of the Imperial Legislative Council. Two-fifths of the additional members were to be non-officials. The Government agreed to allow elections to be held in India under the rules. However, the members so elected were to take their seats after they were nominated by the Government.

The powers of the Legislative Council were increased. The members were allowed to discuss the annual financial statement under certain conditions and restrictions. They were given the power of asking questions from the Government on matters of public interest. A previous notice of 6 days was to be given to the Government for asking a question. The President might disallow any question without giving any reason. Questions on matters of public interest could be asked "subject to such conditions and restrictions as may be prescribed in rules made by the Governor-General or the Provincial Governors."

Act of 1909: The Indian Council's Act of 1909 increased the additional members of the Governor-General's Council to a maximum of 60. Out of these 37 were officials and 23 non-officials. Out of the 37 officials, 28 were nominated by the Governor-General, and the rest were to be ex-officio. The ex-officio members were the Governor-General, 6 ordinary members of the Council and 2 extraordinary members. As regards the non-official members, 5 members were nominated by the Governor-General and the rest were elected.

The functions of the Legislative Councils were increased. Elaborate rules were made for the discussion of the budget by the Council. Every members was given the right to move any resolution relating to any alteration in taxation, any new loan or any additional grants to local Governments etc. The Council was not

allowed to discuss expenditure on interest on debt, ecclesiastical expenditure, expenditure on State Railways etc. The members of the Legislative Council were given the right of asking questions and supplementary questions for the purpose of further elucidating any point. However, the Executive Councillor might refuse to answer the supplementary question off-hand. He may demand some time for the same. The members of the Council were also given the right of moving resolutions. These resolutions had to be clearly and precisely expressed in the form of definite issues. The resolutions were not to contain arguments, inferences, ironical expressions etc. The President might disallow any resolution or a part of a resolution without giving any reason for the same.

Rules were framed under the Act for the discussion of matters of general public interest. No discussion was permitted on any subject not within the competence of the Legislature, or any matter affecting the relations of the Government of India with a Foreign Power or a native State, or any matter under adjudication by a Court of Law.

An indirect system of elections to the Imperial Council was introduced. Its members were to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislatures.

It is clear that the powers enjoyed by the Imperial Legislative Council were not substantial. It is true that all forms of a parliamentary system of government were introduced, but the substance was lacking. The members of the Governor-General's Executive Council who were incharge of the various Departments, were not responsible to the members of the Legislature. They could ignore them with contempt and they actually did the same. The discussions in the legislature lacked reality because the members of the Legislature knew that they will never be called upon to shoulder the responsibilities of the Government whatever their criticism of the Government might be.

Act of 1919: The Government of India Act, 1919, set up a bicameral legislature at the Centre. The names of the two Houses were the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Council of State consisted of 60 members out of which 33 were elected and 27 were nominated by the Governor-General. The Central Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members, out of which 103 were elected and the rest were nominated. Out of the nominated members, 25 were officials and the rest were non-officials. Out

of the 103 elected members, 51 were elected by the general constituencies, 32 by communal constituencies (30 by Muslims and 2 by Sikhs), and 20 by special constituencies (7 by land-holders, 9 by Europeans and 4 by Indian Commerce).

The life of the Central Legislative Assembly was 3 years and the Council of State 5 years, but the same could be extended by the Governor-General. It is to be noted that the last Legislative Assembly sat for 11 years. The first Speaker of the Assembly was nominated by the Government, but the subsequent Speakers were elected by the members of the Assembly.

The Governor-General was given the power to summon, prorogue and dissolve both houses of the Central Legislature.

The Central Legislature was given specific powers. It could make laws for the whole of British India, for the subjects of His Majesty and Services of the Crown in other parts of India, for the Indian subjects of His Majesty wherever they may happen to be, and for all persons employed in His Majesty's Defence Forces. It could also repeal or amend laws for the time being in force in British India. In certain cases, the previous sanction of the Secretary of State-in-Council was required for passing any legislation. Likewise, the previous sanction of the Governor-General was required to introduce certain bills in the Legislature.

The members of both houses of the Central Legislature were given the right of putting questions and supplementary questions, moving resolutions and motions of adjournment. The Central Legislature was not given complete control over the budget. There were certain non-votable items in the budget over which the Legislature had no control. As regards the votable items, the Assembly could reject them, but the Governor-General was given the power to restore those items if he thought that expenditure on those subjects was necessary for the safety and tranquillity of India.

It can safely be stated that the Central Legislature under the Act of 1919 was helpless before the Central Executive. The latter was not only independent of the Legislature, but also had the power of over-riding the Legislature in almost all respects.

Act of 1935: Under the Government of India Act, 1935, provision was made for a Federal Legislature of two houses, *viz.*, namely, Federal Assembly and the Council of State. The Federal Assembly was to have a life of 5 years from the date of its first meeting. On the expiry of that period, it was to be automatically dissolved.

However, the Governor-General was given the power to extend its life. The Council of State was to be a permanent body of which one-third members were to retire after every 3 years. The Federal Assembly was to consist of 375 members and the Council of State 260 members. The members from the states were to be nominated by the rulers. The representatives from British India were to be elected on communal lines.

The powers of the Legislature were severely restricted. There were certain subjects of which it could not legislate. It could not make any law affecting the sovereign or the Royal Family or the succession to the Crown, or the law of British nationality, or the law of prize courts, or the Army Act, the Air Force Act, ect. The Federal Legislature could not make any law amending any provision of the Government of India Act ; 1935, or any Order-in-Council made under it, or any rules made thereunder by the Secretary of State or by the Governor-General or a Governor. It could not pass any law which discriminated against the British interests in commerce and other spheres. In certain cases, the previous sanction of the Governor-General was required for introducing certain bills in the Federal Legislature.

The Federal Legislature had no control over the non-votable items of the budget. These non-votable items constituted about 80% of the Federal budget. If any item of the budget was rejected by the Federal Assembly, the same could be put before the Council of State if the Governor-General so directed. If the two houses of the Federal Legislature differed with regard to any demand, the Governor-General was required to summon a joint sitting for voting on that demand and the decision of the majority was to prevail.

The Governor-General was given the power to summon a joint sitting of the two houses of the Federal Legislature when a bill passed by one chamber was rejected by the other or was amended in a form to which the first chamber was not agreeable. After a bill was passed by both the chambers of the Federal Legislature, the Governor-General, in his discretion, might assent to it, or veto it or send it back for reconsideration or reserve it for His Majesty's consultation. The Act assented to by the Governor-General could be disallowed within a year by the King-in-Council.

Constitution of 1950: Under the new constitution of India which came into force on 26th January, 1950, the Union Parliament consists of two houses, namely the Council of States and the House

of the People. The total strength of the Council of States is 250. Out of these, 12 are nominated by the President for their special knowledge and experience of literature, science, art and social service. The remaining 238 are elected from the various states. The House of the People consists of 500 members. All the members are elected by the electors in the various States. For purposes of election to the House of People, the States are divided, grouped or formed into territorial constituencies.

The Council of States is a permanent house. It cannot be dissolved. Its members are elected for 6 years. One-third of them retire after every two years. The House of the People has a maximum duration of 5 years from the date appointed for its first meeting. After 5 years, the House of the People is to be dissolved automatically. However, this period of 5 years may be extended by Parliament for a period not exceeding one year at a time.

The Union Parliament has the power to make laws relating to all subjects on the Union List and the Concurrent List. Any State may authorise the Government of India to legislate on certain matters and in that case Parliament can pass laws on those subjects also although they are given in the State List. In the case of the breakdown of the constitutional machinery in a State, the Union Parliament has the right to make laws for that State even on subjects that are included in the State List. The Union Parliament has the power to make laws on any subject in the State List if the Council of States passes a resolution by a two-thirds majority declaring such matter or matters to be of national importance and interest. The Union Parliament can amend the constitution by a two-thirds majority. The Supreme Court can declare any law passed by the Union Parliament to be *ultra-vires* if it in any way conflicts with the constitution.

The Parliament controls the national finance. The Government cannot levy taxes, borrow money or spend any money without the permission and authority of Parliament. But this does not apply to those items of expenditure which are a charge on the national revenues.

The Union ministers are members of the Union Parliament and are also responsible to it. They must resign if they are outvoted in Parliament or a vote of no-confidence is passed against them.

Laws passed by Parliament are not valid unless they receive the assent of the President. No cabinet can dare to tender advice

to the President to veto a bill passed by Parliament. The latter has the power to impeach the President on the ground that he has violated the constitution. The proposal may be taken by any house by a two-thirds majority and then the other house has to investigate the charge. If it is approved by a two-third majority in that house, then the President can be removed from his office.

On the request of the members of Parliament to the President, the Judges of the High Courts and the Supreme Court can be removed from office.

The two houses of Parliament have equal powers except as regards the money bills which can be introduced only in the House of the People. Then these money bills can be sent to the Council of States. If amendments made by the Council of States are accepted, it is good, otherwise the money bills will be taken to have been passed by Parliament on the expiry of 30 days. Bills, other than money bills, may be introduced in any chamber and in the case of disagreement over a bill, there may be a joint sitting of the two houses. If that bill is passed by a majority at the joint sitting, it is to be deemed to have been approved by both houses.

Growth of Provincial Legislatures: The history of the growth of the Provincial Legislatures is both interesting and instructive. While tracing the origin of the legislative powers of the provinces, we find that in 1797 the Presidency of Bengal was authorised to issue independent regulations within its jurisdiction. Similar powers were given in 1807 to the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The result of this was that each Presidency developed its own system of laws. It was found that there were conflicting laws in the various Presidencies. Such a thing was not considered to be in the interests of the country. Consequently, the Charter Act of 1833 deprived the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay of their power of legislation. All legislation for the whole of India was to be made by the Central Government. This resulted in overcentralisation. The Government of India could not understand and appreciate the needs of the various Presidencies. Complaints were made against the abuses of the system.

Charter Act of 1853: The Charter Act of 1853 tried to remove some of the defects of the system. It was provided that each Presidency was to send one representative to the Central Government and no legislative measure for any Presidency was to be considered by the Governor-General-in-Council without the

presence of the Member of the Presidency concerned. Even this innovation was not a remedy for the evils of the existing system. Lord Canning held the view that a partial return to the system which existed before 1833 "was advisable."

Act of 1861: The Indian Councils' Act of 1861 reversed the process started by the Charter Act of 1833. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were given the power of making laws. For legislative purposes, the Executive Council of the Governor was to be expanded by the addition of not less than 2 and not more than 4 additional members. No demarcation was made between the jurisdictions of the Central and the Provincial Legislatures. In certain cases, the previous sanction of the Governor-General was required for legislation by the local councils. All the Acts passed by the Provincial Governments required the assent of the Governor and the Governor-General. In exercise of the powers given to the Governor-General by the Act of 1861, Legislative Councils were established in Bengal in 1862, in the U.P. in 1866 etc. It is to be noted that the function of these Councils was purely legislative and nothing else. Even those laws were in reality the orders of the Government. In spite of the defects of the system, no change was made till 1892.

Act of 1892: The Indian Councils' Act of 1892 enlarged the Legislative Councils of the various Provinces. The number of additional members was fixed at 20 for Bengal and 15 for North West Province and Oudh. In the case of Bombay and Madras, it was to be not less than eight and not more than twenty. A system of indirect elections was also provided for. Certain corporate bodies were given the power of electing representatives and those persons were to be nominated by the Governor. The members of the Councils were given the power of asking questions and discussing the financial statement. However, no right of supplementary questions was given. The members also could not reject the budget. This was no doubt an advance on the Act of 1861, but that advance was not considered to be adequate by the people.

Act of 1909: The next step was taken by the Indian Councils' Act of 1909. The Provincial Legislatures were enlarged up to a limit of 50 additional members in the larger provinces and 30 in the smaller provinces. The majority of the members were to be elected. The system of nomination after election was given up. It was provided that corporate bodies were to elect members of an

electoral college and the latter were to elect members of the provincial legislature. The Mohammadans were given special representation by this Act. They were to vote in the special constituencies of the Muslims alone. The members of the Provincial Legislatures were given the right of asking questions and supplementary questions. But the supplementary question could be put only by the person who put the original question. The members were given the right of discussing the budget and passing resolutions on it. It was the duty of the Government to take those resolutions into consideration. As a matter of fact, the Government completely ignored those resolutions. Under the Act of 1909, the Provincial Legislatures were "essentially consultative committees attached to the Executive." The voting qualifications were so high that the number of voters in any constituency was very small. As the system of elections was indirect, the sense of responsibility was lacking. The Legislative Councils were given no control over the Government or legislation. Their members could merely criticise with the full knowledge that they will never be called upon to shoulder the responsibility. The result was that the members were reckless in their criticism of the Government. The Government also regarded these Councils with contempt.

Act of 1919: The Government of India Act of 1919 made great changes in the composition and functions of the provincial legislatures. Each Provincial Legislative Council was to consist of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor and the elected and nominated members. The size of these Provincial Legislatures was enlarged. Provision was made for general and special constituencies. Representation was given to various communities and interests. The Muslims and the Sikhs were given separate representation. Provision was also made for representation to the land-holders, planters, mining, commerce and industries, universities etc. The franchise for the Provincial Councils was lowered. The normal qualifications of a voter were based on community, residence, occupation of a house, assessment of income-tax, receipt of a military pension, holding of a piece of land, etc. Provision was made for representation of women also.

The Act of 1919 provided for a dyarchical system of Government in the provinces. The Indian Ministers were incharge of the transferred subjects, and reserved subjects remained with the Governor and the members of his Executive Council. The Ministers were chosen

by the Governors from the members of the Legislature. Provision was made for the election of a Speaker of the Legislative Council.

The Act provided for two Lists, *viz.*, Central List and Provincial List. The Provincial Legislature was given the power to make laws on matters given in the Provincial List. Its members were given the power of moving and passing resolutions on different subjects. They were also given the power of asking questions and supplementary questions. They were also empowered to move votes of censure against the Government. They were also allowed to demand the adjournment of the House to discuss important matters of recent occurrence. The Legislative Council was given the power to discuss the provincial budget and reject the same. However, it had no control over the non-votable items of the budget. If the budget was rejected, the Governor was authorized to restore the same.

There were certain limitations on the legislative powers of the Provincial Councils. In order to introduce certain bills, the previous sanction of the Government of India and the Governor was required. Even when a bill was passed by the Provincial Legislature, the Governor was empowered to certify, veto or reserve the same for the consideration of the Governor-General.

Act Of 1935: Under the Government of India Act, 1935, provision was made for the establishment of two Houses of the Provincial Legislatures in six provinces and only one house in the five provinces. The upper house was known as the Provincial Legislative Council and the lower house as the Provincial Legislative Assembly. The upper house consisted of 21 to 65 members. Some of its members were elected and the others nominated by the Governor. The Legislative Council was a permanent body because one-third of its members retired after every 3 years. There was no change of the whole house at one time.

The lower house consisted of 60 to 250 members. The life of the lower house was 5 years but it could be dissolved earlier by the Governor. Its life also could be extended beyond 5 years by the Governor. It was provided that money bills were to be introduced only in the lower house, although otherwise the powers of the two houses were made equal. In the case of a conflict between the two houses, provision was made for a joint sitting of two houses.

It is to be noted that the powers of the Provincial Legislatures under the Act of 1935 were circumscribed. They were not given complete control over legislation. Even their control over the budget was not

complete. About 50% of the provincial budget was non-votable. The Provincial Legislatures could not accomplish much.

New Constitution : Under the new constitution of India which became into force on 26th January, 1950, no distinction is made between the Indian States and the Provinces. They are all called States. In certain States, provision is made for two houses of the State Legislature and in certain others, provision is made for a uni-cameral Legislature. Where there are two houses, their names are Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council. Where there is only one house, it is called the Legislative Assembly. Article 169 of the Constitution provides for the abolition or creation of Legislative Councils in the States.

Provision is made for the direct election to the State Assemblies on the basis of adult suffrage. Approximately, one representative is elected for every 75,000 of the population. The total membership of a State Assembly is to vary from 60 to 500 according to its population. The life of the Assembly is 5 years, but it can be dissolved earlier by the Governor. Its life may be extended on the ground of an emergency.

The total number of the members of the Legislative Council is not to exceed one-fourth of the total number of members in the Legislative Assembly of that State. However, its membership is not to fall below 40. All the members of a Legislative Council are not elected. Some of them are nominated by the Governor. Others are elected by Municipalities, District Boards, Graduates, Teachers and members of the Legislative Assembly. It is a permanent house. One-third of its members have to retire after every two years.

As regards the powers of the State Legislatures, they can make laws on the subjects given in the State List and in the Concurrent List. However, if the Union Parliament passes a law on a subject included in the Concurrent List, the State Legislature cannot pass a law on that subject. The constitution has provided for responsible Government in the States. The Government is in the hands of the Ministers who are not only the members of the Legislature but also responsible for it. The State Legislature has the right to pass a vote of no-confidence against the Ministry, reject the budget or pass resolutions or adjournment motions against the Government. The Legislatures are given autonomy in their own sphere.

CHAPTER XX

GROWTH OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN INDIA

The growth of political consciousness in India was not the result of a few agitators. On the other hand, it was the revival of a historical tradition and the liberation of the soul of the people. Many factors contributed towards its growth and some of them were as follows :-

(1) The most important factor was British imperialism. It is British imperialism that brought about the unification of the country and enabled the people to think as one nation. Before the advent of the British, the people of the South were usually separate from the rest of India except for some short intervals. It is British imperialism that made the people of the whole of India think as one nation. According to Prof. Moon, "British imperialism in India gave her a political unity under a third party in spite of the many discordant elements in Indian society."

(2) The establishment of British supremacy in India brought the Indians into intimate contact with the European countries, and the latter influenced them immensely. Nineteenth century in Europe was the century of nationalism and liberalism and the Indians learnt their lessons from the Europeans on both these points. If Germany and Italy could become independent, a natural question that arose in the minds of the Indians was as to why their own country could not be independent. The practical example of those countries created a spirit among the Indians to fight for the liberation of their country. When the Indians came into contact with the West, they were immensely influenced by the philosophy of liberalism. Thus it was that the ideas of liberty, rights and independence got into the heads of the Indians. According to Lord Ronaldshay, the new wine of Western learning went into the heads of the young Indians. They drank deep from the source of liberty and nationalism. Their whole outlook underwent a revolution.

(3) The improvements in the means of transport and communication also quickened the pace of nationalist movement in the country. The Indian leaders found themselves in a position to carry on their national propaganda in every nook and corner of the coun-

try. Without these means of communication and transport, such things would have been unthinkable. The frequent meetings of the leaders among themselves and their direct and personal contact with the people in different parts of the country gave a momentum to the nationalist movement in the country.

(4) Many scholars, poets and religious reformers contributed towards the progress of the nationalist movement in the country. The study and republication of ancient Indian literature by the Asiatic Society and scholars like Maxmuller, Monier Williams, Colebrooke, Ranade, Harp Prasad Sastri, R.G. Bhandarkar, Rajendra Lal Mitra etc. revealed to the people of India the majesty of the Sanskrit language and also inculcated among them the feelings of pride in their past and a faith in the future.

(5) The religious and social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Devendra Nath Tagore, Kishore Chandra Sen, P.C. Sarkar, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Ram Krishna Paramhans, Vivekanand, etc. presented a glorious picture of India's past and appealed to the people of India to bring back those good days once again. According to Col. Olcott, Swami Dayanand exercised "great nationalising influence upon his followers." According to Mrs. Annie Besant, "It was Dayanand Saraswati who proclaimed India for the Indians." Regarding the influence of Vivekanand, Nivedita remarked that "the queen of his adoration was his motherland." Like Dayanand, Vivekanand taught young India self-confidence and trust in her own strength. Mrs. Annie Besant also helped the cause of Indian nationalism by her writings and life's work.

(6) The Indian press and literature, both English and vernacular, also aroused national consciousness among the people of the country. Great was the influence of the papers like the Indian Mirror, Bombay Samachar, The Hindu Patriot, The Amrit Bazar Patrika, The Hindu, The Kesari, The Bengalee etc. on the political life of the country. The writings of Din Bandhu Mitra, Hem Chandra Banerjee, Navin Chandra Sen, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, R.C. Dutt and Rabindra Nath Tagore also affected the minds of the people. The "Anand Math" of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee has rightly been regarded as "the Bible of modern Bengalee patriotism." Tagore and D. L. Roy gave us a lot of national poetry, songs and music.

The writings of the Indian patriots brought about a revolution

in the minds of the Indians. It is the revolutionary minds that were responsible for the growth of Indian nationalism.

(7) There was a lot of discontentment in the country on account of many causes. The masses suffered from economic troubles. The middle classes suffered from the bugbear of unemployment. All the rational Indians felt and bewailed the economic exploitation of their country. The British officials working in India were a very heavy drain on the Indian resources. The economic system of India was adjusted to the needs of the people of England. The interests of the Indians were completely ignored. According to Blunt, the vice of the Indian finance was that the Finance Minister of India looked more to the interests of Great Britain than to those of India. Sir Henry Cotton condemned the economic exploitation of India and the subsequent miseries of the people of the country. The Indians resented the attitude of the Englishmen towards them. The Europeans in India were arrogant. They had a very low opinion of the Indian character. They took pleasure in calling the Indians the creatures of an inferior breed, "half Gorilla, half negro." They ridiculed the Indian black heathens "worshipping stocks and stones and swinging themselves on bamboo trees like bees." The European masters regarded the Indians as "the helots of the land, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water." No wonder, the relations between the Indians and the Europeans became strained.

Before the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, there were many Englishmen who honestly believed and worked for the good of the people of India. But during the Mutiny days, a lot of blood was shed on both sides. The Europeans also wreaked their vengeance on the helpless and innocent Indians after the Mutiny. It was the policy of oppression and repression which added to the discontentment in the country. The Indians were completely excluded from the legislatures in the country and also from the key-posts in the administration.

The English language played a very important part in the growth of nationalism in this country. It acted as the lingua franca of the intelligentsia of India. Without the common medium of the English language, it would have been out of the question for the Madrasis, Bengalees and the Punjabees to sit at one table and discuss the common problems facing the country.

The ground was ready and the acts of omission and commission in the time of Lord Lytton accelerated the nationalist movement.

The period from 1876 to 1884 has been called the seed time of Indian nationalism. Lord Lytton held his famous Delhi Durbar in 1877 at a time when the people of South India were suffering terribly from the destruction brought about by famine. The people wondered at the callousness of Lytton. An appropriate comment was made in these words: "Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning." The second Afghan War cost the Indian treasury a lot. No wonder, the Indians criticised Lytton mercilessly. In order to gag the Indian public opinion, Lytton passed the famous Vernacular Press Act in 1878. The discriminatory provisions of this Act ~~was~~^{were} were universally condemned by the people belonging to all walks of life. According to Sir Erskine Perry, the Act was "a retrograde and ill-conceived measure, injurious to the future progress of India." No wonder, it was called the Gagging Act. Lytton also passed in 1878 the Arms Act. This Act made an invidious distinction between the Indians and the Europeans. While the Europeans were allowed to keep arms freely, Indians could not do so without a licence. According to Surendra Nath Banerjee, the Arms Act "imposed upon us a badge of racial inferiority." Such a measure was derogatory to the self-respect of the people of India. Lord Lytton also removed the import duty on cotton manufacturers with a view to help the British manufacturers. This was resented by the Indians.

It is true that Lord Ripon tried to remove some of the grievances of the Indians, but before he could do that, the Ilbert Bill controversy came to the fore. On this occasion, the Europeans behaved so shamefully that the Indians lost their faith in them. It became clear that the Indians could not expect any justice and fairplay from the Englishmen when their own interests were involved. Surendra Nath Banerjee remarked thus: "No self-respecting Indian could sit idle under the fierce light of that revelation. It was a call to high patriotic duty to those who understood its significance."

Before the effect of the Ilbert Bill controversy was over, the Indians had already organised themselves into the so-called Indian National Conference which met for the first time in December 1883 under the leadership of Surendra Nath Banerjee. The Conference was the forerunner of the Indian National Congress which was founded in 1885. It may be noted that there were other organisations such as the British Indian Association of Bengal, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Madras Native Association and the Poona Sarva-janak Sabha.

Foundation of the Congress : The first session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay towards the end of December 1885. It had been originally decided to hold the same at Poona. The initiative for the foundation of the Congress came through Shree A.O. Hume, who was a retired civilian. Hume has been universally acknowledged as the father of the Congress. He addressed his famous letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University appealing for 50 selfless workers who were prepared "to act upon the eternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness." We are told that the original idea of Hume was to bring together the leading Indian public men to discuss the social matters of the country. It was Lord Dufferin who changed the original scheme of Hume. He suggested to him that the proposed organisation should "perform the functions which Her Majesty's opposition did in England."

Lord Dufferin wanted the "Indian politicians to meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved." Hume changed the scheme according to the wishes of Lord Dufferin. The Congress was to act as a safety-valve for popular discontentment. It was to provide a peaceful and constitutional channel for the expression of Indian unrest so that it may not drift towards terrorism. "It is clear the chief glory of the Congress movement is that it has swept away all fungoid undergrowth and sweetened all political agitation by working it out in the wholesome light of the day." It is sometimes stated that the object of Hume was to save the British Empire from disruption. However, the Congress was not expected to act as a bulwark of the British Empire in India. Hume was not a henchman of British Imperialism. He had a passion for liberty. He clearly wanted the Congress to serve the people of India.

Three Stages : The history of the Congress could be divided into three stages. The first stage lasted from 1885 to 1905. This was the period of moderate nationalism. The Congress had not become revolutionary. Its leaders professed loyalty to the British Crown. The second stage lasted from 1906 to 1918. During this period the Congress entered the militant stage. It was also during this period that the Muslims left the Congress. The third stage started with the passing of the Government of India Act in 1919 and ended with the independence of India in 1947. This period can be

called the Gandhian period or the Gandhian Era. The Moderates left the Congress and organised themselves into an All-India Liberal Federation. During this period, the idea of Pakistan was born and progressed. It ended with the establishment of Pakistan itself. The Muslim League gained strength during this period.

It is difficult to go into details of achievements of the Congress from the beginning up to the present times. Suffice it to say that at the beginning it was not a revolutionary body. It was dominated by the moderate nationalists who were modest in their demands. The Indian patriots of that period believed in the British sense of justice and fairplay and were sure to get their grievances redressed from them. They did not believe in agitation or unconstitutional means. They carried on their work by means of public debates, propaganda, petitions, demonstrations and deputations. They believed in prayers and appeals. Their methods have been described as "political mendicancy." According to G.N. Singh, the early Congress "with all its professions of loyalty, studied moderation and appealing, nay, begging tone, did in those days a great amount of spade work in national awakening political education, and in uniting Indians and in creating in them the consciousness of a common Indian nationality." According to Dr. Pattabhji Sitaramayya, "We cannot blame them for the attitude they adopted as pioneers of Indian political reform, in more than we can blame the brick and mortar that is buried six feet deep in the foundation and plinth of a modern edifice. They have made possible the superstructure, storey by storey by colonial self-Government, Home Rule within the empire, Swaraj and on the top of all complete independence." (History of the Congress. P. 99).

It is to be noted that the attitude of the British Government in India towards the Congress was favourable at the beginning. Lord Dufferin gave a reception to the delegates to the second session. The Governor of Madras welcomed the delegates to the third Session of the Congress. But such an attitude did not last long. In 1888, Lord Dufferin condemned the Congress. He described it as representing a "microscopic minority" of educated Indians. In 1887, a person was asked to give security of Rs. 20,000/- on account of his attending the session of the Congress in spite of the orders of the District Officer. In 1890, a circular was issued which forbade the Government officials from attending the meetings of the Congress. The Congress drifted towards a policy of criticism of the Government.

Rise of Extremism: There were certain factors which led to the rise of extremism in the Congress. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 did not satisfy the aspirations of even the Moderates. It was contended that the policy of appeals and prayers had brought forth no result. It appeared that the Government of India considered that policy as a sign of weakness. Tilak observed thus: "Political rights will have to be fought for. The Moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that they can only be obtained by strong pressure."

The constant economic drain on the resources of the country due to foreign domination added to the discontent in the country. The writings of men like Wacha, R.C. Datta and Dadabhai Nauroji proved that the impoverishment of the people of India was largely due to the deliberate policy of the British Government. The policy of the Government of India sacrificed the industries of India in the interest of British manufacturers. There seemed to be no prospects for Indian industries.

The exclusion of the intelligentsia of India for all the big jobs in the country created bitterness. The anti-Indian policy of Lord Curzon added to the discontentment already prevailing in the country. According to him, "the highest ranks of civil employment must, as a general rule, be held by Englishmen." He emphasized that it is only the Englishmen who by their birth and training were fit to rule India, and not the Indians. According to him, Providence had selected the Englishmen to rule over India and to give freedom to India was against the will of God. It need not be pointed out that such a theory of divine right to rule could not be palatable to the Indians who were learning to demand the right to govern themselves.

Lord Curzon was a bureaucrat par excellence and put the greatest emphasis on efficiency. He had no sympathy with the aspirations of the people of India. As a matter of fact, he ignored them altogether. He acted unmindful of the reactions of the people. He regarded the administration as a machine and acted only in the interests of the efficiency of the machine, although the people were affected by the machine.

In 1899, he passed the famous Calcutta Corporation Act which completely officialised the Calcutta Corporation. The total number of the members of the Calcutta Corporation was reduced from 75 to 50. The 25 members who were eliminated were those persons who were the representatives of the people of Calcutta. The result

of this measure was that there was a European majority in the Corporation. No wonder, the measure was vehemently condemned.

In 1904 was passed the Indian Universities Act. This law reduced the size of the syndicates, senates and faculties with a view to give prominence to the Europeans. The result of this law was that the Indian Universities became the most officialised universities in the world. The Universities were practically left with no autonomy. The Indians felt that Curzon wanted to deal a blow at the university system in the country.

In 1904 was passed the famous Official Secrets Act. This Act increased the powers of the Government. The definition of the term "sedition" was widened. The Official Secrets Acts of 1889 and 1898 related to the disclosure of only military secrets. The Act of 1904 covered also the official secrets relating to the civil affairs and newspaper criticism which were likely to bring the government into suspicion or contempt.

Unmindful of the reactions of the people, Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal into two parts in 1905. Most probably, his object was to create a Muslim-majority province. The people of Bengal considered the partition to be a "subtle attack on the growing solidarity of Bengal nationalism." According to A.C. Mazumdar, the object of Lord Curzon in partitioning Bengal "was not only to relieve the Bengali administration, but to create a Mohammadan Province where Islam could be predominant and its followers in ascendancy." The people of Bengal felt that they had been "humiliated, insulted and tricked." There was a vigorous agitation for the repeal of the partition of Bengal and the result was that the same was cancelled in 1911.

The treatment of the Indians in British colonies was another source of discontentment. Particularly in South Africa, they were regarded as pariahs. Meaningless restrictions were imposed on their movements. They could not walk on foot-paths, or travel in first class railway carriages, or travel without passes or go out after 9 p.m. It was felt that the humiliating treatment of the Indians was due to the slavery of India and the only way to end that tyranny was the independence of India. Certain international events also had their repercussions on India. In the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, Japan defeated Russia. This was interpreted as a symbol of the rise of the East. The Indians could take inspiration from that event. If a European nation could be defeated by an Asiatic power,

it was also possible to drive away the English from India. A similar inference was drawn from the defeat of Italy by Abyssinia in the battle of Adowa in 1896.

A reference may be made to the methods of the extremists. Those were boycott, Swadeshi and national education. Boycott was directed mainly against the foreign goods. It also included the boycott of government services, honours and titles. Both boycott and Swadeshi movements had great success. The Englishman of Calcutta wrote thus: "It is absolutely true that Calcutta warehouses are full of fabrics that cannot be sold. Many Marwari firms have been absolutely ruined, and a number of the biggest European houses have had either to close down their piece-goods branch, or to put up with a very small business. In boycott, the enemies of Raj have found a most effective weapon for injuring British interests in the country." Lala Lajpat Rai wrote thus: "We desire to turn our faces away from the Government House and turn them to the huts of the people. We want to stop our mouth so far as an appeal to the Government is concerned and open our mouth with a new appeal to the masses of our people. This is the psychology, this is the ethics, this is the spiritual significance of the boycott movement." The same writer declared thus: "An Englishman hates or dislikes nothing like beggary. I think a beggar deserves to be hated. Therefore, it is our duty to Englishman that we are no longer beggars." The same view was expressed by Shri B.G. Tilak in these words: "Our motto is self-reliance and not mendicancy."

Sri Aurobindo Ghosh declared that "nationalism is a religion that comes from God." According to Desai, "Extremist leaders revive the memories of the Vedic past of the Hindus, the great phase of the reigns of Asoka and Chandra Gupta, the heroic deeds of Rana Pratap and Shivaji, the epic patriotism of Laxmibai, the Queen of Jhansi and leaders of 1857." Durga, Kali, Bhawani and other Hindu gods and goddesses were revived and it was believed that they alone could give the inspiration that was necessary for the emancipation of the country. According to Aurobindo Ghosh, "Independence in all our movements is the goal of life and Hinduism alone can fulfil this aspiration of ours." Tilak revived the Ganapati festival and the Shivaji festival. This great leader of Maharashtra has rightly been called "The Prince of Patriots." He was a great scholar, journalist and a patriot. He started with anti-cow killing

societies, Akharas and Lathi Clubs. The object was to inculcate among the people the virtues of self-help and self-sacrifice. He carried on a wear and tear campaign against British Government through the Kesari and the Mahratta. He was arrested and imprisoned in 1897 on account of the murder of Mr. Rand and Mr. Ayerst by two Brahmins of Maharashtra. In 1908, he was convicted for treason, and sent to Mandalay to serve his period of imprisonment. He played a very important part in the Home Rule movement. He declared that "Swaraj is my birth-right and I will have it." According to Chintamani, "He was a born fighter and a typical Maratha. The passion for freedom was the ruling motive of his life. Gifted with wonderful intelligence, Mr. Tilak brought to bear upon every task that he undertook an iron will and a resolution that nothing could break. He suffered for his opinions and activities more than any contemporary politician. But in all circumstances, he unflinchingly upheld the banner of freedom for India.

Tilak, the extremist, differed from Gokhale, the moderate, and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya describes the difference between the two leaders in these words: "Gokhale was a 'Moderate' and Tilak was an 'Extremist'. Gokhale's plan was to improve the existing Constitution; Tilak's was to reconstruct it. Gokhale had necessarily to work with the bureaucracy; Tilak had necessarily to fight it. Gokhale stood for cooperation where possible and opposition where necessary; Tilak inclined towards a policy of obstruction. Gokhale's methods sought to win the foreigner, Tilak's to replace him. Gokhale depended upon others' help, Tilak upon self-help. Gokhale looked to the classes and the intelligentsia, Tilak to the masses and the millions. Gokhale's arena was the Council Chamber; Tilak's forum was the village Mandap. Gokhale was on a level with his age; Tilak was in advance of his times."

As was to be expected, the Government of India regarded the growth of extremism with apprehension and danger. No stone was left unturned to suppress the advocates of extremism. They were arrested and imprisoned. Sections 124-A and 153-A were added to the Indian Penal Code to deal with the situation. By another law, the authorities were authorised to ban political organisations suspected of subversive tendencies and to conduct the summary trials of the political offenders. Two laws were passed in 1908 and 1910 to crush the Indian Press. In 1907, Lord Minto promulgated the

Regulation of Meetings Ordinance which curtailed the right of the people to hold public meetings.

There was a tussle for some time between the Moderates and the Extremists for supremacy. This resulted in a split in the Congress at the Surat Session in 1907. The Extremists left the Congress and worked separately from the parent body till 1916 when there was a reunion of the two parts.

Growth of Muslim Communalism: A reference may be made at this stage to what may be called Muslim Communalism. It is to be noted that when the Britishers conquered India, they, to begin with, favoured the Hindus. One of the important reasons was the hostility of the Muslims towards the Englishmen. Lord Ellenborough is stated to have said that "the race (Muslim) is fundamentally hostile to us and, therefore, our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus." The result of this policy was that Muslims were ruined during the British regime. They had no hand in the industries of the country. They were not welcomed in the Government services. The Muslims remained backward because they did not take to the study of English when it was introduced in India. They were not welcomed in the Army. In arts and crafts, they were crippled and rendered helpless. The Mutiny strained the relations between the English and the Muslims all the more.

Such was the state of affairs when a change took place in the British policy towards the Muslims after 1871. Sir William Hunter's book entitled "The Indian Mussalmans" which was published in 1871 marks the beginning of the change. A new thesis was put forward. It was contended that the Muslims were too weak for independent rebellion. It was "expedient now to take them into alliance, rather than continue to antagonise them."

Principal Beck of the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, played a very important role in winning over the Muslims to the English side and away from the Indian National Congress. He was able to convince Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the great leader of the Muslims, that "while an Anglo-Muslim alliance would ameliorate the condition of the Muslim community, the nationalist alignment would lead them once again to sweat, toil and tears. As a result, his unique influence was used to keep the Muslims, particularly in Northern India, away from the Congress." Sir Syed who was formerly known for his tolerant views, openly attacked the Congress. Mr. Beck organised Muslim opposition in 1889 to the Bill of Bradlaugh in the

British Parliament for giving representative institutions to India. The memorial which was sent on behalf of the Muslims of India emphasised the fact that the introduction of democratic institutions was not suited to India because she was not a single nation. In 1893 was organised the Mohammadan Defence Association with Mr. Beck as one of the secretaries. The object of this association was to prevent the Muslims from joining the Congress. Mr. Beck wrote thus: "The objective of the Congress is to transfer the political control of the country from the British to the Hindus. Muslims can have no sympathy with these demands. It is imperative for the Muslims and the British to unite with a view to fighting these agitators and prevent the introduction of democratic form of Government unsuited to the needs and genius of the country. We, therefore, advocate loyalty to the Government and Anglo-Muslim collaboration."

It has already been mentioned that one of the objects of the partition of Bengal in 1905 was to create a Muslim majority province. The Hindus carried on a vigorous agitation for its repeal and the same was done in 1911.

When the Government of India made up their mind to give more concessions to India in the constitutional field about the year 1906, the Muslims put forward a demand for separate electorates for themselves. These demands were placed before Lord Minto by a Muslim deputation under the leadership of Sir Agha Khan. But it must be noticed that everything was arranged by Mr. Archibald, who became the Principal of the Aligarh College after Mr. Beck. The deputation was a command affair. Mr. Archibald wrote thus: "Colonel Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary of His Excellency the Viceroy, informs me that His Excellency is agreeable to receive the Muslim deputation. He advises that a formal letter requesting permission to wait on His Excellency be sent to him. In this connection, I would like to make a few suggestions. The formal letter should be sent with the signatures of some representatives of Mussalmans. The deputation should consist of representatives of all the provinces. The third point to be considered is the text of the address. I would here suggest that we begin with a solemn assurance of loyalty. The Government decision to take a step in the direction of self-government should be appreciated. But our apprehensions should be expressed that the principle of election, if introduced, would prove detrimental to the interests of the Muslim

minority. It should respectfully be suggested that nomination or representation by religion be introduced to meet Muslim opinion. We should also say that in a country like India due weight must be given to the views of Zamindars. But in all these views I must be in the background. They must come from you. I can prepare for you the draft of the Address or revise it. If it is prepared in Bombay, I can go through it. As you are aware, I know how to phrase these things in proper language. Please remember that if we want to organise a powerful movement in the short time at our disposal, we must expedite matters."

Lord Minto received the deputation sympathetically and gave the following reply: "The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that under any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality or a district board or a legislative council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Muhammadan community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies as now constituted cannot be expected to return a Muhammadan candidate, and if by chance they did so, it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his community whom he would in no way represent; and you justly claim that your position should be estimated not only in your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you. Please do not misunderstand me. I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent." Lady Minto tells us in her Diary that Lord Minto described the day on which the Muslim deputation met him as "an epoch in Indian history."

Having committed himself to give separate electorates to the Muslims, Lord Minto took up the matter with Lord Morley, the Liberal Secretary of State for India. The latter was not in favour of the proposal of Lord Minto. But the Viceroy insisted that separate electorates alone could satisfy the Muslims of India and nothing else. The result was that ultimately Lord Morley accepted the point of view of Lord Minto and provision was made in the Act of

1909 for separate electorates for the Muslims. Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto thus in December 1909: "I won't follow you again into our Mohammadan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you again that it was your early speech about their extra claims that started the (Muslim) hare. I am convinced my decision was best." It is clear that Lord Minto was the real father of communal electorates, although the British officials also played their part.

In December 1906 was established the All-India Muslim League with a view to "support, whenever possible, all measures emanating from the government, and to protect the cause and advance the interests of our co-religionists throughout the country, to controvert the growing influence of the so-called Indian National Congress, which has a tendency to misinterpret and subvert British rule in India, or which might lead to that deplorable situation, and to enable our youngmen of education, who for want of such an association have joined the Congress camp, to find scope, according to their fitness and ability, for public life."

Between the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1909 and the starting of the Home Rule Movement by Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant, there was not much of bitterness between the Congress on the one hand and the Government of India on the other. There were many factors responsible for this phenomenon. The extremists were out of the political field. The Moderates were in charge of the Congress. Lord Hardinge followed a sympathetic policy towards the Congress. He expressed his feelings of sympathy for the national aspirations of the people of India. He wept with them in the matter of the treatment of Indians in South Africa. It was during his regime that the partition of Bengal was cancelled, a thing demanded by the Indian patriots. The result was that the Congress adopted a policy of conciliation. With regard to the visit of George V to India and the holding of the Delhi Durbar in 1911, Shri Ambika Charan Mazumdar declared: "Every heart is beating in unison with reverence and devotion to the British Crown, overflowing with revived confidence in and gratitude towards British statesmanship. Some of us never faltered—not even in the darkest days of our trials and tribulations—in our hope, in our conviction and in our faith in the ultimate triumph and vindication of British justice." We are told that when the Governor of Madras visited the Pandit of the Congress, the whole House cheered the Governor and a resolution was passed expressing the loyalty of the Congress to the British throne.

Home Rule Movement: But this state of affairs did not last long. Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. B.G. Tilak started the Home Rule Movement in 1916. There was nothing original or revolutionary about this movement. Annie Besant was not the enemy of the British Empire. She merely wanted to shake the people of India out of their sleep. She said: "I am an India Tom Tom, waking up all the sleepers so that they may wake and work for their motherland." Her plan was merely "to disentangle the nationalist Extremists from their compromising alliance with the revolutionaries, to reconcile them to a position within the Empire and to bring them with the Moderates into line in the United Congress." She herself wrote thus: "In political reform, we aim at the building up of complete self-government from village councils, through District and Municipal Boards and Provincial Legislative Assemblies to a National Parliament, equal in its powers to the Legislative Bodies of the Self-Governing Colonies, by whatever name they may be called; also at the direct representation of India in the Imperial Parliament when that body shall contain representatives of the self-Governing States of the Empire."

Mrs. Annie Besant made it clear that Home Rule was the birth-right of the people of India and the people of this country were not prepared to take it as a reward of their services for the British Empire and their loyalty to the British throne. She wrote thus: "India does not chaffer with the blood of her sons and the proud tears of her daughters in exchange for so much liberty, so much right. India claims the right, as a Nation, to justice among the peoples of the Empire. India asked for this before the War, India asks for it during the War, India will ask for it after the War, but not as reward but as a right does she ask for it."

The Home Rule Movement reached its height in 1917. In that year, the Government of India took strong action against the movement. Mrs. Annie Besant was interned. There was a lot of agitation for her release. Tilak threatened to start passive resistance. The whole of the Indian atmosphere was surcharged with enthusiasm. But at this time came the famous announcement of the Secretary of State for India in August 1917. This announcement promised responsible government to the people of India by stages. The result was that by slow degrees the Home Rule Movement died out. Annie Besant was elected the President of the Congress in 1917. The same year Mr. Montagu visited India and toured the country

and met with the representatives of the people. The joint report was published in 1918 and the Government of India Act was passed in 1919.

Hindu-Muslim Collaboration: It is desirable to refer to the cordial relations between the Hindus and the Muslims for a brief period. Both the Congress and the Muslim League worked in collaboration with each other. There were many causes responsible for this. The first important cause was the treatment of Turkey by the European Powers before 1914. It is well-known that the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 weakened the power of Turkey in Europe. It appeared as if there was a kind of crusade against the Muslims in Europe. This was resented very much by the Muslims in India who considered the Sultan of Turkey as the head of Islam. Turkey was regarded to be the symbol of Islamic greatness. As the British Government did nothing to save Turkey, the Indians became bitter. The partition of Bengal was cancelled by the British Government in 1911 without consulting the Muslims. This was regarded to be an act of betrayal on the part of the British Government. It was this disappointment which brought the Muslims to the Congress. Certain Muslim Nationalist leaders also played their part. Those leaders were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Maulana Mohd. Ali and Shaukat Ali. The nationalist Muslims captured the Muslim League under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. Sir Agha Khan was made to resign from the Presidentship. In 1916, both the Congress and the Muslim League held their annual session at Lucknow. It was in that atmosphere of give-and-take that the famous Lucknow Pact was signed by the Muslim League and the Congress.

It is true that the Lucknow Pact was hailed as an achievement of Hindu-Muslim cooperation, but it cannot be denied that this Pact had many shortcomings. The so-called unity between the Hindus and Muslims was secured at a very high price. The Congress leaders acted "without the slightest thought of the consequences." The Congress accepted the principle of communal electorates which was the very negation of nationalism. It cannot be denied that separate electorates ultimately resulted in the partition of India and the establishment of Pakistan in 1947. The Congress leaders do not seem to have appreciated the dire consequences of such a step. The Congress agreed to give the Muslims not only separate representation, but also weightage in representation. In the U.P. the Muslim

population was only 14%, but they were given 30% seats. In Madras, the Muslim population was only 6%, but they were given 15% representation. In the case of the Central Legislative Council, the Muslims were given one-third of all the elected seats although the Muslims were not even 25% in India. It goes without saying that India did not gain anything out of this Pact. However, a very heavy price had to be paid later on.

The first World War ended in 1918. During this great war, the Indians had helped the British Government with men and money. Everything had been done by the Indians to further the war-efforts of the British Government. During the period of the war, the Indians suffered on account of high prices, low wages and the shortage of supplies. Plague and influenza also took a heavy toll. The liberty of the people was restricted on account of the working of the Defence of India Rules. The people put up with the acts of high-handedness of the British officers in the matter of recruitment and the collection of war-funds. After having done all that, the people were not at all happy at what was given to them by the report of 1918. Mrs. Annie Besant rightly stated that the scheme was "ungenerous for England to offer and unworthy for India to accept." When India was in this mood, the Government of India passed the infamous Rowlatt Act in 1918 inspite of opposition from all quarters. The result was that a wave of anger spread all over India and even the Moderates joined hands with other Indians. The Act was a very drastic one. It gave the Government powers to crush popular liberties, to arrest and detain suspected persons without warrant and to imprison them without regular trial.

Mahatma Gandhi who had been loyal to the British Government throughout the first World War came to the fore-front and asked the people to offer Satyagraha against the Act. There was great enthusiasm throughout the country. Hartals were observed with great success. Hindus and Muslims cooperated with one another. But Mahatma Gandhi all of a sudden suspended the Satyagraha because there was a clash in Delhi and disturbance at other places. Later on, Mahatma Gandhi had to confess that he had made a "Himalayan miscalculation." But the mischief was done.

Great atrocities were committed in the Punjab during the regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Governor and the Iron Man of the Punjab. Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Kitchlew were deported. In April 1919, the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy took place at Amritsar.

On account of the firing ordered by General Dyer, hundreds of persons were killed and wounded. Martial Law was declared in the districts of the Punjab and was enforced with utmost cruelty and severity. There was great resentment all over the country.

The Non-Cooperation Movement: While there was general resentment all over the country on account of the anti-Indian attitude of the British bureaucracy in India, certain other events took place. In 1920 was made the Treaty of Sevres between Turkey and the Allies. This treaty practically dismembered Turkey. This was too much for the Muslims of India. They accused the British Government of the breach of their promises given during the war. A powerful Khilafat Movement was started in India. Its object was the preservation of the Turkish Empire and the continued existence of the Khilafat as a temporal no less than a spiritual institution. Mahatma Gandhi took up the cause of the Muslims. To Mahatma Gandhi, the Khilafat question seemed to offer an opportunity for uniting both the Hindus and the Muslims. A special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta and the other one at Nagpur in 1920.

Mahatma Gandhi started the non-cooperation movement in August 1920. Its programme included the boycott of the Councils, the boycott of the Courts of law, and the boycott of the schools and colleges. It was intended to set up national schools and colleges and Panchayats. The government took strong action against this movement. The local governments were given full powers to suppress the movement in any way they could. Mahatma Gandhi suspended the movement in 1922 when the tragedy of Chauri Chaura took place in a small town in the Gorakhpur district of U.P. A mob killed 21 policemen and one Inspector in the Police Station. This was too much for the non-violent creed of Mahatma Gandhi. There was a lot of resentment and astonishment at this action of Mahatma Gandhi. Coupland has given the importance of the non-cooperation movement in these words: "He (Mahatma Gandhi) had done what Tilak had failed to do. He had converted the nationalist movement into a revolutionary movement. He had taught it to pursue the goal of India's freedom not by constitutional pressure on the government, still less by discussion and agreement, but by force, none the less force because it was meant to be non-violent. And he had not only made the nationalist movement revolutionary, he had also made it popular. It had hitherto been confined to the

urban intelligentsia ; it had made no appeal to the country folk. Gandhi's personality had deeply stirred the countryside."

The next phase in the Congress is the work of the Swarajist Party. It is well-known that the Congress boycotted the general elections held in 1920 under the Government of India Act of 1919. In 1922, the question arose whether any change should be made or not in the attitude of the Congress towards the legislatures. There was a tough struggle between the no-changers and the pro-changers. Ultimately, the Congress sanctioned the Council-entry programme in 1923. This helped the Swarajist Party to come to the front. The policy of the Swarajist Party was to fight the elections and capture as many seats as possible. Having won the elections, its members were not to cooperate with the government. They were to follow a policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction." They intended to "wreck the legislatures from within." The key-note of the Swarajist creed was obstruction. The great leaders of the Swarajist party were C.R. Dass, Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and V.J. Patel.

The Swarajists entered both the Central legislature and the Provincial legislatures. At the Centre, they captured 45 out of 145 seats of Central Assembly. They gave a lot of trouble to the British Government. They staged walk-outs so frequently that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru described them as "patriotism in locomotion." This party came to have also a majority in C.P. and Bengal. They brought the working of dyarchy to a standstill by refusing to accept offices. The party weakened after the death of C.R. Dass in 1925.

Simon Commission was appointed by the Government in 1927. This was in accordance with the statutory provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919. There was a lot of hue and cry in India on account of the all-white composition of the Commission. The Commission was boycotted by the Indians. Hartals were held all over the country. The members of the Simon Commission were asked to go back. In spite of all this, the Simon Commission completed its work and submitted the report in 1930. In spite of its rejection by the Indians, it was made the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935 by Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India.

The Nehru Report (1928): An All-parties Conference was held in Delhi in February and March 1928. This conference appointed a Committee with Motilal Nehru as its President to draft a constitution for India. The draft was prepared and presented to

an all-parties National Convention at Calcutta in December 1928. According to the draft, India was to be a secular state with no state religion. There was to be the system of joint electorates with reservation of seats. Seats were to be reserved for Muslims in provinces where they were in a minority and for non-Muslims in the North-West Frontier Province. Such reservation was to be in accordance with the population, with the right to contest additional seats. The report recommended Dominion Status for India. The report was rejected by the Muslims and Mr. Jinnah put forward his famous 14 points as the minimum demands of the Muslims.

At the Calcutta session of the Congress, it was intended to pass a resolution declaring complete independence as the goal of India. However, Mahatma Gandhi intervened and Dominion Status was declared to be the goal of India. Mahatma Gandhi gave the assurance that he himself would lead the movement for independence if by the end of 1929 the British Government did not confer Dominion Status on India. It is true that Lord Irwin, the Governor-General of India, declared in October 1929 that dominion status was the goal of the British Government in India, but the mere declaration did not satisfy the Congressmen. Consequently, under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Lahore session of the Congress passed a resolution declaring complete independence to be the goal of India. To quote, "The Congress....is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being representated at the proposed Round Table Conference. This Congress, therefore, in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year, declares that the words Swaraj in Article I of the Congress constitution shall mean complete independence and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee report to have lapsed." 26th January was declared to be the Independence Day. A civil disobedience programme was prepared and launched. Mahatma Gandhi started his famous Dandi march on 12th March 1930 from Sabarmati Ashram. Thousands of Congress volunteers went to jail. The Government used all kinds of repression to crush the nationalist movement. The Congress boycotted the first Round Table Conference in London in 1930. However, after the Conference, Jayakar and Sapru intervened and in March 1931 the famous Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed. It was declared that the safeguards which were going to be embodied in the new constitution of India were to be in the interests of the country. The prisoners of the civil dis-

obedience movement were to be released by the Government. The people were to have the right to manufacture salt in the salt areas. The Government recognised the right of peaceful picketing. The Government agreed to return the confiscated properties of the Congress. The Congress agreed to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement and also agreed to participate in the next Round Table Conference.

Mahatma Gandhi attended the second Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Congress. However, nothing could be achieved on account of the attitude of Mr. Jinnah. It was found that it was impossible to have any agreed formula with regard to the representation of the various communities. Mahatma Gandhi left the Round Table Conference in disgust. As soon as he reached India, he was arrested by the orders of Lord Wellington. Wholesale arrests of Congress volunteers were ordered. Leaders were put behind the bars. In August 1932, Ramsay Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, gave his famous Communal Award. This was modified by the Poona Pact. The Congress did not participate in the Third Round Table Conference. In March 1933, the White Paper proposals were published. In 1934, elections were held to the Central Assembly. The Congress decided to fight the elections and was able to win a large number of seats.

As regards the Communal Award, the Congress neither accepted it nor rejected it. However, when the Government of India ordered elections for provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Congress decided to fight the elections and was able to secure majorities in a large number of provinces. There was a deadlock between the Congress and the Government on the question of the formation of Ministries in the provinces. After some time, the Government gave an undertaking to the Congress that the Governors will not interfere in the day-to-day affairs of the Provincial Government. The Congress formed Ministries in July 1937 and these ministries continued to work till November 1939 when the Congress Ministries resigned after the declaration of the World War II. It is well-known that the Congress Ministries were able to do a lot for the people in the provinces on account of their devotion to work and the spirit of sacrifice.

In August 1940, Lord Linlithgow made an offer to expand the Executive Council of the Viceroy with a view to secure cooperation of the Indians. However, the offer was rejected by the Congress.

In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with his proposals which gave the people of India the right of making their constitution after the ending of the World War. He was prepared to transfer into the hands of the Indians all the Departments of the Government of India except that of Defence. The Congress was prepared to accept the long-term Scheme and not the interim scheme. The Congress did not like the attitude of "take it or leave it" as adopted by Cripps. After the return of Cripps, the All-India Congress Committee passed the famous 'Quit India' resolution on 8th August 1942. The resolution declared "that the immediate ending of British rule in India was an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of benefiting herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom. The ending of British rule in this country was thus a vital and immediate issue on which depends the future of the war, and the success of freedom and democracy. The All-India Congress Committee therefore repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest scale possible. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken."

The immediate effect of the passing of the Quit India resolution was the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and all the members of the All-India Congress Working Committee. The Indian National Congress was banned and its offices were taken possession of by the police. The Government did all that it could to crush the Congress organisation. However, the people reacted voluntarily. There was a revolt of the people against the tyranny and oppression of the Government. It was absolutely unplanned and unpremeditated. Its methods were violent and sabotaging the machinery of the Government. In many parts of the country, there was a complete collapse of the machinery of the Government. This state of affairs continued till 1945.

Mr. Jinnah seems to have been taken by surprise by the "Quit India" movement of the Congress. He declared that the object of the movement was not only to turn out the Englishmen from India

but also to subjugate the Muslims and the Muslim League. It was also declared that the movement was directed to coerce the British Government to hand over to the Hindus the administration of the country. The Muslim League asked the Muslims to keep aloof from the movement. It also raised the slogan of "divide and quit". Another slogan of the League was "Bat Ke Rahega Hindustan" (Hindustan will have to be divided)

The formula of Rajagopalachari to end the deadlock in the country failed on account of the attitude of Mr. Jinnah although the Muslims were given the substance of what they wanted. The Simla Conference of Wavell also failed for similar reasons. In 1946, the Cabinet Mission appointed by the Labour Government of Great Britain came to India. In spite of its sincere efforts to bring about a compromise between the Muslim League and the Congress, nothing could be achieved. Ultimately, the Cabinet Mission gave its award on 16th May 1946. Its award was a compromise between the Pakistan demand of the Muslim League and the Congress demand for one undivided India. The Muslim League accepted the scheme and the Congress rejected it. However, when the Congress agreed to accept the scheme, the Muslim League rejected it. The Muslim League also decided to observe Direct Action Day on 16th August 1946. Premier Suhrawardy was the leader of the procession at Calcutta on that day. The great Calcutta-killing continued for 4 days. About three thousand Hindus were killed and property worth crores was burnt.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru formed the Interim Government on September 2, 1946. This annoyed the Muslim League. It openly declared that rivers of blood will flow throughout the country. The League volunteers shouted the slogan of "Mareng Mar Jayenge Pakistan Banayenge." (We will die but we will create Pakistan). There were riots in Naokhali and Bihar. The Muslim League entered the Interim Government. However, the working of the Interim Government was a failure. Sardar Patel had to admit that the Interim Government was in a state of paralysis. The Muslim Leaguers tried their utmost to bring chaos in the country.

On 20th February 1947, Attlee declared that the British Government will leave India by June 1948 whether there was agreement between the Indian parties or not. In March 1947, Lord Mountbatten came to India as Governor-General. He contacted both the Congress leaders and the Muslim League leaders and came

to the conclusion that it was in the interests of the country to divide the country as quickly as possible and hand over the administration into the hands of the Indians. He prepared his famous June 3 Plan which was accepted by all the parties concerned. In July 1947, the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act which created the Dominions of India and Pakistan. India became independent on 15th August 1947.

In spite of the communal disturbances all over India in 1947, the Congress leaders have been able to accomplish a lot for the country. Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, was murdered by a fanatical Hindu on 30th January 1948. Sardar Patel also died after finishing his work of the integration of the Indian States. However, the Indians have made their new constitution. Every effort is being made to complete the Five Year Plan. Under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, India has gained a status of prestige in the world.

CHAPTER XXI

DECENTRALIZATION OF FINANCE

It is well-known that up to the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, the princes enjoyed a lot of autonomy in matters of finance. It was the Act of 1833 that brought about financial centralisation. That Act provided that "no Government shall have power of granting of any new office or granting any new salary, gratuity or allowance without the previous sanction of the Governor-General." Indian finance remained centralized in the hands of the Government of India even after the passing of the Acts of 1853 and 1858. The Provinces were not given any right or authority on the Provincial revenues. They were merely the managing agents for the Government of India. The sources of taxation, the amount of taxation, the manner of collection and the authority for expenditure were all dictated from the headquarters. The provinces had absolutely no interest in the collection of the taxes. According to Sir William Hunter, "Towards the end of every year, each Local Government presented to the Governor-General-in-Council its estimates of expenditure during the coming 12 months. The Governor-General-in-Council, after comparing the aggregate estimates with the expected revenue from All India, granted to each local Government such sums as could be spared for its local services." According to Strachey, "The whole of the revenues from all the provinces of British India were treated as belonging to a single fund, expenditure from which could be authorised by the Governor-General-in-Council alone. The Provincial Governments were allowed no discretion in sanctioning fresh charges. They could order without the approval of the Supreme Government, and without its knowledge, the adoption of measures vitally affecting the interests of millions of people. They could make changes in the system of administration that might involve serious consequences to the State; they could for instance (and this is a case which actually occurred) alter the basis on which the assessment of the land revenue had been made, but they could carry out no improvement, great or small, for which actual expenditure of money was required. If it became necessary to spend £20 on a road between two local markets, to re-build a stable that had tumbled

down, or to entertain a menial servant on wages of 10 shillings a month, the matter had to be formally reported for the orders of the Government of India." A critic points out that "the distribution of public income degenerated into something like a scramble in which the most violent had the advantage, with very little attention to reason. As local economy brought no local advantage, the stimulus to waste was reduced to a minimum, and if no local growth of the income led to local means of improvement, the interest in developing the public revenues was also brought to the lowest level."

It was admitted on all hands that the system was faulty and required to be changed. The efforts of General Dickens and Mr. Laing did not improve matters. In 1867, a scheme was prepared by Strachey to revise that system. On the basis of that scheme, Lord Mayo took the first step on the road to decentralisation.

(1) **Mayo's Resolution (1870)**: The Resolution of 1870 transferred to the control of the Provincial Governments the following heads of expenditure, with the revenue accruing from them, and in addition, a fixed annual Imperial Grant for the purpose: Jails, Registration, Police, Education, Medical Services, Printing, Roads, Miscellaneous Public Improvements and Civil Buildings. The deficit, if any, was to be met either by local taxation or by the reduction of expenditure. Any portion that may be unspent by the end of the year was not to lapse to the Central Government, but was to remain at the disposal of the Provincial Government concerned. Provincial Governments were given powers, subject to certain conditions, to create appointments provided the salary in each case did not exceed Rs. 250/- a month and the amounts could be met out of the assigned Grants. The Government of Lord Mayo hoped that the Resolution "will produce great care and economy; that it will import an element of certainty into fiscal system which has hitherto been absent; and that it will lead to more harmony in action and feeling between the Supreme and Provincial Governments than has hitherto prevailed." The operation of this Resolution, in its full meaning and integrity, will afford opportunities for the development of self-Government, for strengthening municipal institutions, and for the association of natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs.

The chief defect of the system of 1870 was that Imperial Grants were made on the basis of expenditure in various provinces in 1870-71. No attempt was made to remove the existing inequalities

and to give Grants to provinces according to their actual needs. According to Dr. Gian Chand, "The province which had the low level of expenditure owing either to access to the Central Government or to its under-developed or backward state due to recent annexation was penalised for its economy, unassertiveness or worse still backwardness". The charge of R.C. Dutt was that the reform of Lord Mayo brought about an increase in the general burden of taxation. Each province, to augment its own revenues, imposed new taxes, mostly on land. The result was that the state-demand on the soil was increased. That was against the spirit of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and as regard other provinces, it broke the rule adopted in 1855 and 1864 of limiting assessment to one-half the rental (India in the Victorian Age, p. 257). However, it has been pointed out that the practice of separating Central from Local taxation was almost universal in the modern states. Moreover, the system of Lord Mayo resulted in a lot of economy. According to Roberts, Lord Mayo "found serious deficit and left substantial surplus. He found estimates habitually untrustworthy, he left thoroughly worthy of confidence. He found accounts in arrears and statistics incomplete, he left them punctual and full" (British India, p. 417).

(2) **Lytton's Change:** In 1877, the Government of Lord Lytton took the second step on the road to decentralisation. Several heads of expenditure such as Land Revenue, Excise, Stamps, General Administration, Stationery, Law and Justice were transferred to the Provincial Governments. It was also provided that any surplus above the estimated income was to be shared to the extent of one-half with the Government of India which also undertook to meet deficits to the same extent, if and when occurred.

(3) **Ripon (1882):** The next change was made in 1882 by Lord Cromer in the time of Lord Ripon. He introduced the system of Imperial, Divided and Provincial Heads of Revenue by which the revenues from all sources were divided into three categories. Income from Imperial Heads was to go to the Central Government. The provinces were to get all the income from the Departments under their control. Income from the Divided Heads was to be shared, mostly in equal portions, between the Imperial Government and the Provincial Governments. The deficit in the Provincial Budgets was to be made good by the Imperial Government by giving a fixed percentage of land revenue to the provinces. This settlement was made for five years and was renewed in 1887, 1892 and 1897.

According to Principal C.L. Anand, "The advantage of this system over the one which had hitherto generally prevailed, was that it gave the provincial Governments a direct interest not only in the provincialised revenue, but also in the most important items of Imperial revenue raised within their own province." The defects of this system were described in these words by Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in 1896: "I must say I deprecate the way in which these quinquennial revisions have too frequently been carried out. The provincial sheep is summarily thrown on its back, close-clipped and shorn of its wool, and turned out to shiver till its fleece grows again. The normal history of a provincial contract is that—two years of screwing and sewing and postponement of works, two years of resumed energy on a normal scale, and one year of dissipation of balances in the fear that if not spent they will be annexed by the Supreme Government, directly or indirectly, at the time of revision. Now all this is wrong, if not demoralising. I say the Supreme Government might not shear too closely each quinquennium... It would be an immense gain to Local Administration if the Government of India could see its way to each occasion. It is only in this that the element of fiscal certainty which was put forward in 1870 as one of its main objects, can be secured."

(4) **Curzon:** In 1904, Lord Curzon tried to remove the defects of the settlement of 1882. Although the old division of revenues into the Imperial, Divided and Provincial Heads was continued, the shares of the Central Government and the Provincial Governments were revised. Expenditure on purely Imperial heads was to be incurred entirely by the Government of India. Expenditure incurred on the Divided Heads was to be divided between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. The settlement was declared to be quasi-permanent, and was to be revised only if found to be grossly unjust or only in very extreme circumstances.

Decentralisation Commission: The Royal Commission on Decentralisation appointed in 1907, enquired into the relations between the Central and Provincial Governments. It made the following important recommendations in the financial field:—

- (a) The Governor-General should not interfere with the revenues assigned to the provinces.
- (b) Distribution should be fixed according to needs of the provinces.

(c) The residue should be taken in the shape of a fixed fractional share from a few of the main heads of revenue.

(5) **Resolution of 1912:** The Government of India accepted generally the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission and passed a Resolution on provincial finance on 18th May, 1912. The Government of India was anxious to make their financial relations with the provincial Governments as stable as possible. However, before declaring the provincial settlement permanent, they considered it necessary to examine certain alleged inequalities and adjustments. Regarding the inequality of treatment given to the various provinces, the view of the Government of India was that "if it exists at all, it is historical and inevitable....whilst its very existence is doubtful. The higgling of a quarter of a century has established a rough equality which should not be replaced by theoretical calculations." According to Dr. Gian Chand, "There was no equity, rough or refined in the Settlement of 1911." But the Government of India proceeded on the assumption that there existed rough equality between the various provinces. After making certain adjustments, the Government of India made the provincial settlements permanent. In certain provinces, fixed assignments had reached a high figure. The Government of India revised the provincial settlements and made some more heads wholly or partially provincial. The fixed assignments were proportionately reduced. The policy of giving lump-sum grants to the provinces out of the surplus of the Government of India was revised in accordance with the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. The Commission had recommended the adoption of three principles with a view to remove the defects of "the policy of doles." Those principles were that regard should be made to the wishes of the Provincial Governments, the purpose for which grants are made may not be the same in all provinces and the grants should not involve greater Central interference. Moreover, new revised rules were issued by the Government of India in connection with the control over provincial budgets. In future, the control was to be confined to Divided Heads and to the totals of revenue expenditure. The Provincial Governments were to be given authority to overdraw upon the balances with the Government of India and to budget for a deficit under certain conditions.

It is pointed out that inspite of the changes made by the Resolution of 1912, many defects remained in the system. Inequalities in provincial expenditure were not removed. Independent

powers of taxation and borrowing were not granted to the provinces. The old system of divided heads and the giving of "doles" was allowed to continue. But inspite of these defects, it was declared that the provincial settlements with the provinces were "fixed in perpetuity."

(6) **Meston Settlement:** After the publication of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms in 1918, the new policy was inaugurated. The authors of the Report had recommended that the provinces should have their independent sources of revenue. This implied the abolition of the system of divided heads and the separation of the provincial finance from the Central finance. With the object of giving effect to the principle of bifurcation, the two lists were prepared in such a way that the Central and Provincial Governments were to have the least possibility of clash. If there was any doubt as to whether a particular matter was a provincial subject or a central subject, the final decision vested with the Governor-General-in-Council. "The principle of discrimination between Central and Provincial subjects is that where extra-provincial interests predominate, the subject is treated as central ; while on the other hand, all subjects in which the interests of a particular province predominate, are provincial." 47 subjects were declared to be Central subjects and the most important of them were Defence, External Affairs, Railways, Shipping and Navigation, Posts and Telegraphs, Customs, Incometax Services, etc. 52 subjects were included in the Provincial List and the most important were Education, Local Self-Government, Medical Administration, Public Health and Sanitation, Irrigation, Land Revenue, Famine Relief, Agriculture, Forests, Industries, Police, Justice, etc. As the distribution of subjects involved a deficit for the Central Government, a Committee known as the Provincial Relations Committee was set up with Lord Meston as its President to make recommendations as to how the deficit could be met. The Meston Committee recommended that the provinces should make contributions to the Government of India so that the budget may be balanced . It was estimated that the deficit was to be about 10 crores. The provinces were not required to pay equally, but according to their paying capacity. Different provinces were to contribute different sums in different years. Another schedule gave the permanent and standard ratio at which each province was to be taxed in order to wipe out the Central deficit.

The following scale shows the contributions made by the provinces to the Central Government in 1921-22.

<i>Provinces</i>		<i>Contribution in lacs of rupees</i>
Madras	.. ..	348
Bombay	.. ..	56
Bengal	.. ..	63
Punjab	.. ..	175
United Provinces	.. ..	240
Assam	.. ..	15
Burma	.. ..	64
C P. and Berar	.. ..	22

There was a general complaint against the Meston Settlement and both the officials and non-officials condemned in equal severity the unwisdom of the new system. The Inquiry Committee also wrote against the system. The revision, if not its complete abolition, was unanimously and persistently demanded. However, Sir Blackett, the Finance Member of the Government of India, announced the complete and final remission of provincial contributions in his budget of 1928-29.

Although under the reforms of 1919, the position of the Provincial Governments with regard to finance was considerably improved, there were still many restrictions on them. They had to maintain the All-India Services as directed by the Secretary of State for India. They were helpless with regard to their appointments and salaries. Their powers of taxation were very much restricted. They were not given the power to borrow on the security of their revenues. The Provincial Governments resented those restrictions and desired an independent Provincial Department of Accounts and Auditing.

Reforms of 1935: The Government of India Act, 1935 introduced in the provinces what is known as provincial autonomy. The Act provided for a threefold division of powers between the Federal Government and the provinces. The federal Government was given the power to pass laws on those matters which were given in the Federal List. The Provincial Legislatures were given the power to make laws on those matters which were included in the Provincial List. The Concurrent List contained those matters about which laws could be passed both by the Federal Legislature and the provinces. However, many restrictions were allowed to be conti-

nued on the provincial finance. It is true that they were given the power of borrowing within certain limits, but their power to levy taxes was circumscribed. According to the Niemeyer Report, the provinces were given financial assistance by the Central Government to meet their deficits. The Report also recommended the distribution among the provinces of half of the income tax receipts.

New Constitution: It is to be noted that even under the new Constitution of India which came into force in 1950, the various States of India do not enjoy complete autonomy in the sphere of finance.

The distribution of financial resources between the Union and the states follows the Government of India Act, 1935. Several taxes and duties have been exclusively given to the Union. Some are to be levied by the Union but collected and appropriated by the states. Certain taxes are to be levied as well as collected by the Union, but are assigned to the states within which they are leviable. Certain taxes are to be levied and collected by the Union but distributed between the Union and the States. Provision is also made for grants-in-aid by the Union to the states.

The taxes which belong exclusively to the Union are customs, corporation tax, taxes on capital value of assets of individuals and companies, surcharge on income tax, fees in respect of matters in the Union List, excise duties on tobacco and all other goods produced in India except alcoholic liquors for human use, opium and other drugs.

The taxes which belong exclusively to the states are land-revenue, taxes on agricultural income, succession duties on agricultural land, taxes on land and buildings, taxes on mineral rights, opium and Indian hemp, taxes on consumption and sale of electricity, terminal tax, taxes on goods and passengers carried by road or inland waterways, taxes on vehicles, professions, trades and entertainments, sales tax etc.

Stamp duties on Bills of exchange, Bills of lading, insurance policies, transfer of shares etc., and excise duties on medicinal and toilet preparations containing alcohol are to be levied by the Union, but are to be collected and appropriated by the states within whose jurisdiction they are levied.

The following taxes are to be levied as well as collected by the Union, but assigned to the states within which they are leviable: duties on succession to property other than agricultural land, estate

duty in respect of property other than agricultural land, terminal taxes on goods or passengers carried by railway, air or sea, taxes on railway fares and freights, taxes on transactions in stock exchange and taxes on sale of and advertisements in newspapers.

The following taxes are levied and collected by the Union, but their proceeds are divided between the Union and the states in a certain proportion: Taxes on income other than those on agricultural income and duties of excise as are included in the Union List, except medicinal and toilet preparations. President has to distribute the proceeds of income-tax between the Union and the states upto that time when it is fixed by the Finance Commission. The distribution of the Union excise duties is to be made by Parliament.

Article 275 provides that grants-in-aid shall be made every year by the Union Government to those states which are considered to be in need of help by Parliament. These grants are particularly for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Assam is to be given some special grant. In addition to this, temporary grants for a period of ten years shall be made to the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa in lieu of the shares of the export duty on their jute products as they used to receive before the commencement of the Constitution.

CHAPTER XXII

THE GROWTH OF JUDICIARY

The history of the growth of judicial system in India from the times of English East India Company is a lengthy one and it is possible only to refer to a few landmarks in that process of evolution. The beginning was made in 1600 and the latest phase is embodied in the new constitution of India.

The Charter of 1600 which established the English East India Company, also empowered that body to make and issue rules, laws, orders and ordinances for the good Government of the Company and on all factors, masters, mariners and other officers employed in voyage it was given the power to exercise martial law. However, capital punishment could be inflicted only on the basis of a verdict of a jury. Later on, the power of issuing Commissions was delegated by the Government of England to the Company itself. In 1623, the Company was granted the power to issue those Commissions to the Presidents of factories and other Chief officers.

The Charter of 1661 gave to the Governor and Council the power "to judge all persons belonging to the said Governor and Company, or that should live under them, in all causes, whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of the Kingdom, and to execute judgment accordingly."

The Charter of 1669 granted Bombay to the Company and empowered it to exercise, through its officers, judicial authority over the people according to English laws.

The Charters of 1683 and 1686 gave the English Company the power to establish courts of judicature for mercantile and maritime causes at such places as it might direct.

In 1687, the Mayor and Aldermen of the Madras Municipal Corporation were constituted as a court of record with power to try civil and criminal cases. An appeal could be taken to the Governor-in-Council against their decisions.

In 1726, Mayors' courts were established in the three Presidency towns. The right of appeal to the Governor and Council and in certain cases to the King-in-Council was allowed. The Governors-in-Council were also constituted courts for the trial of all offences

except high treason. The establishment of Mayors' courts did not improve the machinery of justice. These courts were presided over by the servants of the Company, and they could not be expected to give impartial decisions in those cases in which the Company or the servants of the Company were involved. The judges did not know much about the law of India.

It is to be noted that side by side with the courts set up by the Englishmen, there were also native courts at work. The principle underlying the native judicial system was the union of all authority, whether judicial, fiscal or military in the same hands. The Nawab Deputy of the Delhi Emperor was at the head. He was both a Diwan and a Nazim. As a Nazim he exercised criminal jurisdiction and controlled the police. As a Diwan, he collected the revenue and superintended the administration of civil justice.

Under the Nawab, the Zamindars exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Mohammadan law was administered in the criminal courts. In civil courts, both Hindu and Mohammadan laws were applied.

When the English East India Company got the Diwani from the Moghul Emperor in 1765, Clive introduced a dual system. The Nawab of Bengal continued to administer justice in accordance with the Mohammadan Law. The Company took over the administration of civil justice and the collection of revenue. However, this work was done by the Indian judges. When the dual Government was abolished in 1772, Warren Hastings established a scheme under which the entire administration of justice and the collection of revenues were placed under the supervision of English officers. Each district was placed in charge of a Collector and the Diwan constituted a court of civil justice called the Diwani Adalat. An appeal could be taken against the order of this court to the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta. The latter consisted of the Governor and the members of his Council. It was also assisted by native officers. Likewise, a Faujdari Adalat or criminal court was established in every district. It consisted of a Kazi, a Mufti and two Maulvies with whom the Collector sat simply to watch the proceedings. From this court, an appeal lay to the Sadar Nizamat Adalat. This court also was under the supervision of the Governor and his Council.

Regulating Act: The Regulating Act of 1773 provided for the establishment of a Supreme Court in Bengal. It was to consist of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges who were to be barristers

of not less than 5 years' standing. They were all to be appointed by His Majesty. The Supreme Court was given the power to try civil, Criminal, ecclesiastical, admiralty and equity cases over the inhabitants of Calcutta and over the British subjects and their servants in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. An appeal could be taken against its decision to the King-in-Council under certain circumstances.

It has already been pointed out that the Regulating Act was silent on many points. The result was confusion and conflict. The judges of the Supreme Court refused to recognise the authority of the courts of the Company. They were absolutely ignorant of the customs and beliefs of the people of India and consequently their judgements were not welcomed. The judges imported the English law into the country. They were so arbitrary in certain cases that the people were terrified by it. According to Lord Macaulay, the rule of the Supreme Court was a reign of terror, "of terror heightened by mystery ; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be anticipated from this trained tribunal ; it came from beyond the black water, as the people of India with mysterious horror called the sea ; it consisted of judges not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown character ; its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds ; no Maratha invasion had ever spread through the defence such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers ; all the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and Europeans, appeared as a blessing compared with the justice of the Supreme Court."

Mr. Cowell has examined the working of the Supreme Court at length and it seems desirable to quote him in this connection. His remarks are as follows: "Although it is impossible to defend the acts of the judges, it must be remembered that their position was from the first antagonistic to the Council ; and that they carried out in India a scheme which had been prepared in England without adequate information or competent skill for the purpose of checking excesses of administration and of re-establishing order on principles totally strange to the inhabitants. The essential character and object of that scheme were to weaken the power of the Government by vesting it in the hands of a majority, and to plant in its neighbourhood a court, framed after the fashion of the existing courts in

England, with jurisdiction over all its executive acts and a veto on all its legislation. This tribunal, vested with such extraordinary powers, and so ludicrously unsuited to the social and political condition of Bengal, was not merely to exercise a civil and criminal jurisdiction wholly strange and repugnant to the Indian people ; it might sit one day on its common law side and give judgement to a suitor, and on the next day might sit on its equity side and restrain that suitor from proceeding to execution. It might on one side adjudge a man to be the absolute owner of property, and on the other side consign him to perpetual imprisonment if he did not, in his character of trustee, forthwith give it up to those beneficially entitled. In short, the whole system of English law and equity, with its rules and customs and processes, handed down from feudal times, moulded during struggles between secular and ecclesiastical powers between church and commonalty, between common law and civil jurisprudence, which time alone had rendered endurable to the people amongst whom it had grown up, a people widely different in habits, character, and form of civilisation from any to be found in the East, was introduced into India, not intentionally as a burden, but for its benefit and salvation.

“The result was that the Court exercised large powers independently of Government, often so as to abstruct it, and had a complete control over legislation. Political power had thus vested in judges who had neither the responsibilities nor the machinery of Government. Such a system could not endure under any circumstances. Although the courts are independent of Government in England, both are absolutely subordinate to the legislature, in which, however, the power of Government predominates. To make the Legislature subordinate to the Court, instead of the Court subordinate to the Legislature, and at the same time to direct it to enforce a system of law utterly inapplicable to India, independently of or in opposition to the Government, which was at the same time weakened by divisions purposely created, appear to be most destructive and pernicious policy that wit could devise. Although the judicial service should be independent of the executive, yet it must be subordinate to the Legislature, and legislation must be, if power and responsibility are to go together, the unfettered expression of sovereign authority, wherever that authority may reside, or from whatever source it be derived, whether from an electoral body or an absolute prince.”

Act of 1781: The Act of 1781 was passed with a view to

remove some of the defects in the Supreme Court. It was laid down that the Supreme Court should not have any jurisdiction in any matter concerning the revenue or concerning any acts ordered or done in the collection of revenue.

It was declared that no person was to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court by virtue of his possessing any interest in, or authority over rents or lands within Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, or by reason of his becoming security for the payment of such rents.

The employment of a person by the Company or the Governor-General-in-Council, or by any native of Great Britain did not imply that that person was to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in matters of inheritance or succession. Unless specifically agreed between the parties, no civil suit was to be brought before the Supreme Court.

No action could be brought against any judicial officer for any wrong or injury done to any person in the exercise of his judicial authority.

It was declared that the Governor-General and his Council were not to be subject, jointly or severally, to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in matters of inheritance or succession. Unless specifically agreed between the parties, no civil suit was to be brought before the Supreme Court.

No action could be brought against any judicial officer for any wrong or injury done to any person in the exercise of his judicial authority.

It was declared that the Governor-General and his Council were not to be subject, jointly or severally, to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, "for or by reason of any act or order or any other matter or thing whatsoever, counselled, ordered or done by them in their public capacity only and acting as Governor-General and Council."

The order of the Governor-General-in-Council in writing was to be considered a sufficient justification for all the acts done under their orders.

The English law was not to be applicable to the natives of India. The succession and inheritance to lands, rents and goods, all matters of contracts, and dealings between party and party, were to be determined, in the case of Muslims by the laws and usages of Muslims, and in the case of Hindus by the laws and usages of the Hindus. In other cases, the laws and usages of the defendant were to be applied.

The Supreme Court was authorised to make processes, rules and orders for the administration of justice. Those rules and orders could be rejected or amended by the British Government.

The Act of 1781 recognised the existence of the Civil and Criminal Provincial Courts set up under the authority of the Company.

The Governor-General and Council, the Advocate-General and all persons acting under their orders were indemnified, discharged and saved from any action, suit or prosecution on account of their disobedience and resistance to the orders of the Supreme Court in 1779.

It has been rightly pointed out that although the powers of the Supreme Court were lessened by the Act of 1781, it won its way to greater authority and respect than any other court in India.

Amils: It may be mentioned that in 1774, the Collectors were withdrawn and their place was taken by Amils for the administration of civil justice. The superintendence of revenues was first of all given to the provincial Courts and afterwards to a Committee of Revenues.

In 1788, sixteenth courts of Diwani Adalat were created, each under the charge of a covenanted civilian called the Superintendent.

Reforms of Cornwallis (1784-93): A reference may be made to the judicial reforms of Lord Cornwallis. When he came from England, he brought with him instructions "to establish permanent rules for the settlement of the collection of the revenue, and for the administration of justice founded on the ancient laws and local usages of the country."

He united the functions of civil and criminal justice with those of the collection and management of revenue. He put the Diwani Adalats under the superintendence of the Collectors. He decided to resume the superintendence of criminal justice in all the provinces. He removed the Nizamat Adalat from Murshidabad to Calcutta. Although judicial and revenue functions were given to the collectors, the courts were kept distinct.

In 1793, Lord Cornwallis made further changes in the judicial system. He stated thus in 1793: "There is no class of men which government should watch with greater jealousy, and on whom the regulations should have a stricter control, than the officers who are entrusted with the collection of the public revenues. It is necessary to arm them with powers to enforce their demands; but to prevent the abuse of this power, there should be courts of justice

ready to punish oppressive exaction." The result was that Lord Cornwallis decided to separate the judicial and revenue functions. According to him, "All questions between government and the landlords respecting the assessment and collection of the public revenues and disputed claims between the latter and their ryots, or other persons concerned in the collection of their rents have hitherto been cognisable in the courts of Mal Adalat or Revenue Courts. The collectors of the revenue reside in these courts as Judges, and an appeal lies from their decision to the Board of Revenue and from the decrees of that Board to the Governor-General-in-Council in the department of revenue.

"The proprietors can never consider the privileges which have been conferred upon them as secure whilst the revenue officers are vested with these judicial powers. Exclusive of the objections arising to these Courts from their irregular, summary and often *ex parte* proceedings, and from the Collectors being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions whenever they interfere with their financial duties, it is obvious that, if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public revenue are infringed, the revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors, and that individuals who have been wronged by them in one capacity can never hope to obtain redress from them in another. Their financial occupations equally disqualify them for administering the laws between the proprietors of land and their tenants.

"Other security, therefore, must be given to landed property and to the rights attached to it, before the desired improvements in agriculture can be expected to be effected. Government must divest itself of the power of infringing in its executive capacity the rights and privileges which, as exercising the legislative authority, it has conferred on the landholders. The revenue officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the regulations, must be subjected to the cognizance of Courts of Judicature, superintended by Judges who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants. The Collectors of the Revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to the Courts of Judicature, and must collect the public dues subject to a personal

prosecution for every exaction exceeding the amount which they are authorised to demand on behalf of the public and for every deviation from the regulations prescribed for the collection of it."

Consequently, in 1793, the Collector was deprived of his judicial powers. The Mal Adalats were also abolished and their functions were given to the Diwani Adalats which were presided over by the covenanted servants appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council.

Four Provincial Courts of civil appeal were established, each consisting of three Judges who were also required to preside over the Court of Circuit in their Division. Appeals from their decisions were to be taken to the Sadr Diwani Adalat and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat. No fees were to be levied from the litigants. Justice was made available to all.

It is to be noted that the Cornwallis system enjoyed a great prestige. It was introduced both in Bombay and Madras. A few changes were made in course of time. In 1795, fees were reimposed upon the institution of suits. Justice was made expensive to discourage litigation. In 1797, the Provincial Courts of Appeal were made the final authority in those cases whose value was not more than Rs. 5000/-. In 1801, three Judges were appointed to preside over the Sadr Courts. The number was increased to four in 1807.

Work of William Bentinck (1828-1835): A reference may be made to the work done by Lord William Bentinck in the field of judicial administration. He abolished the Provincial Courts of Appeal. These Courts had become "the resting places for those members of the service who were deemed unfit for higher responsibilities." He divided the Presidency of Bengal into 20 divisions over each of which was appointed a "Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit." In 1831, the Sessions work of the Commissioner was transferred to the Civil Judges. It was in this way that the office of the District and Sessions Judge came into existence. The magisterial functions of Zillah Judge were transferred to the Collector. William Bentinck also reversed the policy of Lord Cornwallis in the matter of making appointments. The latter had initiated the policy of reserving all the high posts in the judicial hierarchy for the Europeans. William Bentinck extended the powers of the Munsifs and the Sadr Amins who were native Judges. Their salaries were also increased.

Recorders' Courts: In 1797, Recorders' Courts were

established. These courts consisted of the Mayor, three Aldermen and a Recorder, with a recorder appointed by the Crown. These Courts were given civil, criminal, ecclesiastical and admiralty jurisdiction. They were given the power to try all those cases which were formerly tried by the Mayor's Court. Their jurisdiction was extended over British subjects residing within the British territories subject to the Governments of Madras and Bombay, or within the territories of native princes in alliance with these Governments. However, these Courts did not last long. Their powers were given over to the Supreme Court.

Courts of Requests: The Courts of Requests were established by the Charter of 1753. These Courts were given the power to decide those cases in which the debt, duty or matter in dispute did not exceed Rs. 20/-. In 1797, their powers were increased and they could try cases up to the value of Rs. 80/-. The Courts of Requests were superseded in the Presidency towns in 1850 by the Small Cause Courts. These Courts are continuing at present.

Justice of Peace: The Charter of 1726 established Justices of Peace at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. They were given the power to hold quarter Sessions. The Regulating Act of 1773 made the Governor-General-in-Council and Judges of the Supreme Court Justices of the Peace. The Governor-General and the Council were directed to hold quarter Sessions within the settlement of Fort William as a Court of Record. The Supreme Court established under the Act of 1773 was given the power and supervision and control over its work. When the Supreme Courts were established at Madras and Bombay, their judges were also made the Justices of Peace for their respective Presidencies.

In 1793, an Act of Parliament authorised the Governor-General-in-Council to appoint Justices of the Peace from the covenanted servants of the Company and other British inhabitants. In 1807, the Governors and the Councils of Madras and Bombay were empowered to act as Justice of Peace for those towns only. In 1832, Governments of the three Presidencies were authorised to appoint any person who was not a foreigner, to act as a Justice of Peace. Various regulations of the Presidencies fixed the powers of the Justice of Peace. Those were supplemented by the Acts of Parliament. The following classes of people were subject to their jurisdiction:—

1. All persons who committed offences within the ordinary jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts.

2. All British subjects resident in any part of the Presidency.
3. All persons who had committed crimes or offences at sea.

High Courts: In 1861, the Indian High Courts Act was passed. It established High Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in which the Supreme Courts and the Sadr Diwani Adalat and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat were merged. Under the same Act, a High Court was established at Allahabad in 1886. The Indian High Courts Act of 1865 empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to alter the local limits of the jurisdiction of the High Courts. The Indian High Courts Act of 1911 raised the maximum number of Judges from 15 to 20. It gave a general power to the Crown to establish additional High Courts at other places. Temporary Judges could be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council for two years. A High Court was established at Patna in 1916 and at Lahore in 1919. In 1936, a High Court was established at Nagpur in place of the Judicial Commissioner. A Chief Court was set up in Oudh. The Courts of Judicial Commissioners were set up in North-West Frontier Province and Sind.

Privy Council: The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was set up by an Act of Parliament in 1833. It was the highest Court of Appeal for India up to January 1950, although some of its powers were taken away in 1948. It consisted of practically the same Judges who heard the appeals in the House of Lords, but the procedure in the two courts was different. The Judicial Committee did not give judgements. It merely advised the Crown to give a judgement in a particular way. The House of Lords gave regular judgements. The House of Lords was bound by previous decisions and a bad decision could be superseded only by legislation. The Privy Council was not bound by its previous decisions.

The Judicial Committee sat in more than one division. Three members formed a quorum. The Privy Council did not publish the dissenting opinions of its member in its judgments. An appeal could be taken in civil cases if the value of the subject-matter was more than Rs. 10,000/-. Where the final decree appealed from affirmed the decision of the court immediately below it, the appeal must have involved some substantial question of law. In other cases, an appeal could be taken to Privy Council only if the High Court certified that the case was a fit one for appeal. There was also the power to give special leave to appeal. In criminal cases, a right of

appeal was given from any judgment order or sentence of a High Court made in the exercise of its original criminal jurisdiction, or in any criminal case where a point of law was involved. The Privy Council did not exercise its right to grant special leave to appeal in criminal cases "unless it is shown that by a disregard of the form of legal process or by some violation of the principles of natural justice or otherwise, substantial or grave injustice has been done." Under the Government of India Act of 1935, appeals could be taken from the decisions of the Federal Court of India.

Federal Court of India: The Government of India Act of 1935 provided for the establishment of a Federal Court of India. Such a Court was essential because the Act of 1935 provided for a Federal system in which there was a division of powers. There was every possibility of a conflict of jurisdiction between the Central Government and the Provinces. Such a Court was necessary to decide those cases.

The Act provided that the Federal Court shall consist of the Chief Justice of India and not more than six Judges appointed by the King. The Governor-General was empowered to appoint an Acting Chief Justice and Acting judges to fill up temporary vacancies. It was provided that the Judges were to hold office upto the age of 65 and were not to be removed from office except on the ground of misbehaviour, infirmity of mind or body. Only that person could be appointed a Judge of the Federal Court who had been a Judge of a High Court for at least 5 years, or was a barrister of England or an Advocate of Scotland of at least 10 years' standing or a Pleader of a High Court of 10 years' standing. In the case of the Chief Justice, 15 years' standing was necessary. The salaries and allowances of the Chief Justice and the Judges of the Federal Court were fixed by the King and could not be changed to their disadvantage during their tenure of office. Their salaries and allowances were a charge on the revenues of India.

The seat of the Federal Court was at Delhi. Another place could be fixed by the Chief Justice with the approval of the Governor-General, but that was not done.

The Federal Court possessed three kinds of jurisdictions: original, appellate and advisory jurisdiction. It had original jurisdiction in any dispute between the Federation, a province or provinces, or a Federated state or states in so far as any question about their legal rights was involved. Thus, a case could be taken

directly to the Federal Court if there was a dispute between a province, a state and federation. When the Federal Court exercised its original jurisdiction, it pronounced only a declaratory judgement.

In its appellate jurisdiction, the Federal Court heard appeals from the judgments of the High Courts of the Provinces and the Federated States. If the High Court of a Province certified that the judgement given by it involved the interpretation of some Section of the Government of India Act, 1935, or any Order-in-Council issued under it, an appeal could be taken to the Federal Court. If the High Court of a province did not grant a certificate, an appeal could be taken against its decision. The same was the case with the appeals from the High Courts of the Federating States.

It was originally suggested that in addition to the Federal Court, provision should be made for the establishment of a Supreme Court to hear appeals from the High Courts of the various provinces in place of the Privy Council. But it was pointed out that that would create a very difficult situation. The Federal Court and the Supreme Court might quarrel over their respective jurisdiction and unhappy scenes may be created. Such a thing was hardly desirable. Consequently, a provision was made in the Act empowering the Federal Court to hear appeals from the High Courts of the Provinces even in those cases which did not involve any question regarding the interpretation of the Constitution. It was in pursuance of this provision that the Federal Court (Enlargement of Jurisdiction) Act, 1947 was passed. This Act received the assent of the Governor-General on 5th January, 1948. This Act provided for the enlargement of the appellate jurisdiction of the Federal Court in civil cases to the fullest extent permissible under section 206 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and for the abolition protanto of all direct appeals in such cases from the High Courts to the Privy Council either with or without special leave. However, it did not interfere with appeals pending before the Privy Council or in respect of which special leave had already been granted by the Privy Council.

The Federal Court was not the highest Court of appeal for the interpretation of the Government of India Act, 1935. Provisions was made for the taking of appeals from the Federal Court to the Privy Council. Thus, when the Federal Court gave its decision in its original jurisdiction, an appeal could be taken to the Privy Council as a matter of right. If, however, the Federal Court gave its decision

in its appellate jurisdiction, an appeal could be taken to the Privy Council, not as a matter of right, but only with the permission of the Privy Council or the Federal Court. The Privy Council had also its own rules of procedure for the admission of appeals. Unless and until a case involved a substantial question of law, the Privy Council did not grant leave to appeal.

The Federal Court also exercised advisory jurisdiction. The Governor-General was authorised to refer a question to the Federal Court for its consideration and for opinion on the same. After such hearing as it thought fit, the Federal Court reported to the Governor-General. On many occasions, the Governor-General resorted to this power. When there was a difference of opinion between the Congress and the Muslim League on the question of compulsory grouping of the provinces, it was proposed to refer the matter to the Federal Court, but that was not done.

The law declared by the Federal Court and the Privy Council was binding on all the Courts of India.

Supreme Court : Under the new Constitution of India which came into force on 26th January 1950, both the Privy Council and the Federal Court were abolished and their place was taken by the Supreme Court of India. According to the Constitution, the Supreme Court is to consist of a Chief Justice of India and not more than 7 other judges. However, their number can be increased by parliament. Provisions have been made for making the judges of the Supreme Court independent in the performance of their duties. It has been given enormous powers under three heads ; original, appellate and advisory. As regards original jurisdiction, the Supreme Court can try any dispute between the Government of India and one or more states, or between the Government of India and any state or states on one side and one or more other states on the other, or between the two or more states if and in so far as the dispute involves any question on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends. Supreme Court has the power to issue directions or orders in the nature of writs of Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Prohibition, Quo Warranto and Certiorari or any of them for the enforcement of fundamental rights.

The appellate powers of the Supreme Court can be discussed under three heads. As regards the constitutional cases, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court from any judgement, decree or final order of a High Court in the territory of India, whether in a civil, criminal

or other proceeding, if the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution. If the High Court refuses to grant such a certificate, the Supreme Court may grant special leave to appeal if it is satisfied that the case involves a substantial question of law with regard to the interpretation of the Constitution. In other cases, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court from any judgement, decree or final order in a civil proceeding of a High Court if the High Court certifies that the amount or value of the subject matter of the dispute is not less than Rs. 20,000/-. Where the judgement, decree or final order appealed from affirms the decision of the court immediately below, the High Court must also certify that the appeal involves some substantial question of law. It is only then that an appeal is allowed. In criminal cases, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court from any judgement, final order or sentence in a criminal proceeding of a High Court if the High Court has on appeal reversed an order of acquittal of an accused person and sentenced him to death or has withdrawn for trial before itself any case from any court subordinate to its authority and in such trial convicted the accused person and sentenced him to death, or certifies that the case is a fit one for an appeal to the Supreme Court. Parliament may by law confer on the Supreme Court any further powers to entertain and hear appeals from any judgement, final order or sentence in a criminal proceeding of a High Court in the territory of India subject to such conditions and limitations as may be specified in such law.

Like the Federal Court of India, Supreme Court has been given advisory jurisdiction. The Constitution provides that if at any time it appears to the President of India that a question of law or of fact has arisen, or is likely to arise which is of such a nature and of such importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court upon it, he may refer the question to that court for consideration and the court may after such hearing as it thinks fit, report to the President its opinion. It is not clear whether the opinion of the Supreme Court is binding upon the President or not.

The Supreme Court may, in its discretion, grant special leave to appeal from any judgement, decree, sentence or order in any cause or matter passed or made by any court or tribunal in the territory of India.

Subject to the provisions of any law made by Parliament or any rules made under Article 145 by the Supreme Court, the Supreme

Court shall have the power to review any judgement pronounced or order made by it.

Provision has also been made for the increase of the powers of the Supreme Court. According to Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, "The Supreme Court in the Indian Union has more powers than any Supreme Court in any part of the world."

CHAPTER XXIII

GROWTH OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

According to Tocqueville, "Local institutions constitute the strength of free nations. A Nation may establish a system of free government, but without municipal institutions, it cannot have the spirit of liberty." The truth of this statement cannot be doubted and it is desirable in a free India to discuss as to how the system of local Self-Government has grown in this country, what its present position is and how the same can be improved upon to serve the needs of the country.

The earliest efforts in municipal Government in India were made in the Presidency towns of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. In 1687, an order of the Court of Directors directed the formation of a Corporation of Europeans and Indian members of the city of Madras. However, this Corporation did not survive.

Under the Regulating Act of 1773, the Governor-General nominated the servants of the Company and other British inhabitants to be the Justices of the Peace. They were empowered to appoint scavengers for the cleaning and repairing of the streets of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, for making assessments for those purposes and for the grant of licences for the sale of spirituous liquors. The reason for such a provision lay in the unsanitary state of affairs in the Presidency towns. We are told that the public drains were regarded as the natural receptacles for all refuse and filth. Carcasses were left to rot and putrefy in the streets. In one case, jackals preyed for two nights on a human corpse thrown near the gate of a building.

Between 1817 and 1830, spasmodic attempts were made in Madras and Calcutta to undertake works paid out of the lottery funds, and much was done with this money in laying out these towns. On completion, the roads and drains were handed over to the Justices of Peace to be maintained by them out of their assessment. But even for maintenance work, the funds never sufficed, and the Provincial Governments supplied the balances required. In the case of Bombay alone, a tax on carriages and carts was levied for the purpose of making roads. The Justices of Peace as a body did not take much interest in their work and their power was gradually

concentrated in the hands of the Chief Magistrate who was helped in Calcutta by the Superintendent of Police to collect the taxes and supervise the work of conservancy. However, there was no trace of any popular Government.

In 1840, an Act was passed for Calcutta and in 1841 an Act was passed for Madras. These Acts widened the purposes for which the Municipal assessment was to be utilised. The inhabitants of the towns were given control over the assessment and collection of taxes. However, much did not come out of these Acts. There was no response from the public. In 1845, an Act was passed for Bombay. This Act concentrated the administrative powers in the hands of a Conservancy Board on which were two Europeans and three Indian Justices, with the Senior Magistrate of Police as Chairman.

Presidency Towns: A fresh attempt to grapple with the sanitation of the Presidency towns was made in 1856 when Act XXIV and Act XXV were passed. The first Act dealt with the conservancy and improvement of the Presidency towns. The second Act provided for the better assessment and collection of rates. Special Acts were passed for the appointment of three commissioners in each town. In the Calcutta Act of 1856, special provisions were made for gas-lighting and the construction of sewers. In the Bombay Act of 1858, power was given to levy dues. However, in spite of the above-mentioned legislation, the towns remained filthy and the laws merely existed on paper.

We are told that there were quarrels between the Commissioner and the Justices of Peace at Calcutta but work was done in the field of sanitation. In the case of Bombay, the condition of sanitation was dreadful and the death rate rose very high. By the Act of 1855, the Justices were constituted as a body corporate, with control over the budget, but all executive power was concentrated in the hands of a highly-paid Government official. A special Controller of Accounts was appointed to remedy the defects in accounts. With the appointment of Crawford as Municipal Commissioner and Dr. Hewlett as Health Officer, the work of sanitation was pushed on vigorously and the whole administration was tightened up. There was great agitation against the Commissioner. The Controller of Accounts failed to control the accounts on account of his being a subordinate of the Commissioner. It was after a lot of controversy that the membership of the Bombay Corporation was reduced to 64.

Out of these, 16 were nominated by the Government, 16 were elected by the resident Justices and 32 were elected directly by the rate-payers. The executive power was concentrated in the hands of the Commissioner. Provision was made for the weekly audit of the accounts by the Town Council. There was to be a monthly audit by paid auditors. Bombay could claim the credit of having a strong Executive Officer controlled rigidly in official matters by a Committee answerable to the Corporation, half of whose members were directly elected by the rate-payers (For details see Bombay Municipal Act of 1872). In the case of Calcutta Corporation, the Government had to interfere in 1899 because the sanitary conditions became alarming. An Act was passed for the Calcutta Corporation in 1899. Under the new Act, only half the commissioners were to be elected by the rate-payers, the remainder being appointed, 4 each by the Bengal Chambers of Commerce and the Calcutta Trades Association, 2 by the Port Commissioners and 15 by the local Government. The powers of the Calcutta Corporation were confined to the fixing of the rates of taxation and to the performance of general functions. The executive was vested in the Chairman. Provision was also made for a General Committee consisting of the Chairman and 12 Commissioners. The General Committee was given the power to decide matters which were too detailed for the decision of the Corporation but too important to be left simply to the decision of the Chairman.

In the case of Madras, the elective system was introduced in 1881. 16 out of 32 members were to be elected by the rate-payers. But the President and two Vice-Presidents were salaried officers who were appointed by the Government. The Madras Corporation was given the power to deal with the budget and the raising of loans, but the detailed scrutiny of accounts was left to two official auditors. Fresh taxes were levied for drainage and water supply. As Madras was not a great commercial centre, there was always a shortage of funds. In 1904, a new Municipal Act was passed on the lines of Calcutta. The number of Commissioners elected by the rate-payers was reduced. Special representation was given to the commercial interests in the town.

By 1918, all the Presidency towns had approximately a uniform system of Government. All the Corporations had a limited electorate, elaborate provisions for debt, full control over finance and a strong executive centred in a Government official.

Non-Presidency Towns: Outside the Presidency towns, there was practically no attempt at municipal legislation before 1842. An Act was passed in that year in Bengal, but it practically remained a dead letter. Another Act was passed in 1850 which applied to the whole of British India. This Act was of permissive nature. The Government of any province was given the power to bring the Act into operation in any town only when it was satisfied that the inhabitants of that town wanted the same. In that case, the Government was authorised to appoint the magistrate and such number of inhabitants as may appear necessary to be Commissioners on whom large powers were conferred for making rules. It was under this power that octroi duties were levied. Under this Act and subsequent Provincial Acts, a large number of municipalities were set up in all provinces. In most provinces, the Commissioners were nominated and from the point of view of self-Government, these Acts did not go far enough.

Mayo's resolution: It was only after 1870 that real progress was made in the direction of self-Government. Lord Mayo's Government in their Resolution of 1870 dealing with decentralisation of finance, referred to the necessity of taking further steps to bring local interest and supervision to bear on the management of funds devoted to education, sanitation, public works etc. New Municipal Acts were passed in the various provinces between 1871 and 1874. These Acts extended the elective principle. The results of the policy of 1870 were described in the Resolution of the Local Self-Government, 1882 thus: "Considerable progress had been made since 1870. A large income from local rates and cesses had been secured, and in some provinces the management of the income had been freely entrusted to local bodies. Municipalities had also increased in number and usefulness. But there was still a greater degree of progress in different parts of the country than varying local circumstances seemed to warrant. In many places, services admirably adapted for local Government were reserved in the hands of the Central administration, while everywhere heavy charges were levied on municipalities in connection with the Police, over which they had necessarily no executive control."

Ripon's Resolution of 1881: The next step was taken during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon who has been rightly called the father of Local Self-Government in India. His Resolution on Local Self-Government is a great landmark in the growth of Local

Self-Government in the country. After pointing out the beneficial effects on local finance of the Resolution of 1870, the Resolution of 1881 stated that the Governor-General of India thought that time had come when further steps should be taken to develop the idea of Lord Mayo's Government. It was asserted that agreements with the Provincial Governments regarding finance should not ignore the question of Local Self-Government. The Provincial Governments were directed to transfer considerable revenues to the local bodies. The latter were also to be in charge of those matters which were chiefly concerned with the localities.

The Government of India directed the Local Governments to undertake a careful survey of the provincial, local and municipal Acts. The object of the inquiry was to find out as to what sources of revenue could be transferred from the provincial to the local heads so that they could be administered by the Municipal Committees. Secondly, it was to be found out as to what items could safely be given away to the local bodies. Only those items were to be transferred which were understood and appreciated by the people. The third object of the inquiry was to devise steps that were "necessary to ensure more Local Self-Government."

In accordance with the Resolution of 1881, letters were addressed to the Provincial Governments by the Government of India. In these despatches, the Government of India hinted at those items of expenditure that could conveniently be transferred to the local bodies for control. The local Governments were directed to examine themselves other items also that could be handed over to the local bodies. The Government of India recommended that the Magistrate or the Collector should be the President of the District Committees and Assistant or Deputy Magistrate the President of the subordinate Committees. In all these Committees, the number of the non-official members was to be not less than one-half and not more than two-thirds of the whole. The local Governments were told that "It would be hopeless to expect any real development of self-Government if the local bodies were subject to check or interference in matters of detail." It was also pointed out to them that the "Governor-General-in-Council is anxious that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies."

The Provincial Governments not only approved of the policy contained in the Resolution of 1881 but also submitted their schemes to the Government of India. The latter decided to take the next

step. Another Resolution was issued in 1882.

Resolution of 1882: In his Resolution of 1882, Lord Ripon took special pains to make it clear that the expansion of the system of Local Self-Government will not bring about a change for the better from the point of view of efficiency in municipal administration. To quote him, "It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education." The Governor-General was of the opinion that when after some time more local knowledge was acquired and more local interest was created, "improved efficiency will in fact follow." But there were bound to be initial failures in the new field. If the Government officials encouraged and supported the growth of local bodies, it was hoped that the period of failure would end very soon and some substantial progress will be made.

(2) The Governor-General of India refused to accept the general accusation that the people of India were indifferent to the principle of self-government. On the other hand, he was of the opinion that with the growth of education, the number of intelligent and public-spirited persons was bound to rise and their services could be profitably utilised for the management of local affairs. As regards the complaint that the previous experiments were not encouraging, the Governor-General held the view that the system was not satisfactorily tried. The previous attempts at local self-government were over-ridden and practically crushed by direct official interference. It was hoped that if more trust was put in the non-official members, there was bound to be greater efficiency and improvement in the affairs of the local bodies.

(3) Lord Ripon indicated the general lines on which further steps were to be taken so that some "real and substantial" progress may be made in the field of local self-government. The first part of the recommendations was concerned with the fundamental principles. The local Governments were directed to maintain and extend a network of Local Boards in every district. The area of jurisdiction of every Local Board was to be so small that both local knowledge and local interest on the part of the members of the Board could be secured. The number of non-official members was to be very large and the official element was not to exceed one-third of the whole.

(4) Wherever practicable, the local Governments were to

introduce the system of election for the members of the Local Boards. Although Lord Ripon did not order the adoption of the system of election for all the seats, he hoped that the system of elections will ultimately prevail. His own wish was that the system of elections should be introduced in as many places as the local circumstances allow. But this was possible only if the Government officers accepted the principle ungrudgingly and set about to make it a success. In that case, each sub-divisional officer was to prepare a list of the candidates qualified to sit upon the Local Board and invite all those residing in any particular area to meet him on a day fixed at a convenient spot near their homes. He was to explain to them the objective of the Government and the nature of the duties they were required to perform. He was to ask them to elect the number of the representatives that had been fixed for the area in question. "In the course of a few years, when the members of the Board find that they have real powers and responsibilities entrusted to them, any Government interference will become unnecessary." The electors were to be left free in the matter of elections.

(5) The second part of the recommendations of the Government of India was concerned with the degree of control to be retained by the Government over the Local Boards. It was the opinion of the Governor-General-in-Council that "the true principle" to be observed in this matter was that "the control should be exercised from without rather than from within." The Government should "revise and check the acts of the local bodies but not dictate them."

(6) The Government control should be exercised in two ways. In the first place, the sanction of the Government should be made necessary to legalise certain actions of the Local Boards, *e.g.*, raising of loans, levying of taxes etc. The number of the cases where sanction was required, was to be large at the beginning, but was to be reduced later on as the Local Boards got more experience. Secondly, the Local Government was authorised to interfere either to set aside altogether the proceedings of the Boards in particular cases or to suspend them temporarily in cases of crisis and continued neglect of their duty. The power of absolute suppression was to be exercised only with the consent of the Government of India. A general principle for guidance was put in these words: "It should be the general function of the executive officers of Government to watch, especially at the outset, the proceedings of the Local Boards, to point out to them matters calling for their consideration, to draw

their attention to any neglect of duty on their part, and to check by official remonstrance any attempt to exceed their proper functions or to act illegally or in any arbitrary or unreasonable manner."

(7) According to Lord Ripon, "It would be more convenient that they (executive officers) should supervise and control" the acts of the Local Boards rather than take actual part in the proceedings. It appeared to him that "so long as the Chief Executive Officers are, as a matter of course, Chairmen of the Municipal and District Committees, there is little chance of these Committees affording any effective training to their members in the management of local affairs, or of the non-official members taking any real interest in the local business. The non-official members must be allowed to feel that real power is placed in their hands, and that they have real responsibilities to discharge." Since that was lacking under the system of official Chairmen, the Governor-General wished "to see non-official persons acting wherever possible or practicable as Chairmen of the Local Boards." It was possible that a suitable non-official Chairman may not be available in a particular locality, but the policy of the Government should be to have as few official Chairmen as possible. An official Chairman was not to exercise the right of voting in the proceedings. Lord Ripon said that the natives "must not be over-shadowed by the constant presence of the Burra Sahib."

(8) The approval of the local Government was made necessary to validate the election of a Chairman and the former could also disallow it.

(9) The local Governments were directed to hand over to the Local Boards complete control over the local rates and cesses, licence tax assessments and collections, pounds and ferry-receipts etc. The Local Boards were to be granted lump-sum grants from the provincial revenues.

(10) The District Engineer was to help the local bodies in their work of supervision and maintenance of buildings. But the Engineer was to work as their servant and not as their master. The Local Boards were to be left free in the matter of initiative and direction of operations.

It is desirable to give the views of a few persons regarding the importance of Lord Ripon's Resolution on Local-self Government. According to Prof. M. Venkatrangaiya, "It is a classic among the pronouncements made on the subject by the higher authorities and forms the basis of all subsequent developments in the history of Indian

local institutions. It puts forward the case for the expansion of Local Self-Government in a most convincing manner and answers conclusively all the objections that might be raised in this connection. It points out clearly the nature of the obstacles to be faced in the practical application of the principle and suggests methods for overcoming them. Resolutions issued later on by the Government of India, and pronouncements made by the authorities in England on subsequent occasions, might have been lengthy but they have not added in any way to the arguments contained in this Resolution or affected their weight and strength. The Resolution is valuable above all as it gave a concrete and practical form to hopes and aspirations which upto then were vague. It gave a definite lead and laid down a clear-cut path for all provincial Governments really interested in the advance of Local Self-Government." (Development of Local Boards in the Madras Presidency, p. 47).

According to D.E. Wache, the Ripon's Resolution "has forever made immemorable in the annals of India the Viceroyalty of the good and liberal-minded Lord Ripon. That State paper conferred on the people the genuine boon of Local Self-Government which they have since cherished with feelings of the warmest gratitude. It necessarily contemplated many unimportant fiscal and administrative changes in all parts of the Empire, and definitely laid down the broad principles upon which the decentralisation of provincial finance for local Government could proceed." (Rise and Growth of Bombay Municipal Government, p. 292).

Whatever be the importance of Ripon's Resolution, it cannot be denied that both the Provincial Governments and the Government of India did not carry out the policy laid down in the Resolution. The result was that even after the lapse of 36 years when another Resolution was passed in 1918, no substantial progress has been made in the field of Local Self-Government. Men like Lord Curzon were the enemies of Local Self-Government. The British bureaucracy in India was determined to see that the local bodies did not succeed in their work. Thus it was that all the good wishes and good-will of Lord Ripon could not and did not improve the state of affairs in this country.

Decentralisation Commission: Reference must be made to the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. This Commission put emphasis on the importance of village Panchayats and recommended the adoption of special measures for their revival

and growth. It also recommended the lessening of the control of the Government over the local bodies. Recommendations were made for giving more sources of income to the local bodies. Although the Government agreed with the recommendations of the Commission, nothing was done in actual practice. The result was that in the vast majority of Districts, local Government continued to be one out of the many functions of the District Officer. No genuine effort was made to carry on the administration of the local bodies according to the will of the people. In many towns, the municipalities merely ratified the decisions of the official chairmen. Even when the Vice-Chairmen were appointed, they merely followed the instructions of the officials. No wonder, the Simon Commission Report remarked thus: "In fact, outside a few municipalities there was in India nothing that we should recognise as Local Self-Government of the British type, before the era of reforms."

Resolution of 1918: The British Government declared in August 1917 that the goal of British rule in India was to give responsible Government to the people of the country and the Government was to take steps for the progressive realisation of the same ideal. In 1918, the Government of India issued an important Resolution on Local Self-Government. The basic principle of that Resolution was that "responsible institutions will not be stably rooted until they are broad-based and that the best school of political education is the intelligent exercise of the vote and the efficient use of administrative power in the field of Local Self-Government. According to the Resolution, the general policy should be one of gradually removing all the unnecessary control from the local bodies. The Government was to separate the spheres of action appropriate for local institutions from those appropriate for the Government. The Resolution formulated certain principles calculated to establish wherever possible complete popular control over local bodies. It suggested an elected majority in all the Local Boards, the replacement of the official chairman by the elected non-official chairman in the municipalities. The same was to be done in the case of rural bodies, wherever possible. The minorities were to be represented by nomination. The franchise was lowered to such an extent that the constituencies became really the representatives of the tax-payers. This resolution also put emphasis on the advisability of developing the corporate life of the village. The Government was to encourage the growth of village Panchayats. The only immediate action taken on this Resolution

was that the District Officer was relieved of his duty as the Chairman of the District Board in all the provinces except the Punjab.

The Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms of 1918 examined the existing system of local Government in the country and came to the conclusion that throughout the educative principle had been subordinated to the desire for immediate results. It was stated that there should be as far as possible complete popular control in local bodies and the highest possible independence for them from outside control.

Under Dyarchy: Under the dyarchical system of Government set up by the Government of India Act of 1919, the department of local self-government was transferred into the hands of an Indian minister who was responsible to the Provincial Legislature for the same. It was but natural that the Indian ministers should do all that they could for the growth of Local Self-Government. It is true that they were handicapped on account of the lack of funds. As the Finance Department was under the charge of an Executive Councillor who had no sympathy for the nation-building schemes, not much work was actually done in the provinces. In almost every province, the Legislature tried to make local bodies as effective training grounds for larger and wider political responsibilities. The general trend of these Acts was the same. Practically all the Acts aimed at lowering the franchise, increasing the elected element to the extent of making it the immediate arbiter of policy in local affairs and at passing executive direction into the official hands. Laws were passed in every province for the growth of village Panchayats. On the whole, the effort was to lessen the official control and to make the local bodies representative of the people.

Provincial Autonomy: The same system continued under Provincial Autonomy. The Department of Local Self-Government remained in the hands of an Indian minister. He was in a stronger position on account of the fact that finance was not a reserved subject. No substantial change has been brought about in the field of Local Self-Government even after the independence of the country and the enforcement of the new Constitution.

Defects in the Present system: Local bodies in India have to face many handicaps. There is an all-embracing control of the executive in every sphere of their activities. This undoubtedly destroys all initiative on the part of the members of the local bodies. Without initiative on the part of the people, we could never hope

to put vigour into the lifeless bodies of local institutions. There is also a great handicap of finance. Local bodies do not have enough of resources to perform their duties in such a way that they can add to the fullness and richness of the lives of the people. New sources of revenues have to be found and the Government has to follow a liberal policy in the matter of grants-in-aid and the borrowing powers of the local bodies. There is also the lack of public interest in the work of local bodies. All means of modern propaganda must be employed to emphasize on the people the great importance of local bodies in the national life of the country and thereby induce them to take interest in them. There is also a great dearth of books on the subject. The result is complete ignorance on the part of the people with regard to local affairs. It is hoped that in the higher interests of the country as a whole, not only the people in general but also the powers that be, will take special interest in the work of local bodies. Let us not forget that without a vigorous system of local self-Government, the foundations of democracy become weak and shaky.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN INDIA

The history of the Press in India starts with the Englishmen in the days of the East India Company. It was in the second half of the eighteenth century that the Anglo-Indians and Europeans started their journals. The object of those journals was two-fold: information and amusement. Those journals contained lengthy extracts from newspapers and journals published in England or Europe.

Warren Hastings and Hicky: The Bengal Gazette was started as a weekly in 1780 by Hicky. From the very outset, the management of the journal came into conflict with Warren Hastings who was the Governor-General of Bengal at that time. The journal criticized Mrs. Hastings and the general policy of Warren Hastings. Warren Hastings took strong action against Mr. Hicky. The latter was arrested and imprisoned and the journal had to be stopped in 1782. It is a matter of history that Mr. Hicky was a very bold man and was a great upholder of the liberty of the press. He was a pioneer in the history of journalism in India. The following words give an idea of the man Hicky was: "Mr. Hicky considers the liberty of the press to be essential to the very existence of an Englishman and a free Government. The subjects should have liberty to declare their principles and opinions, and every act which tends to coerce that principle is tyrannical and injurious to the community."

Cornwallis and Duane: Like his predecessor, Lord Cornwallis had his own difficulties with the press. Mr. Duane, the editor of the Indian World, wrote the stuff which could not be tolerated by Cornwallis. Consequently, Duane was arrested and humiliated. The tussle between Mr. Duane and the Governor-General continued for many years and ultimately Duane was deported to Europe.

In 1796, Mekenly, the editor of the Telegraph, displeased the authorities by publishing the article in which he made certain allegations against certain Government servants. In the same year, the editor of the Calcutta Gazette was censured for having referred to certain communications which had passed between the Court of Directors and the French Republic.

Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) : When Lord Wellesley assumed the reins of Government, the situation was critical. The danger of a French invasion was occupying the minds of every one. Sultan Tippo was negotiating with the French with a view to turn out the Englishmen from India. The Marathas who had won their victory over the Nizam, were entertaining ambitious dreams regarding their future. It was felt that a strict supervision over the press would be necessary in the interests of the safety of the Englishmen in India. No wonder, censorship was established in 1799 over all the newspapers that were published in the country. It was laid down that the names of the editors and proprietors should be published on the newspapers. The Government took action against Charles Maclean, the editor of the Bengal Kurkaru. Ultimately, the editor was deported to England. The Government view was that Mr. Maclean had "assumed a privilege of animadverting, through the medium of a public print upon the proceedings of a court of justice, and of censuring the conduct of a public officer for acts done in his official capacity." Maclean also hit back. While in England, he took an active part in the agitation that ultimately led to the resignation of Lord Wellesley. No change was made in the time of Lord Minto (1808-1813).

Lord Hastings (1813-23) : Lord Hastings or Earl of Moira appreciated the important part played by an independent press and consequently encouraged the pressmen to perform their legitimate functions. To begin with, he slightly modified the regulations regarding censorship in 1813. Five years after (1818), he abolished the post of the Censor on the receipt of certain complaints. However, this does not mean that the press in India became absolutely free. Fresh regulations were issued in the same year. According to those regulations, the editors were required to desist from "publishing animadversions on the proceedings of the Indian authorities in England, disquisitions on the political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks on the public conduct in the press of the Council, the judges or the Bishop of Calcutta, discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the natives as to any intended interference with their religion, the republication from English or other newspapers of passages giving under the preceding heads or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India and private scandal or personal remarks on individuals tending to excite dissensions in society."

Buckingham: One of the results of the abolition of censorship in 1818 was that new journals came into existence. J. S. Buckingham started the Calcutta Journal in 1818. He was a very bold and fearless man. He did not spare even the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Governor of Madras and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Like Hicky and Duane, he was deported from the country. This great soul made a name for himself in England.

Munro's Recommendations: The Government of India deputed Sir Thomas Munro to examine and report on the problem of press in India. The latter studied the whole question and made his recommendations to the Government. His view was that the problem of the European press was not a serious one. According to him, "As far as the Europeans only, whether in or out of service, the freedom or restriction of the press could do little good or harm, and would hardly deserve any serious attention." However, he recommended the maintenance of censorship in their case and also the retention of the power to deport editors and pressmen out of the country. In the case of the Indian press, Munro expressed both his anxiety and fears. According to him, "But though the danger be distant, it is nevertheless there. It could corrupt and disaffect the Indian army and work for the overthrow of the British power. It must spread among the people the principles of liberty and stimulate them to expel the strangers who rule over them and to establish a national government... A free press and domination of strangers are things which are quite incompatible and cannot long exist together."

Regulations of 1823: The Government of India accepted the recommendations of Munro and placed new regulations before the Supreme Court in March 1823 for registration. These regulations provided that no press was to be established nor any paper or book was to be printed without obtaining a license for that purpose from the Government. All the papers and books printed under the system of licenses were to be submitted to the Government for inspection. The latter was authorised to stop the circulation of any book or paper by a mere notice in the Government gazette. Although men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dwarka Nath Tagore protested against those regulations, the same were registered and came into force on 15th April, 1823.

"Liberator of the Indian Press:" The regulations that were made in 1823 continued to remain in force up to 1835 when

they were cancelled by Sir Charles Metcalfe. The latter took this step when he was acting as Governor-General. He was assisted in this work by Lord Mauley who was the Law Member with the Government of India at that time. The result was that the Indian press became as free as its counterpart in England. One of the effects of this action was that the English Company recalled Sir Charles Metcalfe from India. However, the people of Calcutta built a Hall in his honour.

Act of 1857: The Indian Press continued to be free from 1835 to 1857. When the Mutiny broke out in 1857, it was found necessary to put restrictions on the press in the country. Accordingly, Act XV of 1857 was enacted to regulate the establishment of printing presses and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers. These restrictions were of a temporary nature and consequently were withdrawn soon after the Mutiny.

During the 1860's, the Bengalee and the Amrit Bazar Patrika in Bengal and the Akhbar-a-Am at Lahore were started as weeklies.

Act of 1867: Act XI of 1835 which was enacted by Sir Charles Metcalfe was repealed by Act XXV of 1867. The object of the new Act was to regulate the printing presses and newspapers and also to preserve copies of books printed in British India and also the restriction of those books. The Act of 1867 is still in force although certain amendments were made in 1890 and 1940.

Vernacular Press Act, 1878: It is well-known that Lord Lytton was a great imperialist and his forward policy was responsible for the tragedy of the Second Afghan War. No wonder, he was universally condemned by the Indians. Lord Lytton also hit back. On 13th March, 1878, Lord Lytton sent a telegram to the Secretary of State for India requesting his consent by telegram to a Press Law on the lines of the Irish Coercion Act of 1870. His justification was "the increasing violence of the native press, directly provocative of rebellion. He got the sanction for that bill the next day. As soon as the sanction was received, the bill was enacted into law within a couple of hours. The law was known as the Vernacular Press Act although it was nick-named as "The Gagging Act." The Vernacular Press Act empowered a magistrate, with the previous sanction of the Provincial Government, to require a printer or publisher to deposit a security or enter into a bond binding himself not to print or publish anything likely to incite feelings of disaffection towards the Government or hatred between the different races of

India. The Government was authorised to warn as well as to confiscate the plant, the deposit etc. in the event of the publication of some undesirable matter. The printer was given the option of submitting proofs to the official censor and dropping all rejected matter and thus escape from the clutches of law.

The Vernacular Press Act was much worse than the Irish Coercion Act. It did not provide for any appeal against the decision of the magistrate. According to Sir Erskine Perry, the Act of 1878 was "a retrograde and ill-conceived measure, injurious to the future progress of India." "No imperial legislator could forge a more powerful weapon for extirpating an obnoxious press." Undoubtedly, the Act was a discriminatory one. While it left the newspapers printed in English free to publish whatever they pleased, it put restrictions on the newspapers printed in the Indian vernaculars. No wonder, the Act was condemned by all the Indians and meetings were held as a mark of protest against the same. The Indians appealed to the House of Commons for the repeal of this Act but the Government had its way.

There was a change of Ministry in England in 1880 when the Conservative Government of Disraeli was defeated in the General Elections and Gladstone came to power at the head of a great liberal majority. One of the results of the change in the Government at home was that Lord Lytton was called back from India and Lord Ripon was appointed his successor. In spite of the sympathetic attitude of Lord Ripon, it was not possible to repeal the Vernacular Press Act at once. However, this was done in 1882. Although the Indians praised Lord Ripon for this gesture of goodwill on his part, Englishmen were not happy. According to Prof. Dodwell, the freedom of the Indian press was bound to be injurious to the interests of the British Government in India. A free Indian press was bound to criticise the acts of omission and commission of the Government, and thereby bring it into disrepute.

The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908:

It is well-known that the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon and his anti-Indian policy resulted in a lot of agitation throughout the length and breadth of the country. A movement was set on foot to drive out the Englishmen bag and baggage from the country. As time passed on, the situation became critical. Consequently, the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act was passed in June 1908. In the words of the Law Member of the Government of India, the

object of the Act was to put an end to the existence of those newspapers which contained any incitement to murder or any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908 or any act of violence.

According to this Act, a district magistrate was empowered to confiscate the printing press where a newspaper containing an incitement to violence was printed. He was to call upon the members to show cause as to why the orders should not be made absolute. If on hearing the evidence the magistrate was satisfied that the newspaper had committed the offence, the conditional order was to be made absolute and the police was directed to attach the press and other property mentioned in the order. In the case of emergency, the magistrate was to issue warrants for attachment and even before making the order absolute. Provision was made for the taking of appeals to the High Court within 15 days of the date of the order being made absolute. The Government was also authorised to annul the declaration of the printer or publisher of the newspaper under the Act of 1877.

On account of the stringent provisions of the Act of 1908, the Yugantar, the Sandhya and the Bandematram stopped their publication. Although the Government had vast powers under the Act of 1908, it was contended by the Government that those powers were not sufficient to stop the dissemination of seditious literature through the press. Consequently, the Indian Press Act was passed in 1910 to meet the situation.

The Indian Press Act, 1910: The Act of 1910 empowered a magistrate to require a deposit of not less than Rs. 500/- and not more than Rs. 2,000/- from the keepers of news printing presses and publishers of newspapers. The Local Government was empowered to require the existing presses and publishers of newspaper to deposit not less than Rs. 500/- and not more than Rs. 5,000/- as security. A magistrate was authorised to dispense with the deposit of any security or cancel or vary any order already issued in this connection if he had any special reasons for doing so.

The Act of 1910 defined the term "objectionable matter" whose publication was to entitle the Government to declare security forfeited to His Majesty. All attempts, direct or indirect, to seduce persons as employed in His Majesty's defence forces or to intimidate the people to give money for revolutionary work or to prevent them from giving help in discovering and punishing revolutionary crime, were included in the definition of objectionable matter. The

definition of seditious publication was widened to include writings against the Indian princes, judges, executive officers and public servants. Section IV was so worded as to leave little scope for independent criticism of Government action by the press. The power of deciding whether any particular publication did or did not offend against Section IV was given to the Provincial Government and not to the ordinary courts.

Further, if the security of a printing press or newspaper was confiscated and the keeper of the press or the publisher of a newspaper wanted to make a fresh declaration under the Act of 1867, each of them had to deposit with the magistrate a security of not less than Rs. 1,000/- and not more than Rs. 10,000/-. If in the opinion of the Government, the printing press or the newspaper offended against Section IV of the Act, the security was to be forfeited to His Majesty.

The Act also authorised the Customs Officers and officers of Post Officers to detain any packet or parcel or consignment suspected to contain any objectionable matter and deliver the same to the Provincial Government. Provision was made for an appeal to the High Court. It was to be heard by a Special Bench of three judges. The appeal was to be filed within two months of the date of order of forfeiture by the Provincial Government.

Criticism of the Act of 1910: The Indian Press Act of 1910 muzzled the Indian Press. There was a lot of hue and cry throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Press Association of India exposed the shortcomings of the new legislation and tried to save the newspapers and presses from the arbitrary orders of the Government. The Act was vigorously applied during the World War I. It was pointed out in 1919 that the Act of 1910 had penalized over 350 presses. Securities amounting to over £40,000/- were demanded from 300 newspapers. Over 500 publications were penalized. Owing to the demand of security, more than 200 printing presses and 130 newspapers were not started. Newspaper like the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Hindu*, the *Tribune*, the *Punjabee*, *Hindvasi*, etc. were subjected to the rigours of the Act. Although the public demanded an impartial inquiry into the allegations, their demand was not conceded.

After the passing of the Government of India Act 1919, and the inauguration of the reforms, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was appointed the first Indian Law Member. A Committee was appointed under him to examine the working of the Act of 1910. The report of the

Committee was that the Act should be repealed. The recommendation of the Committee was accepted by the Government.

The Indian Press (Emergency Power) Act, 1931:

During the 1920's, nothing significant happened in the field of the Indian press. However, the Indian National Congress decided at its Lahore Session in 1929 to start a vigorous campaign against the Government for the emancipation of the country. In pursuance of that resolution, 26th January was declared as the Independence Day and the civil disobedience movement started in full swing in 1930. The Indian Press also played a very important part in the freedom movement. It exposed the acts of omission and commission of the British Government. Prominent place was given to the arrests of the leaders and the lathi charging of the people. It was in this atmosphere that the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act was passed in 1931. The object of that Act was to provide against the publication of that matter which incited or encouraged murder or violence. Provision was made for the deposit of security by the keepers of printing presses. The Provincial Government was given the power to declare the security of the press forfeited in certain cases. If a printer applied for a fresh declaration, he would be required by a magistrate to deposit a security of the value of not less than Rs. 1,000/- and not more than Rs. 10,000/- as the magistrate may think fit. If even after the forfeiture of the security and the deposit of a new security, the newspaper published objectionable matter, the Provincial Government could forfeit the new security also. Provisions which applied to keepers of printing presses equally applied to the publishers of the newspapers.

Section XI penalized keeping of presses or publishing of newspapers without making the deposit as required by the Provincial Government or the magistrate. If a press did not deposit the security but went on doing its work, it could be forfeited to His Majesty and the declaration of the publisher was liable to be cancelled.

A magistrate may authorise any person to publish a news-sheet or news-sheets from time to time. Any police officer empowered for that purpose by the Provincial Government could seize any unauthorised news-sheet or unauthorised newspaper wherever found. The unauthorised news-sheets or newspapers were to be produced before the magistrate and could be ordered to be destroyed. The Government was given the power to seize and forfeit un-declared presses producing unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers. The

penalty for disseminating un-authorised news-sheets and newspapers was imprisonment up to 6 months, with or without fine. The Provincial Government was given the power to declare certain publications forfeited to His Majesty and also issue search warrants for the same. The Customs Offices were authorised to detain packages containing certain publications when imported into British India. No un-authorised news-sheet or un-authorised newspaper could be transmitted by post and the Government was given the power to detain those articles while being transmitted by post. Provision was made for applications being made to the High Court to set aside the order of forfeiture. Those applications were to be heard by a Special Bench of the High Court consisting of three judges.

It is obvious that the powers conferred by the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931 were sweeping in their nature and scope. These powers were used by the Provincial Governments to prohibit the publication of the names and portraits of well-known leaders of the civil disobedience movement as "the publication of such pictures tends to encourage the movement." Other restraints included the prohibition of the publication of Congress propaganda of any kind including messages from the persons arrested, messages issued or purported to be issued from persons in jail, exaggerated reports of political events, notices and advertisement of meetings, processions and other activities tending to promote civil disobedience movement or any other matter in furtherance of the same. Under the Act of 1931, the British Government took action against many newspapers. The printers and publishers of the Bombay Chronicle were called upon to deposit Rs. 3,000/- each for publishing an article by Horniman. The printer and publisher of the Anand Bazar Patrika each received demands for Rs. 1,000/- . A security of Rs. 6,000/- was demanded from the Amrit Bazar Patrika. Rs. 6,000/- were deposited by "The Liberty" of Calcutta. A security of Rs. 6,000/- was deposited by the Free Press Journal and was later on forfeited by the Bombay Government. Similar actions were taken against other journals also. Virtually, there was a reign of terror in the country.

The Foreign Relations Act, 1932: The Foreign Relations Act of 1932 replaced an Ordinance of 1931. Its object was to penalize publications calculated to interfere with the maintenance of good relations between His Majesty's Government and friendly foreign states. The necessity of this law arose when the newspapers criticized the administration in certain states adjoining the frontiers

of India. The Act provided that where an offence under Chapter XXI of the Indian Penal Code was committed against the ruler of a state outside but adjoining India, or against the consort or son of Principal Minister of such a ruler, the Governor-General-in-Council might make, or authorise any person to make, a complaint in writing of such an offence and any court competent in other respects to take cognizance of such offence might take cognizance of such a complaint. Any book, newspaper or other document containing such specified defamatory matter which tended to prejudice the maintenance of friendly relations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of such state, could be retained in the same manner as seditious literature.

In January 1933, four ordinances were promulgated which conferred certain powers for the maintenance of law and order and particularly widened the operative section of the Press Act so as to permit action against the publication of matter calculated to encourage the civil disobedience movement.

The Indian States (Protection) Act 1934: The object of this Act was to prevent unreasonable attacks on the administration of Indian states in the newspapers of British India and to provide authorities in British India with powers to deal with bands or demonstrators organised on semi-military lines, for the purpose of entering and spreading disaffection in the territories of the Indian States.

The above laws continued to remain in force up to 1939 when the World War II broke out. In order to meet the difficult situation, the Government of India was forced to pass the Defence of India Act. The Government also framed rules known as the Defence of India Rules. These rules enabled the Government to control the Indian Press for six long years. Action was taken against those newspapers which dared to violate the above rules and laws. However, the Act and the Rules lapsed after the ending of the World War II.

The Press Trust of India Ltd: The most notable event in Indian journalism in 1948 was the formation of the Press Trust of India Ltd. This organisation took over the supply of news to and from India. This was done on the basis of an agreement with the Reuters. This agreement enabled the Indian Press to get complete control over its own internal news supply. The Press Trust is a non-profit making concern and its membership is open to all newspapers India. It is only recently, the P.T.I. has become independent of the Reuters.

Press Laws Inquiry Committee, 1948: The Government of India set up a Press Law Inquiry Committee under the Chairmanship of Shree Ganganath Jha. The Committee was required to gather all the existing press laws of India and make recommendations as to in what directions the law required to be modified. The Central Legislature nominated some members to the Committee. Three editors were also recommended by the I.N.E.C. The Committee made the following recommendations:—

- (1) An explanation should be added to Section 153-A I.P.C. (promoting enmity between classes) to the effect that it does not amount to an offence under that Section to advocate a change in the social or economic order provided such advocacy does not involve violence.
- (2) Repeal of the Indian States (Protection) Act of 1934.
- (3) Repeal of the Foreign Relations Act of 1932.
- (4) Before taking action against the Press under emergency legislation, Provincial Governments should invariably consult the Press Advisory Committee or similar body.
- (5) Repeal of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931 was recommended but it was also suggested that certain provisions of that Act which did not find a place in the ordinary law of the country, should be incorporated into that law at suitable places.
- (6) Section 124-A I.P.C. relating to sedition should be amended so as to apply only to acts or words which either incite disorder or are intended or tend to incite disorder.
- (7) Section 144 Cr. P.C. should not be applied to the press and separate provision should be made, if necessary, for dealing with the press in urgent cases of apprehended danger.
- (8) Necessary provision should be made in the law to empower courts to order the closing down of a press for a special period in case of repeated violations of law.

The Indian Constitution: Article 19 of the new Constitution of India which came into force on 26th January 1950 provided for the freedom of expression. However, it was found from experience that the right to freedom of expression was held by some courts to be so comprehensive that no action could be taken against any individual who advocated murder and other violent crimes. Consequently, the First Amendment Act was passed in June 1951. It was provided that the right to freedom of speech was to be subject to all laws imposing restrictions with regard to the security of the state, friendly relations

with foreign states, public order, decency or morality, contempt of court, defamation and incitement to offences.

The Press (Objectionable Matter) Act, 1951: In the course of the debate in Parliament on the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, the Government of India promised to introduce a Press Bill which was free from the objectionable features of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931 and which was in accordance with the new constitution of India. Such a bill was introduced in Parliament on 31st August, 1951 and was named as "The Press (Incitement to Crimes) Bill." However, its name was changed later on with a view to dissociate this Bill from the Act of 1908 which had a similar title. The amended bill was passed by the Parliament and received the assent of the President in October 1951.

According to the Objects and Reasons of the Act, the new law was directed against the encouragement of violence or sabotage of certain other very grave offences and the publication of scurrilous matter. No pre-censorship was imposed on any newspaper. No action was to be taken against any newspaper unless it actually abused its freedom by the publication of some objectionable matter. Security could not be demanded arbitrarily. That could be done only after proof of the actual abuse of the freedom of the press by the publication of objectionable matter. Even in that case, the demand of security or its forfeiture was not to be provided by the executive, but by the Session Judge. The Sessions Judge was to pass orders only after a full trial. He was to hear both the Government and the keeper of the press or the publisher of the newspaper. The publisher or the keeper could claim the right to be tried by a special jury composed of persons particularly qualified to sit in judgement over cases of the abuse of the freedom of the press by journalistic experience or by an association with public affairs. A right of appeal was provided to the High Court on all points involved in every cases. The amount of security was not to be excessive and in no case more than the amount specified in the complaint made by the competent authority was to be ordered. Provision was made for the return of the security if no further action was taken in respect of the press or the newspaper or news-sheet for a period of two years from the date of deposit. Provision was made against double penalty. Any offence punishable under the Act and any abetment of such offence was made cognisable and bailable. This act repealed all other laws relating to the press. The Act was passed only for two years and the matter is to come up before

Parliament once again in 1953.

It seems desirable to define the term "objectionable matter" as this term is very prominent in the Act itself. According to Section 3 of the Act, the expression objectionable matter means any words, signs or visible representations which are likely to incite or encourage any person to resort to violence or for the purpose of overthrowing or undermining the Government established by law in India or in any state thereof or its authority in any area ; or incite or encourage any person to commit murder, sabotage or any offence involving violence ; or incite or encourage any person to interfere with the supply and distribution of food or other essential commodities or with essential services ; or seduce any member of any of the armed forces of the Union or of the police forces from his allegiance to his duty, or prejudice the recruiting of persons to serve in any such force or prejudice the discipline of any such force ; or promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different sections of the people of India ; or which are grossly indecent or scurrilous or obscene or intended for black-mail. It is well-known that when the above Bill was on the legislative anvil, a lot of hue and cry was raised by the Press. However, the Government gave an assurance to the press that it will not abuse those powers and the matter will be discussed once again after the lapse of two years. It is too much to give a verdict on the working of the Act within so short a time. However, it cannot be denied that action has been taken by executive officers even in those cases where there was hardly any ground for it. It is still to be seen as to how the Government acts when this matter is discussed once again in Parliament.

CHAPTER XXV

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

When the English East India Company acquired territories in various parts of India, it found that both the Hindus and the Muslims had their educational institutions which were linked up with their religion. The Pandits taught Sanskrit to the Hindus in their Pathshalas and the Maulvis taught the Muslims in the mosques. To begin with, the Company left the Indian system undisturbed and respected the endowments made by the Indian rulers. However, Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrasah "to qualify the sons of Mohammedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state." The subjects start were theology, logic, rhetoric, grammar, law, natural philosophy, astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic. A few years later, John Owen, Chaplain to the Bengal Presidency, requested the Government to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English "to the natives of the these provinces." Nobody cared for his request. However, after a few years, another educational institution was set up at Benaras "for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of the nation, to accomplish the same purpose for the Hindus as the Madrasah for the Mohammedans and specially to supply qualified Hindu Assistants to European Judges."

In 1792-93, when the House of Commons debated the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, Wilberforce carried a resolution emphasising the adoption of such steps as would lead to the advancement in useful knowledge of the people of India. He suggested the sending of school masters and missionaries to India. The move of Wilberforce was opposed and it was maintained that the Hindus had "as good a system of faith and morals as most people." It was pointed out that it would be madness to give them any kind of learning other than what they possessed.

After a few years, Charles Grant, one of the Directors of the Company, submitted a memorandum in which he lamented the low moral condition of the people of India. He asked the Company to improve their condition by imparting to them a knowledge of the English language which was to serve as "a key which will open to

them a world of new ideas". As the Muslim rulers had taught Persian to the Indians, in the same way the Englishmen should teach the English to the people of India. To quote him, "It would be extremely easy for Government to establish, at moderate expense, in various parts of provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English; multitudes, especially of the young, would flock to them; and the easy books used in teaching might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects... The Hindus would, in time, become teachers of English themselves; and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of Government".

In 1811, Lord Minto regretted the neglect of literature and science in India and suggested improvements in existing Colleges in addition to the establishment of new ones. A clause was inserted in the Charter Act of 1813 stipulating that "a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India."

Raja Ram Mohan Roy formed an association for founding an institution where the Hindus were to receive instructions in European languages and sciences. The Hindu College was founded in 1817. In 1818, the Bishop of Calcutta opened an institution which was to serve the double purpose of training young Christians as preachers and of imparting a knowledge of the English language to Hindus and Muslims. Raja Rammohan Roy opposed the establishment of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta. However, nobody bothered about this protest. The Court of Directors of the Company were happy at the prospect of having qualified Indians to help them in the administration. To quote them, "As the means of bringing about this most desirable object, we rely chiefly on their becoming through a familiarity with the European literature and science, imbued with the ideas and feelings of civilized Europe—on the jungle cultivation of their understanding, and specifically on their instruction in the principles of moral and general jurisprudence".

Elphinstone in his Minute of 1823 urged the establishment of schools for teaching English and European sciences. In a Communication to the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, Elphinstone wrote

thus: "I conceive it is more important to impart a high degree of education to the upper classes than to diffuse a much lower sort of it among the common people. The most important branch of education is that designed to prepare natives for public employment. If English could be at all diffused among persons who had the least time for reflection, the progress of knowledge by means of it would be accelerated in a ten-fold ratio since every man who made himself acquainted with a science through English would be able to communicate it in his own language to his countrymen". He proposed the establishment of a school at Bombay where English might be taught "classically" and where instructions might also be given in that language on history, geography and science. Elphinstone had already established a school on those lines at Bombay. In 1833, he set up a similar school at Poona. In 1834 was started the Elphinstone College at Bombay. It was expected to train "a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employment in the civil administration of India".

By this time, demand for the study of English had increased tremendously. English books were being sold by thousands. There was practically no demand for Sanskrit and Arabic books. In order to satisfy the popular demand, English classes were attached to the Calcutta Madrasah and the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. The same was done in the Agra College which was established in 1818. In spite of that, the Oriental College were not popular. There started a controversy as to whether instructions should be given through English or through Arabic or Persian. The Anglicists maintained that all instruction should be given through English. The Orientalists insisted on teaching through the oriental languages. To settle the controversy, the Government appointed a Committee. Among the orientalists were many distinguished officers of the Government and their view prevailed for some time. When Lord Macaulay was appointed the Chairman of the Committee in 1835, the parties were so evenly balanced that things had come to a deadlock. Lord Macaulay wrote a Minute which turned the scales against the orientalists. He discussed the Charter Act of 1813 which provided a sum of money for the revival and promotion of literature and for the introduction of the knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of India. He disputed the view that by literature Parliament could have meant only Arabic and Sanskrit literature as he had not yet found an orientalist "who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth

the whole native literature of India and Arabia." His argument was that English was the language spoken by the ruling class. It was likely to become the language of commerce "throughout the seas of the East". He came to the conclusion that the Government was free to employ its funds in teaching what was better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic. "Neither as the languages of law nor as the languages of religions have Sanskrit or Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement", and "it is possible to make natives of the country thoroughly good English scholars" to which end efforts should be directed. Lord Macaulay had expressed similar views in the House of Commons before he came to India. To quote him, "Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and provide it with no legitimate vent?.....It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system, that by good Government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English History..... The sceptre may pass away from us. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. There triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism: the empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, approved of the Minute of Lord Macaulay. A resolution was passed on 7th March, 1835 and the following points were emphasised in that resolution:—

1. That the "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India and that all funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone;
2. "that while the colleges of oriental learning were not to be abolished, the practice of supporting their students during their period of education was to be discontinued;
3. "that Government Funds were not to be spent on the printing of oriental works; and
4. "that all the funds at the disposal of the Government would

henceforth be spent in imparting to the Indians a knowledge of English Literature and science ”.

According to H.H. Wilson, “ Upon the proposal to appropriate all the funds to English education, there was a petition from the Mohammedans of Calcutta, signed by about 8,000 people, including all the most respectable Maulvis and native gentlemen of the city. After objecting to it upon general principles, they said that the evident object of the Government was the conversion of the natives ; and they encouraged English exclusively and discouraged Mohammedan and Hindu studies because they wanted to induce the people to become Christians ”. With a view to remove the misgivings of the Muslims, Lord William Bentinck declared a policy of strict neutrality. “ In all schools and colleges, interference and injudicious tampering with the religious belief of the students, mingling direct or indirect teaching of Christianity with the system of instruction, ought to be positively forbidden ”.

A reference may be made to the work done by the Christian Missions, in the field of education. In 1716, the Danish Missionaries opened an institution for the training of teachers. In 1717, they opened two charity schools at Madras. They were also instrumental in opening English schools at other places. Missionaries like Carey, Marshman and Ward started their work at Serampore in 1793. By 1820, the Missionary societies were doing a lot of work in this field, but their primary object was not to educate the people, but to preach them Christianity. The Missionaries realised that the spread of English language would help the spread of Christianity in the country. In Bombay was started the Wilson College and in Madras the Christian College. In 1853 was founded the Saint John's College at Agra. Missionary colleges were also founded at Masaulipatam and Nagpur. The Bible classes were made compulsory in these institutions. According to Dr. Duff, “ One great object was to convey, as largely as possible, a knowledge of our ordinary improved literature and science to the young persons ; but another, and a more vital object was to convey a thorough knowledge of Christianity with its evidences and doctrines. Our purpose was therefore to combine in close, inseparable and harmonious union, what has been called a useful secular with a decidedly religious education.”

A Government Resolution of 1844 provided that for public employment in every case, preference would be given to those who had been educated in Western science and were familiar with the English

language. According to Lord Auckland, "I would make it my principal aim to communicate through the means of the English language a complete education in European literature, philosophy and science to the greatest number of students who may be ready to accept it."

WOOD'S DESPATCH OF 1854.

Sir Charles Wood's Despatch to the Court of Directors has been described as "The Magna Carta of English Education in India." It set forth a scheme of education far wider and more comprehensive than any one which had been suggested so far. It enunciated the aim of education as the diffusion of Arts, Science, Philosophy and the literature of Europe. The study of Indian languages was to be encouraged. The English language was to be taught wherever there was a demand for it. Both the English language and the Indian languages were to be regarded as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge. It was felt that the time had come for the establishment of universities in India which might encourage a regular and liberal course of education by conferring academic degrees as evidence of attainment in the different branches of Science and Arts. It was decided to establish universities on the model of the London University. Each university was to consist of a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and a Senate. The Senate was to manage the university funds and frame regulations for the holding of examinations. Professorships were to be instituted in various branches of learning among which were law, civil engineering and classical oriental languages. Calcutta and Bombay were to have the first Universities. A university might be created at Madras also or at any other place in India where a sufficient number of institutions existed from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied. It was laid down that the affiliated institutions would be periodically visited by Government Inspectors. It was hoped that a spirit of healthy rivalry will grow among the educational institutions, and the division of university degrees and distinctions into different branches would direct the efforts of highly educated men to the studies which were necessary to success in the various active professions of life.

The Despatch also recommended the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools. The existing Government Schools and Colleges were to be maintained and their number was to be increased if and when necessary. New Middle

Schools were to be established. More attention was to be given to elementary education. The system of grants-in-aid was to be started by the Government to help private enterprise. However, these grants were to be given on the principle of religious neutrality. A comprehensive system of scholarships was to be started. Female education was to be encouraged by the Government. A Director of Public Instruction was to be appointed in every province. He was to be assisted by Inspectors and Assistant or Deputy Inspectors. According to Prof. Dodwell, the men in charge of the department were primarily administrators and consequently education tended to become a matter of routine administration.

THE HUNTER COMMISSION, 1882

In 1882, Lord Ripon appointed a Commission "to enquire into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it may think desirable in order to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." The Hunter Commission collected a lot of useful information and made the following recommendations:—

1. While advocating the gradual withdrawal of the state from the direct support and management of institutions of higher education, the Commission felt that this withdrawal could only be by slow and cautious steps. A College or a Secondary School was to be handed over to the Indians provided there was a reasonable prospect that the cause of education would not suffer through the transfer.
2. Provision was to be made for ordinary and special grants to colleges.
3. There were to be alternative courses in the larger colleges.
4. Certain general principles were to be followed as regards college fees and exemption from them.
5. New regulations regarding scholarships were to be framed.
6. An attempt was to be made to prepare a model text book based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion such as may be taught in all government and non-government colleges.
7. "The Principal or one of the professors in each Government and aided college, was to deliver to each of the college classes, in every session, a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen."
8. Special measures were to be adopted for the encouragement of education among the Mohammadans.

9. All elementary schools were to be inspected and supervised by the Educational Officers of the Government.
10. The Commission put emphasis on physical and mental education of the students.
11. According to the Commission, primary education needed strongest encouragement. A part of the provincial revenues should be exclusively reserved for primary education. Primary education should be given by the state, district boards, and municipalities. Secondary education should be encouraged through local or private bodies. All secondary schools should be made over to private management wherever that is possible.

The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Commission and directed the preparation of an annual report reviewing the progress of the education in the country. Higher education progressed at great speed during the next few decades.

In January 1902, Lord Curzon appointed a Commission to "enquire into the condition and prospects of the universities established in British India ; to consider and report upon any proposals which may have been, or may be made for approving their constitution and working, and to recommend such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of university teaching, and to promote the advancement of learning." The Commission made the following recommendations :—

1. The legal powers of the older universities should be enlarged and all the universities be recognised as teaching bodies. The local limits of each university should be more accurately defined and steps taken to remove from the Calcutta list the affiliated colleges in C.P., U.P. etc.
2. The Senate, the Syndicate and the Faculties should be reorganised and made more representative than before.
3. The affiliation rules should be framed in such a way as to secure that no institution shall be admitted to affiliation unless on the fullest information, and that no institution once admitted be allowed to fall below the standards of efficiency required for affiliation and the Syndicate should satisfy itself from time to time on this point.
4. There should be a properly constituted governing body for each college.
5. Attention should be paid to the residence and discipline of students.
6. The courses and methods of examination in all subjects should be changed according to the suggestions made in the Report.

The Universities Act of 1904. The Government of Lord Curzon accepted the recommendations of the Raleigh Commission and embodied them in the Universities Act of 1904. The Act re-constituted the governing bodies of the universities. The Senate of the university was to have not less than 50 and not more than 100 members. The number of elected fellows was fixed at 20 for universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and 15 for the other two. Statutory recognition was given to the Syndicates with adequate representation of university teachers on them. Conditions for affiliation to the university were clearly laid down and were intended to be rigorously observed. The University was given the power of making provision for the instruction of students through the appointment of university professors and lectures and to do all acts which tend to the promotion of study and research. The Government was vested with certain powers regarding the regulations to be framed by the Senates and the Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to define the territorial limits of the universities.

According to Chirol, "As was to be expected under a Viceroy who was a great autocrat with an overwhelming faith in the efficiency of Government machinery, the chief purpose of the Act of 1904 was to tighten the hold of the Government on the Universities, and in the first place on their Senates, which were still retained as the ruling bodies, by reducing their total number whilst increasing to an overwhelming majority the proportion of those nominated by the Chancellor and giving ex-officio seats on them to Provincial Directors of Public Instruction. In the Syndicates, which were the executive bodies, provision, at first sight effective, was made for a large number of college teachers, but none was eligible who was not already a member of the Senate. Increased powers of supervision over existing colleges and the imposition of more stringent conditions for the affiliation of new ones, were steps in the right direction, but they came too late and made no attempt to deal with the dungus growths which, in so many schools, were rotting the foundations on which a sound college education could be built up. New faculties were created to deal with the university curricula and with the methods of university examinations, but these were also to be mere emanations from the Senate. Practically nothing was henceforth to be done without the approval of Government."

The public opinion in India was very critical of this Act as the number of seats in the Senate thrown open to elections was very small

and the restriction of numbers was supposed to create a majority for Europeans. The provisions for the exercise of teaching functions by the University were not considered very important as such provisions in the previous Acts had not been utilized. The new regulations for affiliation of colleges were regarded as a means to hamper Indian private effort in the field of education.

Although Lord Curzon disavowed all intentions of turning the universities into state-departments or to "fetter the colleges and schools with bureaucratic handcuffs", yet the main result of the passing of the Act was to Europeanise the Senates and Syndicates of the universities and to turn them into some of "the most completely Governmental Universities of the world". This was recognised by the Calcutta University Commission. What Lord Curzon intended to do was to assert the doctrine of state responsibility and control in matters of university education. The Indian opposition was based on the growing conviction that Lord Curzon was bent upon restricting the opportunities for higher education open to young Indians. According to Frazer, "Educated Indians sincerely thought that the Viceroy meant to deal a blow at the university system. According to the same author, the source of the greatest controversy of Lord Curzon's viceroyalty which produced bitterness among the leaders of Indian opinion and which was responsible for making the Viceroy most unpopular with the educated classes in India, was the Act of 1904.

RESOLUTION OF 1913.

A Government Resolution was issued in 1913 and this clarified the policy in regard to higher education. As India would not be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating universities for a long time, it was necessary to restrict the area over which such universities would have control. New teaching and residential universities were to be established within every province. Teaching universities were to be established at Dacca, Aligarh and Banaras. New affiliating universities were to be established at Rangoon, Patna and Nagpur. The out-break of the World War delayed the implementation of the Resolution, but universities were started at Banaras and Patna in 1916 and 1917.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION.

The Government of India in the time of Lord Chelmsford appointed the Sadler Commission for the purpose of holding an inquiry

of a very comprehensive and searching character into the problems of the Calcutta University. The terms of reference included all aspects of collegiate and university education. Problems of secondary education were not excluded from the scope of inquiry. The Commission was expected to study the organisation and working of other Indian Universities with a view to help it to formulate the policy of the Calcutta University. The Commission submitted a voluminous Report in 1919 dealing practically with every problem of secondary and university education. The main recommendations of the Sadler Commission were as follows:—

1. The intermediate classes of the university were to be transferred to secondary institutions and the stage of admission to the university was to be that of the existing Intermediate Examination.

2. Secondary and Intermediate education was to be controlled by a Board of Secondary Education and not by the university.

3. The Government of India should cease to have any special relationship to the University of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal should take its place.

4. The duration of the Degree Course should be three years after the Intermediate Stage, the provisions being applied immediately in regard to Honours Courses and soon after to Pass Courses.

5. The teaching resources of the City of Calcutta were to be organised to create a reeal teaching university and the project of a university at Dacca was to be carried into effect at the earliest possible moment. The mofussil colleges were to be organised in such a way as would encourage the gradual rise of new university centres by the concentration of higher teaching at a few points.

6. Special attention was to be paid to the education of women and a Board was to be created for that purpose.

7. The Government service system being unsuitable for universities, a new organisation of the teaching service in universities was necessary.

8. Problems of vocational and professional training including that of teachers, lawyers, medical men, engineers, architects and agriculturists were to be seriously taken in hand by the university and numerous reforms were suggested for that purpose.

9. The medium of instruction for most subjects upto High School stage was to be the vernacular, but for later stages, it was to be English.

10. The method of examinations required complete overhauling.

The Government of India drafted a Bill to enforce the recom-

mendations of the Commission. However, financial difficulties stood in the way. In 1920, the recommendations of the Commission were forwarded to the Provincial Governments by the Government of India. The Dacca University and Lucknow University were started in 1920 on unitary teaching lines. The Allahabad University was started in 1921 and Delhi University was started in 1922 on the same lines.

Under the Government of India Act, 1919, the department of education was transferred into the hands of the Indian Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislatures. However, the Government of India controlled and guided the general policy of higher education. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, entire university education was placed under the control of the provincial Governments. The only exception was in the case of a university which functioned in two provinces.

SERGEANT SCHEME FOR EDUCATION.

This scheme was prepared by Sir John Sergeant, the Educational Adviser to the Government of India. It sought to introduce universal free and compulsory education for boys and girls the ages of 6 and 14. The scheme was estimated to cost Rs. 200 crores a year. This basic education was to consist of two stages, the junior stage covering 5 years and the senior stage covering 3 years. After the primary stage, all the boys and girls were not to be allowed to go to the High Schools. Only those were to be allowed to proceed who were expected to profit from higher education. Approximately, one out of every five was expected to join the High Schools. Schools were to be maintained out of public funds as far as possible. Restrictions were also to be placed on the admission of students into colleges. Intermediate Course was to be included into High School Course, and the college teaching was to last for three years. A national youth movement was to be started throughout the country. That movement was to teach the youngmen to build their bodies and serve their country.

Radhakrishnan Commission (1949): After the independence of India, the Government of India appointed in 1948 a University Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Radhakrishnan. The terms of reference of the Commission were to consider and make recommendations on the following subjects:—

1. The aims and objects of University education and research in India.

2. The changes considered necessary and desirable in the constitution, control, functions and jurisdiction of universities in India and their relations with the Government of India and the Provincial Governments.

3. The finance of universities.

4. The maintenance of the highest standard of teaching and examinations in the universities and colleges under their control.

5. The courses of studies in the universities and their duration.

6. The standards of admission to university courses of study with reference to the desirability of an independent university entrance examination and the avoidance of unfair discriminations which militate against the fundamental right contained in Article 23(2).

7. The medium of instruction in the universities.

8. The provision for advanced study in Indian culture, history, literature, languages, philosophy and finance.

9. The need for more universities on a regional or other basis.

10. The organisation of advanced research in all branches of knowledge in the universities and institutes of higher research in a well-coordinated fashion avoiding waste of efforts and resources.

11. Religious instructions in the universities.

12. The special problems of Delhi University, Aligarh University and Banaras Hindu University.

13. The qualifications, conditions of service, salaries, privileges and functions of teachers and the encouragement of the original research by teachers.

14. The discipline of students, hostels and the organisation of tutorial work and any other matter which is germane and essential to a complete and comprehensive inquiry into all aspects of university education and advanced research in India.

After touring the whole of the country, interviewing people and receiving and considering the memoranda from various quarters, the Commission made the following recommendations in 1949:—

1. The Commission recommended the establishment of rural universities with Santinekatan and Jamia Millia as their model. The Report criticised the allocation of small funds for education. They were not to be more than five per cent of the total revenue. The Commission stressed the necessity of increasing considerably the grants for scholarships and stipends so that the poor may not suffer. The colleges were not to be allowed to admit more than one thousand students. Where the mother tongue was not the same as the federal

language, the federal language was to be the medium of instruction. If the mother tongue and the federal language were identical, the students were required to take any other Indian, classical or modern language. There should be no attempt at hasty replacement of English as a medium of instruction for academic standards. The Commission did not prescribe any time-limit. There were to be no denominational or sectarian religious considerations. As regards co-education, it could be adopted in the secondary stage and then again in the college stage. The Commission laid considerable stress on improving the standards of the teaching profession. There were to be four classes of teachers *viz.*, professors, readers, lecturers and instructors. Promotion from one category to another was to be solely on the basis of merit.

CHAPTER XXVI

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Religious Development: India made a lot of progress both in the religious and social fields during the 19th century and after. The name of Raja Rammohan Roy stands formost in this connection. He has rightly been called "the herald of a new age." It is this great man who saved the Hindu society from superstitions and spiritual blindness as well as Christianity and western ideas. According to Monier-Williams, the Raja was "perhaps the first earnest-minded investigator of the science of comparative religion that the world has produced." According to Seal, the Raja "was the harbinger of the idea of universal humanism, the humanist, pure and simple, watching from his conning tower the procession of universal humanity in universal history."

The Raja was employed in the service of the English East India Company. After his retirement, he settled in Calcutta. To begin with, he founded the Atmiya Sabha which was an association for the dissemination of religious truth and the promotion of free discussion of theological subjects. This Sabha lasted for four years from 1815 to 1819. In 1828, he started the Brahmo-Samaj. The Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj was prepared in January 1833 and the Raja left for England the same year and died there in September 1833. According to Miss Colet, "Rammohan stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, theism." The Raja liberalised Hinduism so as to fit in with the modern world. He was opposed to the barriers of castes. He condemned the worship of idols and sacrificial rituals. He stood for universalism and love. The Brahmo Samaj advocated the worship of one God and the brotherhood of man. Respect for all religions and scriptures was advocated. Followers of all religions were invited to come and

worship in the same temple in the spirit of brotherhood. In the words of Ramsay Macdonald, "The Brahmo Samaj was unwilling to desert Hinduism, but was willing to become liberal and respond to the impact of western faiths."

After the premature death of Raja Rammohan Roy, the Brahmo Samaj was left without any organisation, constitution, membership, covenant or pledge. There was a period of depression, but it was revived by the efforts of Maharishi Devendra Nath Tagore (1817-1905). Within five years of his joining the Samaj in 1843, the Maharishi put new life into the organisation and introduced a regular form of church service, including thanksgiving, praise and prayer.

Keshav Chandra Sen was also an important member of the Brahmo Samaj. However, he put more emphasis on Christian and Vaishnava teachings. This led to a breach in the Brahmo Samaj. The two parts of the Brahmo Samaj came to be known as the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and the Adi Brahmo Samaj. Keshav Chandra also organised a new church known as Navavidhan Samaj in which he was regarded as the prophet. As regards the work of Keshav, he played an important part in the passing of the Marriage Act of 1872. The Cooch-Bihar Marriage case of 1878 was a turning point in the life of Keshav. His daughter was less than 14 and she was married to the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar who was less than 16. People protested against this action of Keshav and public meetings were held to turn him out from the Brahmo Samaj.

It goes without saying that the Brahmo Samaj was responsible for changing the outlook of the Hindus towards western ideas. It influenced the life of the people in very many ways. Even now the Brahmo Samaj has its followers and institutions.

Prarthana Samaj : In 1849, the year of the annexation of the Punjab, was started in Maharashtra a society called Paramhans Sabha. Its influence was restricted and it broke up very soon. Another organisation was started by Dr. Atma Ram Pandurang with the object of rational worship and social reform. The name of the society was Prarthana Samaj. This society conducted night schools for working people, and association of women for education of girls. It also ran an orphanage and an asylum at Phandarpur. It also set up a Depressed Classes Mission for improving the condition of the depressed classes. Two great members of this Samaj were Sir R.G. Bhandarkar and Justice Ranade. Ranade was responsible for the Deccan Education

Society. He did a lot for the education of the people. Gokhale started the Servants of India Society and N.M. Joshi started the Social Service League to collect and study social facts and discuss social problems with a view to forming public opinion on questions of social service and secure for the masses better and reasonable conditions of life and work.

The Theosophical Society: This society was founded by Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott in 1875 in the United States. In 1879, both of them came to India and established the headquarters of the Society at a place called Adyar near Madras. The Theosophical Society became prominent in the time of Mrs. Annie Besant. She joined the society in 1889 and came to India in 1893. On her arrival in India, she dedicated her whole life to the cause of Society. She explained her mission in these words: "The Indian work is, first of all, the revival, strengthening and uplifting of ancient religions—Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and in Ceylon and Burma Buddhism. This brought with it a new self-respect, a pride in the past, a belief in the future, and, as an inevitable result, a great wave of patriotic life, the beginning of the rebuilding of a nation." She was responsible for the founding of the Central Hindu School at Banaras which later on grew into the Banaras Hindu University.

Ramakrishna Mission: The Mission was started in 1896 by Swami Vivekananda in the memory of Ramkrishna Paramhansa. The Mission has branches all over India and has done a lot of humanitarian work in the country. "The disciples of Ramkrishna do not accept the full programme of Brahmo Samaj but they are all liberal thinkers and do not stick to the orthodox principles. His disciples are divided into two groups: first the Ascetics who do not marry and dedicate their lives to God and the service of men. The followers of the second group live in the world and earn their livelihood, but try to regulate their lives according to the teachings of Ramakrishna. They are not social reformers in the literal sense of the word, but they are helping in the reconstruction of society in several ways." The Ramakrishna Mission has set up a large number of schools, orphanages and dispensaries.

The Deva Samaj: The Deva Samaj was founded by Satyanand Agnihotri in 1887. This movement had its headquarters at Lahore. While it set up schools for the people, an important feature of this organisation is that it is militantly atheistic.

The Arya Samaj: The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883). Dayanand left his parents in his boyhood and wandered in various parts of the country to acquire the true knowledge of the Vedas. Ultimately, he found a Guru in Swami Virjanand. After completing his education, he took a vow to spread the knowledge of the Vedas in the country. He wandered from place to place and tried to convert people to his own point of view. He had no English education but he was a great Sanskrit scholar. He had no faith in the Puranas and condemned them as "work of the selfish, ignorant and malevolent men." He attacked the worship of idols and sacrifices. He condemned the caste-system as based on birth. He was opposed to the marriage of children. He advocated the education of women and the remarriage of widows. He asked the Indians to go to foreign countries for study and travel. This great saint of Gujerat-Kathiawar was the forerunner of Mahatma Gandhi. His slogan was "Back to the Vedas." He wrote a large number of books. He translated the Rig Veda and the Yujra Ved in Hindi. However, his most important book is the "Satyaartha Prakash." This book has been translated into many languages and can be called the Bible of the Arya Samaj.

The Arya Samaj was founded in 1875. Although the life of its founder was cut short in 1883, its followers carried on the work started by the founder. Very soon, it came to the forefront in the reform of Hindu society. It started the work of Shuddhi or the conversion or reconversion of persons to Hinduism. It started a large number of schools and colleges. It played an important part in the national life of the country. Mahatma Hans Raj, Guru Datt Vidyarthi and Lala Rajpat Rai were great followers of the Arya Samaj. Mahatma Hans Raj was the founder principal of the D.A.V. College, Lahore which was one of the biggest educational institutions in Northern India. In addition to the D.A.V. College, Lahore, very many schools and colleges were started by the D.A.V. College Managing Committee. In 1892, the Arya Samaj was split up into two parts viz., the D.A.V. College Section and the Gurukul Section. Mahatma Hans Raj was the leader of the first Section and Swami Sradhananda was the leader of the other Section. The Gurukul Party started in 1902 the famous Gurukul Kangri which has grown into a university. It goes without saying that the Arya Samaj has played and is even now playing an important role in the educational field. It has been responsible for moulding the lives of crores of

youngmen and women of this country.

Islam : For a long time, the Muslims refused to reconcile themselves with the changes brought about by the advent of the English in India. The result was they remained unaffected by the new changes in society. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) was responsible for bringing about a change in the outlook of the Muslims. He asked the Muslims to change their political, religious, educational and social ideas and bring about a working harmony between East and West. He went to England and on his return started the M.A.O. College at Aligarh in 1875. It is true that there was a lot of opposition to begin with but ultimately this grew into the Muslim University in 1920. Sir Syed also tried to prepare the Urdu translations of books on English literature and scientific works. He also was in favour of the abolition of Purdah and education of woman. He propagated his views through his Magazine called "Tahzil-ul-Akhlaq (Reform of Morals)." It goes without saying that his life-work brought about a revolution among the Muslims. A large number of societies or Anjumans were started by the Muslims for the service of their community. A powerful Muslim press also came into existence. The origin, growth and development of the All India Muslim League and the help given to it by the British Government made the Muslims stronger and stronger.

Reference may also be made to the Ahmadiya movement which was started by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed. The Mirza was born at Qadian in District Gurdaspur of the Punjab. He was conservative and reactionary in his outlook. He was opposed to the abolition of Purdah. He defended the Islamic law of divorce and polygamy. After the death of the Mirza in 1808, the movement was managed by a Khalifa. However, a split took place in 1914. One group came to be known as the Lahori Party and the other group came to be known as the Qadiani Party. The Qadiani party considered the founder as a Prophet (Nabi). The Lahori Party considered the founder merely a reformer in Islam (Mujaddid).

The Sikhs : The Sikhs were also influenced by the prevailing atmosphere in the country. They started the Chief Khalsa Diwan and set up the Khalsa College at Amritsar. The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee was started by the Sikhs to get rid of the corrupt Mahants and reform the Gurudwaras. The Sikhs succeeded in their objective. They have been successful in starting a large number of schools and colleges in various parts of the country.

The Parsees : In 1851, the Parsees started the Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha or Religious Reform Association for the "regeneration of the social condition of the Parsees and the restoration of Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity." K.R. Cama did a lot for the spread of education among the Parsees. B.M. Malabari also rendered great service to his community. In 1910 was held a Zoroastrian Conference.

Christianity : During the 19th century, the Christians did a lot in the field of spread of education and converting the Indians to Christianity. It was laid down in the Charter Act of 1813 that "it is the duty of this country to promote the introduction of useful knowledge and of religion and moral improvement in India and that facilities be offered by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India to accomplish this benevolent design." Consequently, Bishops were appointed in the Presidencies. A large number of high caste educated Hindus were converted to Christianity. Missionaries like Carey, Duff War, Grant, Marshman and Dr. Forman did a lot in converting people to Christianity. Although their main work was the conversion of the Indians, they were also responsible for spreading education in the country. Another effect of Christianity was that the Indian religions tried to reform themselves with a view to save themselves from the attack of Christianity. The caste Hindus also changed their attitude towards the depressed classes.

The Social Development : A lot was done for the improvement of the lot of women in India. The most important reform to be introduced in this connection was the abolition of Sati or the practice of burning Hindu widows on the funeral pyres by their husbands. Raja Rammohan Roy played the most important part in this connection. The orthodox Hindus under the leadership of Raja Radha Kant Deb carried on a vigorous opposition. However, Lord William Bentinck declared Sati illegal by a Regulation of 1829. The opponents refused to keep quiet. They organised a large number of meetings under the auspices of the Dharma Sabha. They sent a large number of petition to the Government of India. In 1830, they sent an appeal to the Privy Council. Raja Rammohan Roy rendered yeoman's service in this connection. He was already in England and there contacted Englishmen and even met the members of the Privy Council and ultimately the appeal of the orthodox Hindus was dismissed. Lord William Bentinck also deserves credit for this great reform.

The evil of infanticide existed in various parts of India. This was ended by the activities of Lord William Bentinck and British officers like Wilkinson, Erskine Pottinger etc.

Raja Rammohan Roy also raised his voice against the evils of polygamy and Kulinism. Through the efforts of Keshav Chandra Sen, the Native Marriage Act of 1872 was passed. This Act abolished early marriage, made polygamy penal, sanctioned widow marriages and intercaste marriages for those who chose to come under the Act. The Arya Samaj also carried on a vigorous agitation for reform in this field. M.B. Malabari, the Parsi reformer, carried on agitation against the child marriage. In 1891 was passed the famous Age of Consent Act. This Act raised the age of consummation from 10 to 12 in the teeth of opposition. The critics maintain that the Act "was an infringement of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 by which she pledged her Government to a policy of non-interference with the religions of Her Indian subjects." In 1901, the Government of Baroda passed the Infant Marriage Prevention Act. This Act fixed the minimum age for marriage for girls at 12 and for boys at 16. In 1930 was passed the famous Sharda Act. The object of the Act was to discourage the solemnization of marriages between boys under 18 and girls under 14 years. This Act has remained a dead letter on account of the opposition of the Hindus and the inactivity of the Government.

A movement was started for the remarriage of Hindu widows. This movement got a momentum during the period of the agitation for and against Sati. The daughter of Babu Shyam Charan Das was burnt and he circulated among the Pandits of India the question "whether the widowed daughter of a Sudra who had not known her husband and who was unable to practise the higher virtue of concremation with her husband's corpse, or endurance of the hardships of life of widowhood, can be remarried agreeably to the Shastras." Pandits met and gave a certificate of permission. However, it was pointed out that the permission applied only to Sudras and not to the caste Hindus.

Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the great Sanskrit scholar, was responsible for carrying on a vigorous agitation for the remarriage of widows. He quoted chapter and verse from the Shastras to prove that widow remarriage was not banned by the Hindu scriptures. A large number of signatures were collected and petitions were sent to the Government. Ultimately, a law was passed in 1856

by which the remarriage of widows was legalised. It was declared that the issues of the remarried widows were to be legitimate. After the passing of the law, a large number of widows were re-married. The Brahmo Samaj also advocated the re-marriage of widows. The Arya Samaj did not lag behind in this connection. In Maharashtra, Pandit Vishnu Sastri did a lot of work for the cause of Hindu widows. Ranade also gave his helping hand. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, Agarkar and D.K. Karve have also done a lot in the same connection. Karve himself re-married a Brahmin widow in 1899. He opened at Poona a Hindu Widows' Home. The All-India Women's Conference has also done a lot of work in this connection.

Medical colleges have been set up for the education of women. The Lady Dufferin Fund provided for the training of women as Doctors, hospital assistance, nurses and midwives. Women of India have also got the right of vote. Their work was facilitated by the attitude of the Indian National Congress and its leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru.

With a view to save the Indians from the attacks of Christian Missionaries, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, and other associations did a lot for the improvement of the lot of the depressed classes. In 1906 was founded the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India with the object of improving "the social as well as the spiritual conditions of the depressed classes, viz., the Mahars, the Chambars, Parhais, Namasudras, Dhedes, and other classes considered as untouchables in India by promoting education, providing work, remedying their social disabilities, preach to them principles of liberal religion, personal character and good citizenship." Mahatma Gandhi spent a lot of his time in improving the condition of the Harijans. His paper 'The Harijan' was devoted to this cause. The new constitution of India has made untouchability penal. The Government is also doing a lot for the backward classes by giving them special scholarships and other facilities.

CHAPTER XXVII

ANGLO-AFGHAN RELATIONS

As regards the relations of the Afghans with the Government of India, we may start with the successors of Ahmed Shah Abdali. His son Timur Mirza was a weak ruler. On his death in 1793, he was succeeded by Zaman Shah. Within 5 years, he was able to consolidate his position and reached the height of his power. From Lahore, he thought of repeating the exploits of his forefathers and penetrating into the heart of India. Although he had not much chance of success, the prospect of an invasion by Zaman Shah "kept British Indian Empire in a chronic state of unrest." It is a matter of common knowledge that all the disgruntled elements in India invited Shahzaman to attack India. No wonder, Lord Wellesley was asked "to keep a very watchful eye upon the motions of that Prince, whose talents, military force and pecuniary resources, afford him the means of being a formidable opponent." Lord Wellesley had to assemble a large army for the purpose of meeting a possible attack by King Zaman Shah. However, trouble arose between Afghanistan and Persia and consequently the attention of Zamanshah was diverted to that side. Ultimately, King Zaman Shah was overthrown, captured and blinded. Later, he managed to escape to Bokhara, Herat and finally to Ludhiana in the Punjab. He spent the rest of his life as a pensioner of the East India Company.

After Zaman, Mahmud became the ruler of Afghanistan. He was merely a puppet in the hands of Fateh Khan. There was lawlessness in the country and after three years of rule, Mahmud was ousted by Shah Shuja.

Shah Shuja ruled from 1803 to 1809. He too had not a very comfortable time. According to Kaye, the resources of Shah Shuja "were limited, and his qualities were of too negative a character to render him equal to the demands of such stirring times. He wanted vigour; he wanted activity; he wanted judgement; and above all he wanted money." He committed the folly of annoying Fateh Khan and other Sardars. Sind was conquered in 1805 but troubles arose in his own country. Ultimately, he was defeated by Fateh Khan at a place near Gandamak. In 1809, Mahmud Shah

was put on the throne once again. Shah Shuja retired to Ludhiana where he became a pensioner of the East India Company.

Although Mahmud Shah was put on the throne once again and he remained in power for 7 years (1809-16), he was a very weak ruler. He was merely a tool in the hands of Fateh Khan. He wished for power with reference only to the "sweats of life and the pleasures which it procured, leaving to others the cares of Government." Unfortunately, Mohmud Shah got Fateh Khan arrested, blinded and cut to pieces. This led to lawlessness in the country and it continued from 1818 to 1826.

In 1826, Dost Mohammad was able to seat himself on throne of Kabul. He was a brave, religious-minded and enterprising king. For 12 years (1826-1838), he ruled the country successfully. Shah Shuja tried to get back the throne in 1834 but Dost Mohammad was more than a match for him. Dost Mohammad lost Peshawar to the Sikhs, and inspite of his best efforts failed to get back the same.

The position of Dost Mohammad was not very strong. "On the North, there were revolts in Balkh; on the South, one of his brothers was holding out against him at Kandhar; on the east, he was harrassed by Ranjit Singh at Peshawar, with Shah Shuja and the British Government in the background; on the West there was Mohmud Shah and Kamran at Herat, with Persia plotting behind and Russia looking in the distance." Dost Mohd. was willing to enter into an alliance with the English ~~East~~^{EAST} India Company only if the British Government promised to recover for him Peshawar from Ranjit Singh and also not to help Shah Shuja against him.

The Afghan War I: At this time, a new development took place. Russia was trying to increase her influence in Central Asia. She commanded great influence on the King of Persia. Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, suffered from Russophobia. He was determined to check the spread of power of Russia at any cost. Mohd. Mirza became the King of Persia. He was a great friend of the Russian Government. Consequently the control of Russia over Persia was enormous. On the instigation of the Russian Government, the Shah of Persia actually besieged Herat. However, through ~~of~~ the efforts of Pottinger, the siege of Herat was lifted.

In 1836, Dost Mohammad sent a letter of congratulation to Lord Auckland when he came to India as Governor-General. He also asked for British help against Ranjit Singh. The straight reply of Auckland was that it was "not the practice of the British Govern-

ment to interfere with the affairs of other independent states." Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, directed the Government of India to take all the necessary steps to check the growing strength of Russia. In June 1836, Secret Committee of the Directors of the Company asked Lord Auckland "to judge as to what steps it may be proper and desirable for you to take to watch more closely, than as hitherto been attempted the progress of events in Afghanistan and counteract the progress of Russian influence in a quarter which, from its proximity to our Indian possessions could not fail, if it were once established, to act injuriously on the system of our Indian alliances, and possibly to interfere even with the tranquility of our own territory. The mode of dealing with this very important question, whether by dispatching a confidential agent to Dost Mohammad of Kabul merely to watch the progress of events, or to enter into relations with this chief, either of a political or merely, in the first instance, of a commercial character, we confide to your discretion, as well as the adoption of any other measures that may appear to you desirable in order to counteract Russian adventures in that quarter, should you be satisfied from the information received from your agents on the frontier, or hereafter from McNeill, on his arrival in Persia, that the time has arrived at which it would be right for you to interfere decidedly in the affairs of Afghanistan. Such an interference would doubtless be requisite, either to prevent the extension of Persian domination in that quarter, or to raise a timely barrier against the impending encroachments of Russian influence."

Alexander Burnes, a great traveller and adventurer, was chosen by Lord Auckland to be sent to Kabul. Outwardly, it was declared that he was to start from the Delta of the Indus and find out the potentialities of that river for purposes of navigation. He was directed to measure the breadth and the depth of the river on the way. Burnes passed through the Punjab and Peshawar. When he reached Kabul, he was received well by Dost Mohammad. The latter asked him to recommend to his Government to help him in getting Peshawar from Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He also offered to enter into an agreement with the British Government if his wish regarding Peshawar was granted. Burnes communicated the views of Dost Mohammad to Lord Auckland and asked him to put pressure on Ranjit Singh to give up Peshawar to the Afghans. Burnes' own view was that Maharaja Ranjit Singh will not raise any serious objection to his surrender of Peshawar because the retention of the

territory by Ranjit Singh beyond the Indus was proving to be a costly affair. Unfortunately, Lord Auckland, Macnaghten and Colvin refused to put any pressure on Maharaja Ranjit Singh. When the views of the Government of India became known to Dost Mohammad, his cordiality towards Burnes began to lessen and he welcomed the Russian agent who was already at Kabul. Finding his mission a failure, Burnes left Kabul in April 1838.

The next step of Lord Auckland was that he entered into a tripartite Treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja in June 1838. This Treaty aimed at putting Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul with the help of Sikh and British soldiers.

The army assembled at Ferozepore. As Maharaja Ranjit Singh refused to allow the British troops to pass through the Punjab, it was decided to let the troops pass through Bahawalpur, Sind, Baluchistan, and the Bolan and Khojak passes. According to Dr. V.A. Smith, "The plan violated all the conditions of sound strategy, and was that of a lunatic rather than of a sane statesman." The marching of the troops through Sind was a violation of the treaty of 1832 with the Amirs of Sind. Kandhar was occupied in April and Ghazni was occupied in July. In August 1839, Dost Mohammad left Kabul and soon after Shah Shuja entered the same. However, there was no enthusiasm among the people. According to Kaye, "It was more like a funeral procession than the entry of a king into the capital of his restored dominions." Dost Mohammad surrendered and he was sent to Calcutta as a prisoner.

At this time, many mistakes were committed. Lord Auckland appointed General Elphinstone as the Commander of the army in Kabul although the Commander-in-Chief recommended General Nott. The Bala Hissar was a huge fort where the British troops were stationed previously but that was vacated for the harem of Shah Shuja. This exposed unnecessarily the British troops to the attacks of the Afghans. Shah Shuja also proved himself to be thoroughly unfit to win over the people of Afghanistan. He was most unpopular among the people of his country. The best course would have been to withdraw the troops from the country along with Shah Shuja. Lord Auckland was not prepared to admit his defeat openly. The unsatisfactory state of affairs was allowed to continue.

The people of Afghanistan suffered on account of rise in prices in the necessaries of life. According to Kaye, the double Government which had been established was becoming a curse to the whole nation.

There took place a revolt in Kabul. The mob took the law into its own hands and attacked and murdered Burnes. In spite of this, the British officers in Afghanistan did not intervene promptly and energetically. Mohammad Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammad, became the leader of the Afghans. Negotiations were started with him but the Afghans demanded unconditional surrender. As time went on passing, the situation became more and more critical. Macnaughten tried to come to some settlement with Akbar Khan. He failed in his mission on account of his crooked policy. Macnaughten was also murdered by the people. After the ending of the treaty, the British troops began to retire. They were about 16,000 men in all. Most of the persons lost their lives. "The retreat became a rout, the rout a massacre." Excepting 120 persons who were prisoners of war in the hands of Akbar Khan, only one other person called Dr. Brydon reached Jalalabad safe and sound.

When the news of the disaster in Afghanistan reached India and England, there was a demand for the recall of Lord Auckland. He was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough in February 1842. To begin with, he declared that the British Government will not endanger its armies and the Empire for the purpose of supporting the Tripartite treaty. Only that course would be adopted which was dictated by military considerations. The reputation of the British army was to be reestablished by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Afghans. When he got the news of the defeat of General England and the surrender of Ghazni by Palmer, he issued orders for the evacuation of Kabul and Kandhar. Many military officers protested against the orders of Lord Ellenborough. The latter was able to maintain an empty show of consistency and also satisfy the universal demand for the decisive reconquest of Kabul and the recovery of the prisoners as a preliminary to withdrawal.

Pollock won a decisive victory over Akbar Khan near the Pass of Khurd Kabul. He entered Kabul and hoisted the British Flag at the Fort of Bala Hissar. Nott also joined him. In order to avenge the wrongs done to the Englishmen, the British army blew up the great Bazar of Kabul with the help of gunpowder. After that, the British forces left Afghanistan.

In October 1842, Lord Ellenborough made the following declaration: "The Governor-General will willingly recognise any Government approved by the Afghans themselves which shall

appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states. Content with the limits nature appears to have assigned to its Empire, the Government of India will devote all its efforts to the establishment and maintenance of general peace, to the protection of the sovereigns and chiefs, its allies and the prosperity and happiness of its own faithful subjects."

Dost Mohammad was released from Calcutta and allowed to go to Kabul. He remained on the throne of Kabul till 1863.

Criticism of the Afghan War I: The first Afghan War was a complete failure. Although 20,000 lives were sacrificed and 15 million sterling were spent, neither the Government of India nor the British Government gained anything. The same Dost Mohammad was restored to the throne of Kabul after the war. It was felt that there was no alternative to that. The Government of India did not maintain its control on any part of the territory of Afghanistan. The boast of Lord Ellenborough was that the victorious English army brought to India from Ghazni those gates of Somnath which were taken away by Mahmud of Ghazni during the 11th century. He claimed that "the insult of 800 years is at last avenged." According to Kaye, the proclamation "was past all denial. It was a folly too of the most senseless kind for it was calculated to please none and to offend many." While the Hindus did not care for the gates which were found not to be genuine, the feelings of the Muslims of India were injured.

Kaye has made the following observations on the failure of the first Afghan War: "No failure so total and so overwhelming as this is recorded in the pages of history. No lesson so grand and impressive is to be found in all the annals of the world. It is upon record that this calamitous war cost the natives of India whose stewards we are, some 15 millions of money. All this enormous burden fell upon the revenue of India, and the country for along years afterwards groaned under the weight." The British Government failed to have a friendly power on its borders. After enormous waste of money and loss of human blood, the Englishmen left "every town and village of Afghanistan bristling with their enemies."

According to Trotter, the utter collapse of Auckland's "policy baneful, lawless and blundering as it was sprang mainly from the choice of justice ill-fitted for their work. Macnaughten's cheery trustfulness, Elphinstone's bodily and mental decay, Shelton's stupid wilfulness, chronic dissensions between civil and military powers,

Sale's withholding of timely succor, all conspired with Lord Auckland's half-measures and ill-timed economies to work out the dramatic nemesis of an enterprise begun in folly and wrong doing." According to Kaye, the English policy in Afghanistan was unrighteous and "the wisdom of our statesman is but foolishness, and the might of our armies is but weakness, sitting heavily upon an unholy cause."

Critics point out that there was no justification for Lord Auckland to send the British armies in Afghanistan in November 1838. The British objection was to the siege of Herat by the Persians aided by the Russians. However, the siege was raised in September 1838. After the withdrawal of the Persian troops from Herat, there was absolutely no justification for British intervention in Afghanistan.

It is also pointed out that as an independent ruler of Afghan, Dost Mohammad had every right to enter into an alliance with Russia. The British Government had no right to protest against it. Moreover, the Russian agent was recalled from Kabul under pressure from the British Government. When all this was accomplished before the beginning of war, Lord Auckland must explain as to why he started it.

We have it on the authority of Alexander Burnes and others that Dost Mohammad was a capable ruler. Shah Shuja did not stand in comparison with him. It was folly on the part of Lord Auckland to decide to put Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul in place of Dost Mohammad.

According to Kaye, Lord Auckland sent his troops to Afghanistan "in defiance of every consideration of political and military expediency; and there were those who, arguing the matter on higher grounds than those of mere expediency, pronounced the certainty of its failure because there was a canker of injustice at the core. It was, indeed, an experiment on the forbearance alike of God and of man; and therefore, though it might dawn in success it was sure to set in failure and disgrace. Great men like Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, Sir Charles Metcalfe and others predicted the failure of the policy of Lord Auckland." According to the Duke of Wellington, "The consequence of crossing the Indus, once to settle a Government in Afghanistan, will be perennial march into that country." According to Innes, the first Afghan War was probably "the most unqualified blunder committed in the whole history of the British in India."

According to Dr. V.A. Smith, "Lord Auckland had not the

sense to see the truth and was led away by ill-chosen and unwise advisers to break treaties only 6 years' old, to bully the weak ; to pursue a fantastic policy ; to persist in that policy when the reasons for it, such as they were, had ceased to exist ; to violate the principle of strategy ; to throw thousands of lives by entrusting them to an incapable commander ; and finally at last to acquiesce silently in the garbling of the documents submitted for the information of Parliament."

It is pointed out that the British Government had no right to pass their troops through Sind. Not only the British troops passed through Sind, that territory was also made the base of operations. It was this act which facilitated the annexation of Sind in the time of Lord Ellenborough.

John Lawrence's policy of masterly inactivity : The Government of India maintained friendly relations with Dost Mohammad from the time of his restoration to that of his death in 1863. When he died, he left 16 children and as usual, a war of succession started among them and there was anarchy in the country. Sher Ali had been chosen by Dost Mohammad as his successor and he asked the Government of India to help him against the other rivals, particularly Mohammad Afzal and Mohammad Azim Khan. It is true that Lawrence recognised Sher Ali as the ruler of Kabul, but he refused to meddle with the internal affairs of his Afghan neighbours. Lawrence remembered how earnestly in 1857 Dost Mohammad had requested him never to take part in the strife which would certainly break out among his sons, and let them fight it out by themselves and then acknowledge the winner as king.

The sympathies of the Viceroy were with Sher Ali, but to support him with arms and money would have been a costly and perilous mistake. It would have turned against Sher Ali the bulk of his best followers. It would have drawn the British into entanglements fatal to the financial well-being of India. It would have given Russia a decent pretext for meddling into Afghan affairs. John Lawrence knew the Afghans better than most men and better indeed than any Englishman of his day. He saw that strict neutrality was the best way to secure the confidence and goodwill of the Afghan nation. He respected the treaty of 1855 which bound the Englishmen to respect the Afghan territories and never to interfere into them. Lawrence rebuked his Vakil at Kabul for making overtures of friendship with Azim Khan. When Afzal Khan became

the master of Kabul, Lawrence refused to acknowledge him as a ruler of Herat and Kandhar. Lawrence wrote thus to Afzal Khan: "If your Highness is able to consolidate your Highness's power in Kabul, and is sincerely desirous of being a friend and ally of the British Government, I shall be ready to accept your Highness as such; but I cannot break the existing engagements with Amir Sher Ali Khan."

In his letters to the Home Government, Lawrence wrote again and again that he was determined to follow the policy explained above. His policy was that of "friendship towards the actual rulers, combined with rigid absentment from interference in domestic feuds. By this means, we shall be enabled to maintain our influence in Afghanistan far more effectually than by any advance of our troops—a contingency which could only be contemplated in the last resort, which would unite as one man the Afghan tribes against us, and which would paralyse our finances."

The fortunes of Sher Ali changed by 1868. Afzal Khan died in 1867 and Azim Khan his successor, became a fugitive. In the eyes of the people of Afghanistan, Sher Ali became the rightful sovereign on account of his victories. Lawrence also changed his attitude towards him. He not only congratulated him on his victory, but also offered to help him to maintain the bonds of amity and goodwill. As far as possible, those bonds were also to be strengthened. A large number of muskets were handed over to Sher Ali. Lawrence informed Sher Ali that another sum of Rs. 6 lacs would be offered to him as a token of the British desire to see "a strong, a just, and a merciful Government established throughout Afghanistan." Lawrence merely wanted "abiding confidence, sincerity and goodwill." Lawrence also secured the permission of the Home Government to meet Sher Ali in person. However, Sher Ali and Lawrence could not meet as the latter left India a few months earlier than the arrival of the former in India.

According to Lawrence, "the Afghan is courageous, hardy, and independent, the country he lives in is strong and sterile in a remarkable degree, extraordinarily adapted for guerilla warfare; these people will never cease to resist so long as they have a hope of success, and, when beaten down they have that kind of elasticity which will ever lead them to renew the struggle whenever opportunity of so doing may occur. If we enter Afghanistan, whether it be to punish the people for the alleged faults of their chiefs or to rectify

our frontier, they will assuredly do all in their power to resist us. We want them as friends and not as enemies,. In the latter category, they are extremely dangerous to us." Again "So far as diplomacy and diplomacy alone is concerned, we should do all in our power to induce the Afghan to side with us. We ought not, in my mind, to make an offensive and defensive treaty with them—this has been for many years their desire; but the argument against it is that if we made such a treaty, we should be bound to restrain them from any attacks on their neighbours and to prevent such assaults on them, while it would be next to impossible for us to ascertain the merits of such complaints. We should thus constantly find ourselves in a position to please neither party and even bound to defend causes in which the Afghans were to blame."

Under the strong sway of Lawrence, the Firebrand Party had no chances of success. They might cry aloud, but no heed was given to them. Some of these important persons were Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Henry Rawlinson. Lawrence put aside all proposals for a forward policy in Kilat of Afghanistan as useless for the purpose of counter-acting Russia and dangerous to the well-being of India herself. With the strongest natural frontier in the world, bordered by deserts and rugged hills, with the Sea at Bombay and Karachi for bases, with a powerful army well-equipped in every way and ready to move by rail or road to any place, with a people well-governed, lightly taxed and generally contented, Lawrence knew that the Englishmen could afford to wait before the danger appeared from the North-West.

As regards the advance to Quetta, Lawrence regarded it as a gross military blunder no less than a wanton menace to Afghanistan. When the Russians occupied Bokhara and other places in Central Asia, Lawrence kept his head cool and refused to find any danger in the latest advance of Russia. His view was that the true danger to the British rule in India lay nowhere across the frontier, but in India itself. According to him, a Russian invasion of India was not more likely and a good deal less feasible than a French invasion of England.

In January 1869, Lawrence wrote thus : "We object to any active interference in the affairs of Afghanistan by the deputation of a high British officer with or without a contingent, or by the forcible or amicable occupation of any post or tract in that country beyond our own frontier, inasmuch as we think such a measure would, under

present circumstances, engender irritation, defiance, and hatred in the minds of the Afghans, without in the least strengthening our power either for attack or defence. We think it impolitic and unwise to decrease any of the difficulties which would be entailed on Russia, if that power seriously thought of invading India as we should certainly decrease them if we left our own frontier and met her half-way in a different country, and possibly in the midst of a hostile or exasperated population. We foresee no limits to the extent which such a move might require, and we protest against the necessity of having to impose additional taxation on the people of India, who are unwilling, as it is, to bear such pressure for measures which they can both understand and appreciate. And we think that the objects which we have at heart may be attained by an attitude of readiness and firmness on our frontier, and by giving her all our care and expanding all our resources for the attainment of practical and sound ends, over which we can exercise an effective and immediate control."

Lawrence also made suggestions for the adoption of certain positive measures for the defence of the British Empire in India. He advocated a careful husbanding of all those resources, both moral and material, which would enable the Englishmen to meet in storm from within or without. He was also in favour of arriving at a clear and friendly understanding with Russia for the purpose of counter-acting rumours and preventing the unnecessary alarms. He wanted the Russian Government to be told in firm but courteous language that it must not interfere into the affairs of Afghanistan or any other state on the frontier of India.

Lawrence was thoroughly convinced that the Afghans will be enemies of those who interfered and the friends of those who would not interfere except when they were attacked by an outsider. If such a policy were followed, the Afghans would offer a deadly opposition to a Russian advance. They might be tempted to join the Russians on the promise of sharing in the plunder of India. He believed the Afghans to be unwilling recipients of Russian messages. He would remonstrate directly with Russia himself and would like her to see that behind the remonstrances were iron clads and battalions.

If the general war were to break out and if Russia not having been stopped by British counter-operations in Europe, were to advance towards India, then on no account would he meet her in Afghanistan. That would be tantamount to wasting their resources

in men and playing into the hands of the enemy. The Afghans would be bitterly hostile to such advance even though cowed with momentary submission. In that case, he would help them with money and material and not men. Thus strengthened, they might hamper movements or retard the advance of the Russians. If the God of battles steels the hearts of British soldiers, the Russian invasion is to be repelled decisively. Such was the substance of Lawrence's Afghan policy. His policy was once described by a friendly writer in the *Edinburgh Review* as that of "masterly inactivity." This expression has both truth and untruth in it.

As regards the Russo-Afghan question, Lawrence wrote thus in January 1869: "Should a foreign power, such as Russia, ever seriously think of invading India from without, or what is more probable of stirring up the elements of disaffection or anarchy within it, our true policy, our strongest security, would then, we conceive, be found to lie in previous absence from entanglements at either Kabul, Kandhar, or any similar outpost; in full reliance on a compact, highly equipped and disciplined army stationed within our own territories, or on our own border; in the contentment, if not in the attachment of the masses; in the contentment, if not in the sense of security of title of possession, with which our whole policy is gradually imbuing the minds of the principal chiefs and the native aristocracy; in the contruction of material works within British India which enhance the comfort of the people while they add to our political and military strength; in husbanding our finances and consolidating and multiplying our resources, in quiet preparation for all contingencies which no honest Indian statesman should disregard."

The question as to when it is right or prudent to recognize a de facto Government must depend upon the circumstances of each case. Moral recognition with a denial of material support can be of little value in the contest for a throne like that of Afghanistan. British recognition of Sher Ali did not prevent him from losing his kingdom. Although the Government of India recognised Azim Khan, that could not keep him on the throne of Kabul. To have intervened with material help, to maintain upon the throne a ruler not acknowledged by his people, was a dangerous policy forbidden by the provisions of the existing treaties.

It is to be noted that Lawrence's policy towards Afghanistan was continued by his successors like Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook. When the same was reversed by Lord Lytton, disastrous

consequences followed. Lord Mayo wrote to Lawrence in these words: "I believe that when you sent Sher Ali the money and arms last December, you laid the foundation of a policy which will be of the greatest use to us hereafter. I wish to continue it." Lord Northbrook preferred to resign rather than follow a different policy towards Afghanistan.

Lord Mayo (1869-72): It has already been pointed out that Sir John Lawrence had got the permission of the home Government to have a meeting with Sher Ali. However, he could not meet the Amir because he left India earlier than the Amir could manage to visit this country. The meeting planned by Lawrence took place at Ambala in March 1869 when Sher Ali and Lord Mayo met together. At the meeting, Sher Ali asked for a definite treaty between the countries. He asked for a fixed annual subsidy, assistance in arms, recognition of his younger son, Abdulla Jan, as heir to the throne in place of Yakub Khan and an assurance that the British Government would support him and his family on the Kabul throne. Lord Mayo found that it was not possible for him to oblige the Amir. He was determined to adhere to the policy of Lawrence regarding Afghanistan. Lord Mayo made it clear to Sher Ali that "under no circumstances would a British soldier ever cross his frontier to assist him in coercing his rebellious subjects; that no European officers would be placed as residents in his cities; that no fixed subsidy or money allowance would be given for any named period; that no treaty would be entered into obliging us under any circumstance to recognise him and his descendants rulers of Afghanistan." However, Lord Mayo promised to render Sher Ali "all the moral support in his power, to supply him at need with money, arms, ammunition and native workmen, and to correspond freely with him through the Commissioner of Peshawar and our native agents in Afghanistan." On his part, Sher Ali undertook to do that he could do to comply with the wishes of the British Government on matters connected with trade. In spite of this, Sher Ali returned to Kabul with the conviction that he had nothing to fear and much to gain from the moral support of his English friends.

Lord Northbrook (1872-76): It has been rightly pointed out that the Afghan policy of Lord Northbrook was more masterly than that of Lawrence. In March 1874, Disraeli became the Prime Minister of England and Salisbury became the Secretary of State for India. Both were in favour of having a British resident at Kabul.

Lord Northbrook preferred to resign than submit to that. Lord Northbrook also maintained friendly relations with the Amir. He asked the permission of the Secretary of State for India to give help to Sher Ali in the form of money and war-materials.

Lord Lytton: When Lord Lytton was sent to India by the Conservative Government at home, he brought instructions for a more definite, equilateral and practical alliance with Sher Ali. He was given the authority to offer the Amir most of the terms he had asked for before. His younger son was to be recognised. Lytton was also allowed to give a written pledge by way of treaty or otherwise of British support in case of a foreign aggression. However, those terms were to be granted to Sher Ali only if he agreed to keep a British resident at Herat.

The Amir was asked to receive a mission which was to announce the title of "Empress of India." Sher Ali refused to do so. Moreover, Sher Ali could not give any assurance.

Lytton held the view that between Great Britain and Russia, Afghanistan was like "an earthen pipkin between two iron pots." If the Amir remained a friend of Great Britain, the military strength of the latter "could be spread around him as a ring of iron, and if he became our enemy, it could break him as a reed." Lord Lytton was also in favour of disintegration of Afghanistan so that that country may never become a strong power.

Disraeli was a great imperialist and Lord Lytton carried out his policy with regard to Afghanistan.

In June 1878 when the Congress of Berlin met, General Stoletoff started for Kabul. Sher Ali tried to stop him. He appealed and protested but both of them were ignored. The Czar of Russia threatened to make Sher Ali responsible if anything wrong went with the General. Sher Ali had to submit much against his own wishes. He was forced to enter into a treaty with Russia by which he agreed to maintain permanent and perpetual friendship between the two countries. When Lord Lytton came to know of the arrival of a Russian mission in Kabul, he asked Sher Ali to accept a British Envoy also, but Sher Ali refused to accept that demand. Although the Russian Envoy retired from Kabul under orders from his own Government, Lord Lytton failed to take advantage of the change in the situation. Both Lord Lytton and Salisbury insisted that Sher Ali must have a British resident. According to Lord Lytton, "A tool in the hands of Russia I will never allow him to become. Such

a tool it would be my duty to break before it could be used."

If we examine the matter critically, it has to be admitted that Sher Ali was the ruler of an independent country and therefore, he was not bound to accept a British resident. The British Government had no justification to insist on such a course. In spite of all this, Lytton insisted that Sher Ali must receive a British Envoy. The letter of Lord Lytton reached Kabul on 17th August, 1878 when Abdulla Jan died. Sher Ali was so very unhappy that the reply to Lord Lytton's letter was delayed. Moreover, the Amir consulted the Russian Envoy who was at that time in Kabul. All this annoyed Lytton. He sent Sir Neville Chamberlain on a mission to Peshawar but the latter was not allowed to go beyond Ali Masjid. This was too much for the Government of Lord Lytton. An ultimatum was sent to the Amir in November 1878 demanding from him a full and suitable apology and his approval to accept a British Envoy. As no reply came, the British forces were ordered to enter the territory of Afghanistan after the expiry of the ultimatum.

When his country was attacked, Sher Ali asked the Russian Government to help him. Unfortunately, he was betrayed by the Russian Government at that time. Finding himself helpless, Sher Ali ran away and died in February 1879. His son started negotiations with the British Government and concluded the famous Treaty of Gandmak in May 1879. Yakub Khan agreed to conduct his foreign relations with other states in accordance with the advice and wishes of the British Government. He was to accept a permanent resident at Kabul. He was to assign the Kurram Pass to the British Government. On their part, the British Government promised to support him on the throne and also help him with men, money and materials. The British troops were to be withdrawn from Afghanistan. According to P.E. Roberts, this treaty marked the apogee of Lytton's Afghan policy. According to Disraeli, the treaty gave a scientific and adequate frontier to the Government of India. However, this was short-lived.

The people of Afghanistan could not tolerate the presence of a British resident at Kabul and an agent at Herat. Yakub's dependence on the British Government lowered him in the estimation of his countrymen. The new Amir was shifty, unstable and lacking in character. Major Cavagnari was not fit for the job given to him as the British resident. He was not the person who could handle a delicate situation. The result was that within less than a month

and a half of his arrival in Kabul, Major Cavagnari was murdered by the Afghan troops. It is not possible to say as to how much Yukub was implicated in this matter but the murder of Cavagnari ended the treaty of Gandmak. British forces were rushed into Afghanistan. The Afghans were defeated at Charasiab in October 1879. Yakub was sent to India as a state prisoner. The British Government decided to disintegrate Afghanistan.

However, at this stage Abdur Rahman appeared on the scene. He was one of the grandsons of Dost Mohammad, and had lived for many years as a pensioner of the Russian Government. In 1880, he thought of trying his luck and left for Afghanistan. Without wasting any time, Lytton decided to recognise Abdur Rahman as the Amir of Afghanistan, but before he could do that he was called back in 1880 on account of a change of Government at home.

Lord Ripon recognised Abdur Rahman as the Amir of Afghanistan on the condition that he was to have no political relations with any foreign power except England, and that the districts of Pishin and Sibi were to be retained by the British Govt. The Amir was to get an annual subsidy from the Government of India. As the foreign affairs of Afghanistan were to be in the hands of the Government of India, it was not found necessary to insist on establishing a British resident at Kabul. This settlement lasted for a long time. The British Government maintained the happiest relations with Afghanistan throughout the long reign of Abdur Rahman. When Ayyub Khan challenged the authority of Abdur Rahman, he was defeated at Maiwand and Kandhar. British troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan by Lord Ripon.

Criticism of the Second Afghan War : Lord Lytton has been condemned for his policy towards Afghanistan which resulted in the disasters of the Second Afghan War. According to some, it was a war of aggression which failed to achieve its object. According to Lord Hartington, Lytton was "the incarnation and embodiment of an Indian policy which is everything an Indian should not be." Gladstone condemned Lord Lytton's policy in these words: "We made war in error upon Afghanistan in 1838. To err is human and pardonable. But we have erred a second time on the same ground and with no better justification. This error has been repeated in the face of every warning conceivable and imaginable and in the face of an unequalled mass of authorities. It is proverbially said that history repeats itself, and there has rarely been an occasion in which

there has been a nearer approach to identity than in the case of the present and former war. May Heaven avert the omen. May Heaven avert repetition of the calamity which befell our country in 1841."

Although Disraeli and Salisbury supported Lord Lytton in public, they did not approve of his sending of Chamberlain. According to Disraeli, Lytton's policy "is perfectly fitted to a state of affairs in which Russia was our assailant; but Russia is not our assailant. She has sneaked out of her hostile position, with sincerity in my mind but scarcely with dignity, and if Lytton had only been quiet and obeyed my orders, I have no doubt that under the advice of Russia, Sher Ali would have been equally prudent."

According to Lord Salisbury, Lytton forced the hands of the home Government from the very beginning. He thought only of India and dictated the foreign policy of the British Government in Europe and Turkey. He twice disobeyed orders, once in acting on the Khyber Pass and secondly in sending the mission contrary to the most express and repeated orders that he was not to do so till the British Government got an expected dispatch from Russia. Salisbury bitterly complained of the conduct of Lytton. According to Disraeli, Lytton was "told to wait until we had received an answer from Russia to our remonstrance. I was very strong on this, having good reasons for my opinion. He disobeyed us. I was assured by Lord Salisbury that under no circumstances was the Khyber Pass to be attempted. Nothing would have induced me to consent to such a step. He was told to send the mission by Kandhar. He has sent it by the Khyber."

Whatever the criticism of the second Afghan War, it cannot be maintained that the war was absolutely without any result. Sher Ali who was inclined towards Russia was turned out and in his place was seated Abdur Rahman who was friendly inclined towards the Government of India. The influence of Russia at Kabul was checked. The Khan of Kelat came under the control of the British Government. The Province of Baluchistan was created. Quetta also remained in the hands of the British Government.

In 1884, the Russians occupied Merv. This was not liked by the British Government. In March 1885, there took place the famous *Panjdeh incident*. There was a clash between Russian and Afghan troops. There was an immediate danger of a war. However, the situation was saved by the efforts of Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of

India. Abdur Rahman also behaved in a restrained manner. To begin with, Gladstone described the Russian attack on Panjdeh as an unprovoked aggression. He called for the reserves and ordered military preparations. However, he agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of King of Denmark. The result was that the war was averted. The Russians retained Panjdeh but Amir Abdur Rahman got Sul Faqir Pass. The boundary line between Russia and Afghanistan was settled later on and ratified in July 1887.

In 1901, Abdur Rahman died and he was succeeded by Habib Ullah. For some time, the relations between the Government of India and the new Amir were not cordial. However, in March 1905, the misunderstanding was removed and the Amir began to draw his subsidy. The Amir was suspected of leanings towards Russia. In 1907 was made the famous Anglo-Russian Convention. Russia recognised that Afghanistan was not within the sphere of her influence. Russia also agreed to conduct her relations with Afghanistan through the Government of India. However, these provisions were not ratified by the Amir. In 1910, Habib Ullah was murdered. His people did not approve of his policy in westernizing his countrymen.

His son Aman Ullah was not friendly inclined towards the British Government. This led to the third Afghan War. Aman Ullah entered the British territory and his troops began to destroy whatever came in their way. Although there were defeats in the beginning, the Indian army succeeded in beating back the invaders. The treaty of Rawalpindi ended the third Afghan War. This treaty was signed in August 1919. Another treaty was made in November 1921. The net result of these two treaties was that Afghanistan became completely free in her foreign affairs. The British Government was not to pay any subsidy to Afghanistan. In 1922, an Afghan Minister was appointed in London and a British Minister at Kabul.

The people of Afghanistan resented the reforms of Aman Ullah and consequently he was forced to abdicate. Power fell into the hands of Bachha Sakka for some time. However, order was restored by Mohd. Nadir Shah who became the King of Afghanistan. The Government of India did not interfere into the internal affairs of Afghanistan whenever there was trouble in that country.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE INDIAN STATES

Sir William Lee-Warner, in his famous book called "The Native States of India", pointed out 'three epochs in British relations with the Indian states till the introduction of the Reforms in 1919. During the first period, the English East India Company followed the "policy of the ring-fence" and this period lasted from 1757 to 1813. The second period lasted from 1813 to 1857 and was called by him by the name of "Subordinate Isolation." The third period extended from 1858 to 1919 and was designated by him as the period of "Subordinate Union."

(1) **Ring-Fence policy (1757-1813):** According to Lee-Warner, during this period "the British endeavoured as far as possible to live within a Ring-Fence, and beyond that they avoided intercourse with the chiefs." The English East India Company at that time was not very strong. It was not in a position to interfere into the internal affairs of the Indian States. The Company had neither the strength nor the resources to defeat the Indian States. It was only one of the important Powers in India. The other powers were the Marathas, the French, the Nizam, and the Sultan of Mysore. The result of this situation was that whenever the Company entered into any treaty with an Indian State, it did so on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

On the whole, the Company followed a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the States. It was also laid down in the Pitt's India Act of 1784 that the Home Government did not approve of the intervention of her officers in India into the internal affairs of the Indian States. However, it cannot be denied that on certain occasions the Company had to interfere in the affairs of the Indian States. Thus, Warren Hastings fought the first Maratha War and the Second Mysore War. Likewise, Lord Cornwallis fought the third Mysore War and annexed half of its territory. Lord Wellesley had to fight the fourth Mysore War, and the second Maratha War. He also made Hyderabad and Oudh enter into subsidiary alliances with the Company. Lord Minto made the treaty of Amritsar in 1809 with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and granted protection to the

Cis-Sutlej States whose very existence was being threatened by Ranjit Singh.

About this period, Lee Warner says: "When the events of these 56 busy years are called to mind, the palpable anxiety of the Company to end both annexation and alliances stands out in the clearest relief. There is the battle of Buxar in 1764 when Oudh lay at the feet of Major Munro, but was not annexed; the Rohilla War after which Warren Hastings conquered and conferred territories on the Wazir of Oudh; the first Maratha War which closed in the restitution of Bassein and the restoration of the status-quo by the treaty of Salbai (1782); and finally four Mysore Wars.....from which the Allies of the British derived the main advantage whilst the former Hindu dynasty of Mysore was gratuitously raised from the ashes of Hyder Ali's and Tippo's dominions."

About this period, Pannikar points out two things in particular regarding the relations of the English Company with the Indian States. In the first place, "all the treaties, except that with Mysore, are negotiated on a basis of equality. The Company did not claim any paramountcy or imperial authority and the treaties themselves merely show that at least in the case of those states which were not conquered, there was a spirit of reciprocity." Secondly, "each of these treaties guarantees in a most solemn manner the absolute authority of the ruler over his subjects and most unequivocally repudiate any claim to intervene in the affairs of the state." (The Evolution British Policy towards Indian States, 1774-1858).

(2) The policy of subordinate isolation (1813-1858): During this period, the Company made all the Indian States subordinate to itself by making them enter into subsidiary alliances with itself. The Indian States were made to accept the Company as the paramount power in the country. They were to give either money or enough of territory so that the Company may be able to keep a contingent force either in the State itself or outside the state for its protection. The State joining the subsidiary alliance had to turn out all the non-English and European employees from its service. It was not to conduct any foreign relations except through the British Government. In all its disputes with other powers, the States was to recognise British Government as the arbitrator. The British Government, in return for the above, was to guarantee the territorial integrity of the State.

Writing about the subsidiary system, Sir Thomas Munro remarked that "it is the natural tendency to render the Government of every country in which it exists weak and oppressive, to extinguish all honourable spirits among the higher grades of society, to degrade and impoverish the whole people." The London Times wrote thus in 1853: "It has been said that we give these Princes without responsibility. Our hand of iron maintains them on the throne despite their imbecility, their vices and their crimes. The result is chronic anarchy under which the revenues of the court are dissipated between mercenaries of the camp and the minions of the court. The theory seems in fact admitted that the Government is not for the people, but the people for the King and that so long as we secure the King his sinecure royalty, we discharge all the duty that we as sovereigns of India owe to his subjects who are virtually ours."

Lord Hastings brought into the subsidiary system 145 States in Central India, 145 States in Kathiawar and 20 in Rajputana. He enunciated a policy of complete subordination and isolation, but he was against the annexation of the Indian States. His successors did not share his views and annexed Sind, the Punjab, Oudh and other minor States. The opinion of Lord Dalhousie was that Lord Hastings was wrong in propping up minor principalities and the only way of preventing mis-rule in the States was to annex them. He evolved the theory of constructive feudalism and enunciated the doctrine of lapse and escheat by which he annexed Satara, Nagpur, Tanjore, Jaitpur and Jhansi.

The doctrine of lapse implied that on the failure of the natural heirs, the sovereignty of the independent States, of those created by the British Government or held on a subordinate tenure, lapsed to the Paramount Power. The British Government did not acknowledge the right of those States to adopt heirs, although such a practice had existed for a long time. However, the doctrine of lapse did not apply to "protected allies." Referring to the abuses in the administration of some of the Indian States, Lord Dalhousie declared that "the British Government in the exercise of a wise and sound policy is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves; whether they arise from the lapse of subordinate States by the failure of all heirs of every description whatsoever, or from the failure of heirs natural where succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption, accor-

ding to Hindu law. The Government is bound, in duty as well as in policy, to act on every such occasion with the purest integrity, and in the most scrupulous observance of good faith. Whenever even a shadow of doubt can be shown, the claim should atonce be abandoned."

According to Principal G.N. Singh, the two policies of annexation and subsidiary alliances must share the blame to a large extent for the Mutiny of 1857.

Regarding the second period, Colonel Luard says: "This period is by far the most important in the history of the relationship of the States to the British Government. It witnessed their metamorphosis from a congeries of quasi-independent units, some openly hostile, most at heart antagonistic, and all doubtful and resentful...step by step sorely against its will the Company had been driven by inexorable fate, to abandon its policy of Ring-Fence and non-interference, and so pass through the system of subordinate alliance to the wise and generous policy of cooperative partnership which holds at the present day." (Cambridge History of India, Vol. V).

(3) Policy of subordinate union: The Mutiny was a turning point in the history of the relations of the Government of India with the Indian States. It was admitted on all hands that one of the important causes of the Mutiny was Dalhousie's policy of wholesale annexation of the Indian States on one pretext or the other. In order to remedy the state of affairs, it was considered necessary to make a change in the policy of the Government of India with regard to the Indian States. Consequently, it was declared in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 that the British Government in future will not annex the Indian States. "We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look forward the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions. We shall accept the Rights, Dignity and Honour of the Native Princes as our own." The Indian rulers were to be given the right of adoption in case they had no son to succeed them. No State was to be annexed on the ground that the ruler had no son. The Indian States were to be given Sanads and we are told that 160 Sanads were issued to the Indian rulers. They were assured that no harm will be done to them "so long as your

House is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants and engagements which record its application to the British Government." But before granting Sanads, Lord Canning made it clear that the Sanads "will not debar the Government of India from stepping in to set right such serious abuses in a native Government as may threaten any part of the country with anarchy or disturbance, nor from assuming temporary charge of a native State when there will be sufficient reason to do so. . . Neither will this assurance diminish our right to visit a State with the highest penalties, even confiscation, in the event of disloyalty or flagrant breach of engagement." In the words of Prof. Dodwell, "The significance of these Sanads was that the States were to be perpetuated as an integral part of the Indian system. They were no longer mere transitory Governments awaiting political chances which would permit and justify their gradual extinction. The princes were no longer looked upon as rulers driven by force into an unequal alliance. They had become members of the Empire, and the new position was accepted not unwillingly." (Cambridge History of India, Vol VI). It was declared that the treaties which had been made by the Company with the Indian States were to continue.

The Mutiny had embittered the relations of the Government of India with the people of India. The Britishers were not prepared to forget the cold-blooded murders of the Europeans during the Mutiny days and the same was equally true of the Indians. Under the circumstances, the British Government in India looked to some allies in the country against the people of India. This they could find among the Indian princes. No wonder, the old policy of jealousy and suspicion against the Indian States was given up. Instead of keeping them separate, the British Government tried to bring them together. But this does not mean that the Indian States were given more independence of action than they enjoyed before. It is to be noted that on many occasions the British Government made declarations of their paramountcy over the Indian States.

British Paramountcy in India: Lord Canning declared in 1858: "The Crown of England stands forth the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in all India. There is a reality in the suzerainty of England which has never existed before and which is not felt but eagerly acknowledged by the chiefs." Similar statements were made by Lord Mayo, Lord Lytton, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Minto and Lord Reading. In 1909, Lord Minto said: "Our

policy is with rare exceptions one of non-interference in the internal affairs of native States. But in guaranteeing their internal independence and in undertaking their protection against external aggression, it naturally follows that the Imperial Council had assumed a certain degree of responsibility for the general soundness of their administration and would not consent to incur the reproach of being indirect instrument of mis-rule. There are also certain matters in which it is necessary for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole as well as those of the Paramount Power, such as railways, telegraphs and other services of an imperial character. But the relationship of the Supreme Government to the States is one of suzerainty."

Lord Reading wrote thus to the Nizam of Hyderabad in March 1926: "The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India and therefore no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only on treaties and engagements but exists independently of them and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign power and policies. It is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order. I remind your Exalted Highness that the ruler of Hyderabad along with other rulers received in 1868 a Sanad declaratory of the British Government's desire for perpetuation of His House and Government subject to the continued loyalty to the Crown; and no succession to the Masnad of Hyderabad is valid unless it is recognised by His Majesty King Emperor; and that the British Government is the only arbitrator in a disputed succession... The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramountcy of this responsibility."

The Gazette Notification No. 1700-E, dated August 21, 1891 described the position of the Indian States in these words: "The principles of international law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen Empress on the one hand and the Native States under the sovereignty of Her Majesty on the other. The Paramount Supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the other." A Resolution of the Government of the year 1920 ran thus: "When in the opinion of the Governor-General, the question arises of depriving a ruler

of an important State temporarily or permanently of any of the rights, dignities, powers or privileges to which he, as a rule, is entitled, or debarring a successor, heir apparent or any other member of the family of such a ruler who according to law and custom of his State is entitled to succeed, the Governor-General will appoint a Commission of enquiry to investigate the facts of the case and offer advice unless such ruler desires that a Commission shall not be appointed. In case the ruler did not agree to the appointment of a Commission, his fate was doomed."

Regarding the nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States, the Butler Committee stated that that was "a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, which is the mixture of history, theory and modern fact." An official announcement of 1877 stated that "Paramountcy is a thing of gradual growth... shaped partly by conquest, partly by treaty and partly by usage..."

The Government of India emphasized their supremacy on many other occasions. In 1876, Queen Victoria assumed the title of Kaiser-i-Hind after the death of the last Mogul Emperor, Bahadur Shah. On this occasion, Lord Lytton held a Durbar at Delhi and the rulers of all the Indian States were made to attend this Durbar. It is stated that the rulers of the big States protested against the lowering of their status and dignity but they were made to swear a perpetual allegiance to the British Crown and forego their claim to be treated according to the treaties and engagements entered into by them with the Company.

It is to be noted that the British Government emphasized the subordinate position of the Indian States, although the latter were guaranteed their perpetual existence. During this period, the Governor-General-in-Council through the Political Department of the Government of India, exercised complete control over the Indian States. As a matter of fact, the Indian princes had absolutely no independence of action. They were under the control of the Residents. The resident watched the British interests in the State and offered friendly advice to the prince. He acted as the channel of communication between the State and the Paramount Power. As a matter of fact, he was the real ruler and the master of the prince. According to Panikkar, "All those who have direct experience of Indian States know that the whisper of the regency is the thunder of the State and there is no matter on which the resident does not feel qualified to give

his advice." His advice was usually an order or a command.

The British Government claimed the right to control the use and grant of all titles, honours, salutes and matters of precedent. The ruler could not accept foreign titles without the consent of the British Government. He could not confer any titles. The number of salutes to which a prince was entitled was fixed by the British Government.

The Paramount Power asserted and exercised the right of deposing princes or forcing them to abdicate in certain circumstances as in the case of Baroda and Manipur. It is desirable to say a few words about these two cases.

Baroda case: In the case of Baroda, on the death of his brother in 1870, Mulhar Rao Gaikwar succeeded to the throne of Baroda. The administration of the State deteriorated. In 1874, the Government of India appointed a Commission of Enquiry to investigate into the matter and suggest reforms. The ruler protested. The reply of the Government of India was given in these words: "Misrule on the part of a Government which is upheld by the British Power is misrule in the responsibility for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved. It becomes therefore not only the right but the positive duty of the British Government to see that the administration of a State in such a condition is reformed and that gross abuses are removed." The Commission came to the conclusion that there were many abuses in the administration of the country. The Government of India gave a warning to the ruler to introduce certain reforms within 18 months, failing which he will be removed from his throne. At this time, the Viceroy got the information that the ruler had tried to poison the Resident. The result was that the ruler was arrested and suspended. He was tried by a Commission, but there was no unanimous decision. In spite of this, the Government of India deposed him. Another young member of Gaikwar family was put on the throne.

Manipur case: In the case of Manipur (1891), the Raja of Manipur was driven out of his State by a rebellion whose leader was his brother called Senapati. The Yuvraj was absent from the State, but soon returned and took charge of the Government. The Government of India was not willing to restore the Raja of Manipur as he appeared to be unfit for ruling.

While the Government of India recognised the succession of the Yuvraj, it wanted to remove the Senapati from the State. For that purpose, the Chief Commissioner of Assam went to Manipur, but was

captured and beheaded. This could not be tolerated by the Government of India. Armies were rushed into the State. The Yuvraj and the Senapati were arrested, tried for murder and rebellion and executed. The Government of India declared in 1891 that "every succession must be recognised by the British Government and no succession is valid until recognition has been given." The following principles were laid down in the Manipur case:—

- (1) The Government of India have the undoubted right to settle the succession and intervene in the case of rebellion against the chief.
- (2) Principles of international law would not apply to the Indian States.
- (3) Resistance to the Imperial orders constitutes rebellion.
- (4) The Paramount Power has the right to inflict punishments on those who put to death its agents while discharging their lawful duties imposed on them.

The rulers were required to pay Succession Duties which could be exempted by the British Government only on special grounds. The subjects of the Indian States had to apply to the Government of India for passports to go out of India. On account of double allegiance, it was provided that in the case of a conflict, the allegiance to the Crown was to prevail.

The Government of India had complete control over the issue of all licenses for arms and ammunitions. The case of Patiala shows the helplessness of the States. In 1926, the Government of Patiala requested the Government of India to allow the issue of 25 pistols. The reply was that the State authorities should explain as to why they wanted 25 pistols more when they already had 48.

The appointments of the Diwans, the chief ministers and other important officers of the States had to be approved of by the British Government of the Political Department of the Government of India.

The British Government exercised the right of establishing Regencies whenever the prince was a minor or the ruler of a State was temporarily suspended or permanently separated from the State.

The British Government asserted the right of wardship over minor princes including the right to control their education. Lord Curzon insisted that it was the duty of the British Government to satisfy itself "that the young chief has received the education and training that will qualify him to rule before he is invested with powers to govern the state."

Important legislation in the State required the previous sanction of the Government of India. At the time of a regency, the Paramount Power got many rights and concessions. It was during this period that new precedents were established. States were deprived of the right of having their own coins. Such a thing was done in the case of Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, Alwar, Jaipur, etc. But this was resented to by the Indian princes.

The Paramount Power had also the right to entertain petitions from the subjects of the Indian States against the State administration. Usually, the Paramount Power interfered only when the things reached a critical stage.

The rulers were not allowed to deal directly with any foreign State or with the subjects of any foreign state. They could not receive consular agents in their territories. They could not employ Europeans without the consent of the British Government. All foreign interests of the State were secured through the Government of India.

From the time of the taking over of the Government of India by the Crown, efforts had been made to win over the Indian princes and associate them with the Government in the country. In 1861, the Maharaja of Patiala was nominated a member of the Indian Legislative Council. Lord Lytton proposed to establish an Indian Privy Council consisting of the big Indian princes to help the Government. Lord Curzon proposed the formation of a "Council of ruling princes." Lord Minto proposed to establish an Imperial Advisory Council. Lord Hardinge summoned a conference of the princes to consider the question of higher education in the States. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report proposed the creation of a permanent "Council of Princes."

Chamber of Princes : Soon after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, the announcement was made by the British Government for the establishment of the Chamber of Princes. This Chamber was inaugurated in 1921. It consisted of 120 members in all. Out of these, 12 members represented 127 states. The remaining 108 were members in their own right. 327 States were given no representation at all. Some of the most important of the Indian rulers never joined the deliberations of the Chamber. Ordinarily, the Chamber of Princes met once a year and was presided over by the Viceroy. The Chamber elected its own Chancellor who presided over the meetings in the absence of the Viceroy. The Chancellor was the President of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes. The Standing

Committee met twice or thrice a year at Delhi to discuss the important questions facing the Indian States. Every year the Standing Committee submitted its report to the Chamber of Princes. The princes also had informal conference among themselves when they went to Delhi to attend the session.

The Chamber of Princes was a deliberative, consultative and advisory body. Its importance has been stated by the Simon Commission Report in these words: "The establishment of the Chamber of Princes marks an important stage in the development of relations between the Crown and the States, for it involves a definite breach in an earlier policy, according to which it was rather the aim of the Crown to discourage joint action and joint consultation between the Indian States and to treat each State as an isolated unit apart from its neighbours. That principle, indeed, has already been giving place to the idea of conference and cooperation amongst the ruling princes of India, but this latter conception was not embodied in permanent shape until the Chamber of Princes was established. The Chamber has enabled thorough interchange of views to take place on weighty matters concerning relationship of the State with the Crown and concerning other points of contact with British India."

Butler Committee: In 1927 was appointed the Butler Committee to inquire into the relationship between the Government of India and the Indian States and to make the necessary recommendations for their satisfactory adjustment. The following were the recommendations of the Butler Committee:—

(1) Viceroy and not the Governor-General-in-Council should be the agent of the Crown in dealing with the States.

(2) The relations between the Crown and the princes should not be transferred without the agreement of the princes to a new Government in British India responsible to the legislature.

(3) The scheme regarding the creation of a States Council should be rejected.

(4) Intervention in the administration of a State should be left to the decision of the Viceroy.

(5) Special Committees should be appointed to inquire into disputes that may arise between the States and British India.

(6) A Committee should be appointed to enquire into the financial relations between the Indian States and British India.

(7) There should be separate recruitment and training of political officers drawn from the Universities of England.

The recommendation of the Butler Committee were criticized by Indians from all walks of life. According to Chintamani, "The Butler Committee was bad in its origin, bad in the time chosen for its appointment, bad in its terms of reference, bad in its personnel and bad in its line of inquiry, while its report is bad in reasoning and bad in its conclusions." According to Sir M. Visvesvaraya, in the Butler Committee Report, "there is no hint of a future for the Indian States' people. Their proposals are unsympathetic, unhistorical, hardly constitutional or legal... There is no modern conception in their outlook. Certainly nothing to inspire, trust or hope."

The authors of the Butler Committee Report enunciated the theory of direct relationship between the Indian States and the British Crown. It was contended that the relationship of the Indian States was not with the Government of India but with the British Crown. This theory was put forward with a view to set up a "Chinese Wall" between British India and Indian States. As a matter of fact, the theory of direct relationship was being gradually evolved from 1917 when the famous August Declaration was made to give India responsible Government by stages. Its first sign was to be seen in the transfer of the relationship of Indian States from the provinces to the Central Government. In an inspired letter, the Maharaja of Indore wrote that "His Highness's treaty relations are with the British Government maintained in India by His Excellency the Viceroy as a representative of His Majesty the King Emperor." With "autonomous Government, British India can but occupy with regard to Indore the position of a sister state like Gwalior or Hyderabad each absolutely independent of the other and having His Majesty's Government as the connecting link between the two." The theory of direct relationship was also advocated by Dr. A.B. Keith and Sir Leslie Scott. According to Dr. Keith, "it is important to note that the relations of the Indian States, however, conducted, are essentially relations with the Crown and not with the Indian Government and that this fact presents an essential complication as regards the establishment of responsible Government in India. It is clear that it is not possible for the Crown to transfer its rights under a treaty without the assent of the Native States to the Government of India under responsible Government."

Sir Leslie Scott was an eminent lawyer and he was engaged by the Standing Committee of Princes to represent them before the Butler Committee. In an article contributed to the *Law Quarterly Review*,

Sir Leslie laid down five propositions, some of which may be accepted as true, others palpably false and advanced to perpetuate British stranglehold on India and to keep the states out of a united constitution for ever. Two of his theses were that the contracts or treaties between the princes and the Crown were between two sovereigns and not between the Company and the Government of British India, and that the princes in making those contracts or treaties gave their confidence to the British Crown and the Crown could not assign the contracts or treaties to any concerned party. The British Government as paramount power, had undertaken the defence of all states and to remain in India with whatever military and naval forces may be requisite to enable it to discharge that obligation. The British Government could not hand over those forces to any other Government, to a foreign power such as France or Japan, or even to British India. The Indian princes were very much pleased with this theory which was intended to help them to exclude themselves from the control of the Government of India when it came into the hands of the Indians.

All-India Federation under the Government of India Act, 1935: On the occasion of the first Round Table Conference held in 1930 in London, the Indian princes accepted the proposal for the creation of an All-India Federation in which both the Indian provinces and the Indian States were to be combined. The Government of India Act, 1935, provided for such a Federation. Under this Act, the Indian States were given more representation in the Federal Legislature than was due to them on account of their population and area. While 250 seats were allotted to British India, the Indian States got 125 seats. In the Council of State, States were given the right to send 104 members out of a total of 260 members. While the representatives from the provinces were to be elected, the representatives from the States were to be nominated by the rulers of the States concerned. While the inclusion of the provinces into the Federation was automatic or compulsory, the Indian States were given the option to join the Federation or not to join the Federation. While the control of the Federal Government over the provinces was to be uniform, it was to vary in the case of the Indian States according to the terms of the Instrument of Accession signed by the particular ruler at the time of joining the Federation and accepted by the Crown. The Federal scheme as provided for in the Act of 1935 was rejected both by the Muslim League and the Congress. The British Government also did not do much to enforce

the Federal Scheme. Moreover, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 shelved the whole scheme. Nothing was done throughout the War to deal with the question of the Indian States. However, assurances were given from time to time to the Indian princes that no agreement will be made with the Congress against their wishes. They will not be forced to join any Indian scheme of Government against their wishes. On May 12, 1946 the members of the Cabinet Mission declared that the British Government could not and would not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. However, it was made clear that when a new self-governing Government or Governments came into being in British India, it would not be possible for the British Government to carry out the obligations of paramountcy. In that case, all the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power were to return to the Indian States. "Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them."

The Indian Independence Act, 1947, provided that "the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it all treaties and agreements in force on that date..." The Indian States were allowed to join any of the two Dominions they liked. This created a very serious problem for India. "The Indian States were so far-flung, desperate in size and strength, and so cut-up by intervening Indian territory that a formation of a Federation of the States in India would be an impossible gesture." If they did not join free India, there was a possibility of the country being divided into many petty states. However, as a result of the efforts of Sardar Patel, Lord Mountbatten and Mr. Menon, the problem of the Indian States was satisfactorily solved.

In 1947, Sardar Patel, as the Minister for States, appealed to the Indian rulers to join the Indian Union and its Constituent Assembly by signing Instruments of Accession and thereby surrendering the three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications to the Indian Union. As a result of this appeal, most of the States acceded to the Indian Union. Later on, Junagadh and Hyderabad also joined the Union after the display of some force. Kashmir also acceded when she was attacked by Pakistan.

Integration of States: The next step was in the nature of territorial integration of the States. This took three forms, *viz.*, merger with the adjacent provinces, grouping of States into separate units, and transformation of certain States into centrally-administered areas. There were many stages in the process of grouping and regrouping. At present, the following are the units of the States: Rajasthan, Pepsu, Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra, and Travancore-Cochin. These States were included in the list of Part 'B' States. The other Part 'B' States are Mysore, Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir.

Some of the petty States have been merged into the provinces. The State of Baroda has been merged into the State of Bombay. Similarly, many other petty States have been merged into the State of Madhya Pradesh. States like Himachal Pradesh, Bilaspur, Bhopal, Cutch, etc., are centrally-administered areas and are called Part 'C' States. As a result of territorial integration, 214 States have been merged into the former provinces, 304 States have been integrated into six units and 25 States have been transferred into the centrally-administered areas.

It is to be noted that responsible Government has been established in Part 'B' and Part 'C' States, although in the case of the latter, certain powers have not been transferred into the hands of the popular ministers. It is hoped that in the near future the distinction between the various kinds of States in India will disappear and all the States will have a responsible form of Government.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aspinall, A.:** Cornwallis in Bengal, 1931.
- Ambedkar, B.R.:** Evolution of Provincial Finance in India.
- Athalye:** The Life of Lokmanya Tilak.
- Aitchison, C.H.:** Lord Lawrence.
- Auber, Peter:** Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.
- Asoka Mehta:** 1857.
- Adye, J.M.:** Indian Frontier Policy, 1897.
- Andrew, W.P.:** Our Scientific Frontier, 1880.
- Andrew, W.P.:** India and her Neighbours, 1878.
- Andrews, C.F.:** Indian Renaissance.
- Amir Abdur Rahman:** Autobiography, Vols. I and II, 1900.
- Alexander Horace:** India Since Cripps.
- Arthur, Sir G.:** Life of Lord Kitchner.
- Banerjee, Surendranath:** A Nation in Making.
- Banerjee, A.C.:** The Indian Constitutional Documents.
- Banerjee, A.C.:** The Making of the Indian Constitution.
- Basu, B.D.:** Rise of the Christian Power in India.
- Bowring:** Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan.
- Ball, Charles:** History of the Indian Mutiny, Vols. I & II.
- Balfour, B.:** Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, 1899.
- Bellow, H.W.:** North-West Frontier and Afghanistan.
- Bruge, R.I.:** The Forward Policy and its results, 1900.
- Buchan, J.:** Lord Minto, 1925.
- Blunt, W.S.:** Ideas about India.
- Besant, Annie:** How India wrought her freedom? 1915.
- Besant:** India, Bond or Free.
- Bose, S.C.:** The Indian Struggle (1920-1934).
- Buckland, F.W.:** The Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny.
- Chopra, G.L.:** The Punjab as a Sovereign State (1799-1839),
Lahore, 1928.
- Chirol, Valentine:** Indian Unrest.
- Chirol, Valentine:** India, Old and New.
- Chintamani, C.Y.:** Indian Politics Since the Mutiny.
- Cowell, Herbert:** History and Constitution of the Courts and
Legislative authorities in India, 1936.
- Curzon:** British Government in India.

- Curzon:** Russia in Central Asia in 1899.
- Coupland:** The Cripps Mission.
- Coupland, R.:** Britain and India, (1600-1941).
- Coupland, R.:** Report on the Constitutional Problem in India.
- Coupland, R.:** India: A Restatement.
- Craddock, Reginald:** Dilemma in India.
- Cross:** The Development of Self-Government in India (1858-1914).
- Cultru, Prosper:** Dupleix.
- Colebroke, H.T.:** Life of Elphinstone. Vols. I & II.
- Cunningham:** History of the Sikhs.
- Cunningham, H.S.:** Earl Canning.
- Colchester, Lord:** The History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough, London, 1874.
- Colvin, A.:** John Russel Colvin.
- Chatterjee, N.N.:** Life of Rammohan Roy (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1881.
- Chatterjee, Ramanand:** Rammohan Roy and Modern India, 1918.
- Cotton, Sir Henry:** Indian and Home Memories.
- Digby:** Prosperous British India.
- Dodwell, H.H.:** The Cambridge History of India, Vols. V and VI.
- Dodwell, Henry:** A Sketch of the History of India from 1858 to 1918, London, 1925.
- Dodwell:** Dupleix and Clive.
- Davies:** Warren Hastings and Oudh.
- Davies:** The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1932.
- Durand:** The First Afghan War and its Causes, 1879.
- Datta, K.K.:** India's March to Freedom.
- Dutta, R.C.:** India under Early British Rule.
- Dutta, R.C.:** India in the Victorian Age.
- Duff, Alexander:** India and Indian Missions.
- Duff, Grant:** History of the Marathas.
- Eden (Miss):** Up the Country.
- Fraser:** India under Curzon and After.
- Forrest:** Life of Clive, Vols. I & II.
- Forbes:** Oriental Memons.
- Firminger (Ed.):** Fifth Report.
- Farquhar, J.N.:** Modern Religious Movements in India.
- Forbes-Mitchell:** Reminiscences.
- Gandhi, M.K.:** Satyagraha in South Africa.

- Gandhi, M.K.:** My Experiments with Truth.
- Garratt:** An Indian Commentary.
- Ghosh:** Press and Press Laws in India.
- Gupta, P.C.:** Baji Rao II and the English.
- Gleig, G.R.:** Life of Thomas Munro, Vols. I & II.
- Griffin, Lepel:** Ranjit Singh.
- Gough, Charles and Innes, A.D.:** The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars, 1897.
- Hans Kohn:** A History of Nationalism in the East, London, 1929.
- Hunter, W.W.:** The Marquis of Dalhousie.
- Holmes:** Indian Mutiny.
- Hanna, H.B.:** The Second Afghan War.
- Ishwari Prasad and Subedar, S.K.:** A History of Modern India (1740-1950), Allahabad, 1951.
- Ilbert, C.P.:** The Government of India.
- Ilbert, C.P.:** Historical Introduction.
- Indian States Committee:** Report of the Butler Committee, 1928-29.
- Indian Statutory Commission's Reports:** Vols. I, II & III.
- Innes:** The Sepoy Revolt.
- Jones, M.:** Warren Hastings in Bengal.
- Keith, A.B.:** Constitutional History of India.
- Keith, A.B.:** Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, Vols. I & II.
- Kellock:** M.G. Ranade.
- Khan, Syed Ahmed:** The Causes of the Indian Revolt, Banaras, 1873.
- Kaye, Sir John:** Christianity in India, 1859.
- Kaye, J.W.:** History of the War in Afghanistan.
- Kay and Malleson:** History of the Indian Mutiny.
- Lajpat Rai:** Unhappy India.
- Lovett, Verney:** A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement, (1900-1919).
- Lyall, A.:** Life of Marquis of Dufferin and Ava.
- Lyall, A.:** The British Dominion in India.
- Lyall:** Warren Hastings.
- Lee-Warner, W.W.:** The Life of Marquis of Dalhousie.
- Lee-Warner:** The Native States of India, 1910.
- Lee-Warner:** The Protected Princes of India.
- Latiff:** History of the Punjab, 1891.

- Loveday, A.:** History and Economics of Indian Famines.
- Mill, James:** History of British India, 10 Vols. Edited by H.H. Wilson, London, 1848.
- Majumdar, A.C.:** Indian National Evolution.
- Majumdar, Raychaudhry and Datta:** An advanced History of India.
- Mazumdar, B.B.:** History of Political Thought in India: Rammohan to Dayanand.
- Mary, Countess of Minto:** India, Minto and Morley (1905-1910), London, 1935.
- Mody:** Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.
- Morrison:** Imperial Rule in India.
- Morley:** Recollections.
- Morley:** Speeches on Indian Affairs.
- Montagu, E.S.:** A study of Indian Polity.
- Montagu, E.S.:** An Indian Diary.
- Macdonell, A.A.:** India's Past, 1927.
- Macdonald, J.R.:** Government of India.
- Malleson:** History of the French in India.
- Malleson:** The Indian Mutiny of 1857.
- Malcolm:** Life of Robert Clive, Vols. I, II and III.
- Mehta:** Lord Hastings and the Indian States.
- Macfarlane:** History of British India, 1862.
- Murray:** History of British India, 1857.
- Mathai, J.:** Village Government in British India.
- Mukerjee, P.:** Indian Constitutional Documents.
- Macnicol:** The Making of Modern India.
- Marshman, J.C.:** Carey, Marshman and Ward, 1864.
- Mayhew, arthur:** The Education of India, 1926.
- Max-Muller:** Chips from a German Workshop.
- Martineau:** The life of Sir Bartle Frere.
- Nehru, Jawahar Lal:** Autobiography.
- Nevinson:** The New Spirit in India.
- Napier, William:** The Conquest of Sindh, 1845.
- Prasad, Bashesher:** Origins of Provincial Autonomy, 1941.
- Panikkar:** Relations of Indian States.
- Panikkar, K.M.:** The Evolution of British Policy towards Indian States (1774-1858), 1929.
- Panikkar, K.M.:** Introduction to the study of the relations of Indian States with the Government of India, 1927.

- Pole, Graham:** India in Transition.
- Pal, B.C.:** The Soul of India.
- Pal, B.C.:** Mrs. Besant—A Psychological study, 1913.
- Parekh, M.C.:** The Brahmo Samaj, 1929.
- Pradhan, R.G.:** India's struggle for Swaraj, Madras, 1930.
- Pegg:** India's Cries to British Humanity.
- Roberts, P.E.:** History of British India, 1952.
- Roberts:** India under Wellesley.
- Roberts:** Forty-One Years in India.
- Ramsay Muir:** The Making of British India (1756—1858).
- Ray, P.C.:** The Life and Times of C.R. Dass.
- Ronaldshay:** Life of Lord Curzon, Vols. I, II & III.
- Ronaldshay, Lord:** The Heart of Aryavarta.
- Ross, E.D.:** The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507 and 1517.
- Raleigh, T. (Ed.):** Lord Curzon in India, 1906.
- Rees, J.D.:** Russia, India and the Persian Gulf, 1903.
- Report of the Calcutta University Commission.**
- Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee.**
- Report of the Hunter Committee.**
- Rajendra Prasad:** Divided India.
- Ranade, M.G.:** Religious and Social Reform, 1902.
- Ratcliffe, S.K.:** Sir William Wedderburn.
- Russell, W.H.:** My Diary in India.
- Sarkar, S.C. and Dutta, K.K.:** Modern Indian History Vol. II, Allahabad, 1951.
- Sinha, N.K.:** Ranjit Singh, Calcutta, 1945.
- Sinha, N.K.:** Haider Ali.
- Sinha, N.K.:** Rise of the Sikh Power.
- Singh, G.N.:** Indian States and British India.
- Singh, G.N.:** Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Developments (1600—1919).
- Sharma, Sri Ram:** Constitutional History of India.
- Smith, W.R.:** Nationalism and Reform in India.
- Smith, V.A.:** Oxford History of India.
- Sitaramiya, B.P.:** History of the Indian National Congress, Vols. I & II.
- Sapre, B.G.:** The Growth of the Indian Constitution and Administration.
- Scrafton:** Reflections on the Government of Indostan.

- Sardesai:** Main Currents of Maratha History, 1926.
- Sen, S.N.:** Studies in Indian History.
- Sykes, P.:** Sir Mortimer Durand, 1926.
- Strachey, Sir John:** India: its Administration and Progress, 1903.
- Sastri, Sivanath:** History of the Brahmo Samaj, Vols. I & II, 1911.
- Sleeman, Sir W.H.:** Rambles and Recollections.
- Spear, T.G.P.:** The Nabobs.
- Thomas, F.W.:** The History and Prospects of British Education in India, 1891.
- Thompson, Edward and Garratt, G.T.:** Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India, 1935.
- Tyne, C.H.V.:** India in Ferment, London, 1923.
- Thornton:** History of the British Empire in India, Vols. I & II.
- Trevelyan, C.F.:** On the Education of the People of India, 1838.
- Trevelyan, G.S.:** Cawnpore.
- Trevelyan:** Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.
- Trevelyan, G.O.:** The Competition Wallah.
- Trotter:** Life of John Nicholson.
- Trotter, L.J.:** The Earl of Auckland, 1905.
- Titus:** Indian Islam, 1930.
- Taylor, Meadows:** Confessions of a Thug.
- Tagore, Rabindranath:** Reminiscences.
- Temple, Sir Richard:** Men and Events of my time in India.
- Verelst:** View of Bengal.
- Weitzman, Sophia:** Warren Hastings and Philip Francis.
- Wolfe, L.:** Life of Lord Ripon.
- Wheeler:** Early Records of British India.
- Wheeler, S.:** The Ameer Abdur Rahman 1895.
- Whiteway:** The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India (1497—1550).
- Water, H.A.:** The Ahmediya Movement, 1918.
- Zetland, Lord:** Steps Forwards Indian Home Rule.
- Zacharias, H.C.E.:** Renascent India from Ram Mohan Roy to Mohan Das Gandhi, London, 1933.

INDEX

A

Abdur Rehman & Panjdeh Affair, 166-7.
 Act of 1858, 217-20.
 Adams, John Governor-General (1 & 23), 87.
 Adams, Major, 28.
 Afghan War I, 97-8, 375-81.
 Afghan War II, 158, 387-90.
 Afghan War III, 192-3, 391.
 Anglo-Afghan Relations, 374-391.
 Afghanistan & Curzon, 174.
 Agriculture & Curzon, 178.
 Age of Consent Act, 168-9.
 Albuquerque, achievements of, 2-3.
 Almeida, 2.
 Albuquerque, Conquest of Goa, by, 2.
 Albuquerque, Conquest of Malacca, by, 2.
 Albuquerque, Conquest of Ormuz, by, 2.
 Albuquerque, Construction of Fort at Cochin, by, 2.
 Albuquerque, his policy towards Muslims, 2.
 Ali Gohour, Invasion of Bengal, by, 25.
 Ali Vardi Khan, 21.
 Amils, 317.
 Amherst (Lord), Governor-General (1823-8), 87-98.
 Amherst and Burmese War, 88.
 Amherst and Capture of Bharatpur, 88-9.
 Amherst and Mutiny of Barreackpur, 89.
 Amending Act (1781), 206-7.
 Amending Act and Regulating Act, 206-7.
 Anglo-French struggle for supremacy, 12-20.
 Anglo-Sindh relations from 1809 to 1843, 99-103.
 Anglo-Sikh relations from 1809 to 1839, 105-8.
 Arya Samaj, 369-70, 373.
 Assada Company and London Company—their mutual rivalry, 8.
 Auckland, Governor-General (1836-42), 97-8.

Auckland and the Afghan War I, 97.
 Auckland and his reforms, 98.
 Auckland and his relations with Indian States, 98.
 August Declaration of 1917, 191-2, 235-6.

B

Balasore, 7.
 Barlow, Sir George, Governor-General (1805-7), 77.
 Baroda Case, 399.
 Bassein, Treaty of, 75.
 Battle of Buxer, importance of, 29-30.
 Battles of Miani and Dabo, 102.
 Bengal, Condition of, from 1767 to 1772.
 Begums of Oudh and Warren Hastings, 47-8.
 Best, Captain, 7.
 Bentinck, Lord William, 90-7.
 Bentinck, Character of, 90.
 Bentinck and financial reforms, 90-2.
 Bentinck and judicial reforms, 92-3, 319.
 Bentinck and administrative reforms, 93-4.
 Bentinck and educational reforms, 94.
 Bentinck and social reforms, 95-6.
 Bentinck and public works reforms, 96.
 Bentinck and his relations with Indian States, 96-7.
 Bentinck and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 97.
 Bentinck and Sindh, 97.
 Bentinck and Mysore, 96.
 Bentinck and Coorg, 96.
 Bentinck and Charter Act of 1833, 97.
 Bentinck, estimate of, 97.
 "Blackhole" tragedy, 21-2.
 "Blue Water" policy of Almeida, 2.
 Bombay, island of, and the English Company, 7.
 Brahmo Samaj, 366-7.
 Buxer, Battle of, 29.
 Buckingham, Editor of Calcutta Journal, 341.
 Butler Committee, 402-4.

C

- Calcutta University Commission, 361-2.
 Canning and Mutiny, 141-51.
 Canning (Lord), Governor-General (1756-62), 152-4.
 Canning and his reforms, 152-3.
 Canning, Estimate of, 153-4.
 Carnatic War I, 12-14.
 Carnatic War II, 14-5.
 Carnatic War III, 15-16.
 Cartier, Governor of Bengal, 39-40.
 Causes of French failure and English success, 16-18.
 Clive and Battle of Plassey (1757), 22-3.
 Clive's Second Governorship of Bengal, 30-38.
 Clive, reforms of, 30-33.
 Clive and Dual Government of Bengal, 33-6.
 Clive's foreign policy, 36-8.
 Clive, estimate of, 38-39.
 Central Legislature, growth of, 266-74.
 Charter Act of 1793, 209-10.
 Charter Act of 1813, 210-11.
 Charter Act of 1833, 212-16.
 Charter Act of 1853, 216-17.
 Charter of 1600, 6.
 Charter of 1661, 8.
 Charter of 1683, 9.
 Charter of 1686, 9.
 Charter of 1693, 9.
 Chelmsford (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1916-21), 191-193.
 Chelmsford and August Declaration, 191-192.
 Chelmsford and Montagu's visit to India, 192.
 Chamber of Princes, 401-2.
 Chet Singh and Warren Hastings, 46-7.
 Courts of Requests, 320.
 Constitution of India, (1950), 259-66.
 Cornwallis, his character, 54.
 Cornwallis, his foreign policy, 54-5.
 Cornwallis and Mysore War III, 54-55.
 Cornwallis, his reforms, 55-64.
 Cornwallis and Reform of Public Services, 55-56.
 Cornwallis and judicial reforms, 56-60, 317-19.
 Cornwallis and Police Reforms, 60.
 Cornwallis and Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 60-64.
 Cornwallis completed work of Warren Hastings, 64-66.
 Cornwallis, his second Governor-Generalship, (1805), 77.
 Cripps' Mission to India, 300.
 Cromwell and English Company, 8.
 Curtis on Indian reforms, 237-8.
 Curzon (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1899-1905), 172-87.
 Curzon's Foreign Policy, 172-177.
 Curzon's tribal area policy, 172-3.
 Curzon and Afghanistan, 174.
 Curzon and the Persian Gulf, 174-175.
 Curzon and Tibet, 175-6.
 Curzon and his internal administration, 177-186.
 Curzon and Famines, 177-178.
 Curzon and Agriculture, 178.
 Curzon and Railways, 178-179.
 Curzon and Police Reforms, 179-180.
 Curzon and Military Reforms, 180.
 Curzon and his controversy with Kitchner, 180-181.
 Curzon and Decentralisation of Finance, 181.
 Curzon and Calcutta Corporation, 182-183.
 Curzon and Indian Universities Act, 1904, 181-182.
 Curzon and reform of bureaucratic machinery, 182-183.
 Curzon and Status of Presidency Governors, 183-184.
 Curzon and Policy of Officialisation, 184.
 Curzon and Local Self-Government, 184.
 Curzon's contempt for Indians, 184.
 Curzon and Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 185.
 Curzon and Partition of Bengal, 185-186.
 Curzon, estimate of, 186-187.

D

- Daftari Abwab-il-Mal of Ranjit Singh, 109.
 Daftari-Abwab-i-Tahwil Ranjit Singh, 111.
 Daftari-Taujhihat of Ranjit Singh, 111.
 Daftari-Mawjib of Ranjit Singh, 111.

- Daftari-Roznamcha-i-Ikhrajat of Ranjit Singh, 111-112.
 Dalhousie, Governor-General (1848-56), 127-139.
 Dalhousie, early career of, 127.
 Dalhousie and his conquest of the Punjab, 127, 124-126.
 Dalhousie and Burmese War II (1852), 128-129.
 Dalhousie and Doctrine of Lapse 129-131.
 Dalhousie and annexation of Berar (1853), 131.
 Dalhousie and annexation of Oudh, 134-136.
 Dalhousie and abolition of titles and pensions, 136-137.
 Dalhousie and Raja of Tanjore, 136.
 Dalhousie and Nawab of Carnatic, 136.
 Dalhousie, administrative reforms of, 137.
 Dalhousie, military reforms of, 137.
 Dalhousie and telegraphs and railways, 137.
 Dalhousie and Commercial reforms, 138.
 Dalhousie and Public Works Department, 138.
 Dalhousie and Postal system, 138.
 Dalhousie and Wood's Despatch, 138.
 Dalhousie and his responsibility for Mutiny, 138-139.
 Dalip Singh (Maharaja), 120, 125.
 Danes in India, 5.
 De Almeida, 2.
 Decentralisation of Finance, 303-11.
 Decentralisation of Finance and Mayo, 156, 304-305.
 Decentralisation of Finance and Ripon, 164, 305.
 Decentralisation of Finance and Lytton, 159, 305.
 Decentralisation of Finance and Curzon, 181, 306.
 Decentralisation of Finance and Decentralisation Commission, 306-307.
 Decentralisation Commission, 306-307.
 Dev Samaj, 368-369.
 Delhi Durbar and Lytton, 158.
 Diaz, Bartholomew, 1.
 Doctrine of Laps and Dalhousie, 129-131.
 Doctrine of Lapse and Satara, 130.
 Doctrine of Lapse and Jhansi, 130-131.
 Doctrine of Lapse and Nagpur, 130.
 Doctrine of Lapse and Baghat, 130.
 Doctrine of Lapse and Udaipur, 130.
 Duane, Editor of Indian World, and Cornwallis, 339.
 Durlab, Rai, 22.
 Dupleix, estimate of, 18, 21.
 Dumas, French Governor of Pandicherry, 11.
 Dutch East India Company, 5.
 Dutch in India, 5.
 Dufferin (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1884-1888), 66-169.
 Dufferin, Career of, 166.
 Dufferin and Panjdah affair, 166-167.
 Dufferin and Third Burmese War, 167-168.
 Dufferin and Foundation of the Indian National Congress, 168.
 Dufferin and Tenancy Legislation, 168.
 Dufferin and age of consent Act, 168-169.
 Durand Line and Lansdowne, 169.
 Durand, Sir Mortimer, 169.
 Dyarchy, working and failure, 245-250.

E

- Education, History of, in India, 352-65.
 Education and growth of English education, 352-355.
 Education and Macaulay's minute, 354-356.
 Education and Christian Mission, 356.
 Education and Wood's Despatch, 357-358.
 Elgin I (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1862-3), 154.
 Elgin II (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1894-9), 170-171.
 Elgin and Chitral, 170.
 Elgin and the Afridis, 170.
 Elgin and the Bubonic plague in Bombay, 170-171.
 Elgin and famine, 171.
 Elgin and problem of opium production and sale, 171.
 Elgin and Army reform, 171.
 Ellenborough, Governor-General (1842-44), 99-103.
 Ellenborough and the end of the Afghan War I, 99.
 Ellenborough and conquest of Sindh, 99-103.

Ellenborough and War with Gwalior, 103.
 Elphinstone on Sindh Conquest, 103.
 English East India Company, foundation of, 6.
 English East India Company and island of Bombay, 7.
 English East India Company and Cromwell, 8.
 English East India Company in Bengal, 20-40.
 English East India Company V. Sandys, 9.

F

Famine, Curzon's policy towards, 177-178.
 Famine of 1770, 40.
 Fauji-Am or regular army of Ranjit Singh, 115.
 Fauji-Khas or French Legion of Ranjit Singh, 116.
 Fauji-Be-Qawaid or Irregular army, 118.
 Federal Court of India, 322-324.
 Fort St. George, 7.
 Fox India Bill (1783), 207.
 Foreign Relations Act, 1932, 347-348.
 French East India Company, 10-11.
 French East India Company and Colbert, 10.
 French Company and growth of its power in India, 10-11.

G

Gaekwad of Baroda and Northbrook, 157.
 Gama, Vasoco Da, 1-2.
 Gandhi, 373.
 Government of India Act, 1919, 239-250.
 Government of India Act, 1935, 250-257.

H

Hardinge, Governor-General (1844-8), 103.
 Hardinge and the Sikh War I (1845-6), 103, 121-124.
 Hardinge and Treaty of Lahore, 103, 123.
 Hardinge (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1910-16), 189-191.
 Hardinge's attitude towards Indians, 189-90.
 Hardinge and the Delhi Durbar, 190.

Hardinge and Danger of Chinese Conquest of Tibet, 191.

Hardinge and the problem of Indians in South Africa, 191.

Hastings (Lord), Governor-General (1813-23), 79-87.

Hastings and the Gorkhas, 79-80.

Hastings and the War with Pindaris, 80-81.

Hastings and the Maratha War III, 81-82.

Hastings and his judicial reforms, 84-86.

Hastings and his revenue reforms, 86.

Hastings and Education, 86.

Hastings and Press, 340, 86.

Hastings, an estimate of his work, 86-7.

Hawkins, Captain, 6.

Hawkins, at the Court of Jahangir, 6-7.

Henry, the Navigator, 1.

Hicky and the Bengal Gazette, 339.

High Courts and the Indian High Courts Act, 321.

Home Rule Movement, 293-294.

Houtman, Cornelius, 1.

Holwell and Blackhole tragedy, 22.

Hunter Commission on Education, 163-4, 358-9.

I

Ilbert Bill, Controversy and Ripon, 165-6.

Indian National Congress, foundation of, 168, 283.

Indian National Congress, growth of, 283-284.

Indian Universities Act (1904) and Curzon, 181-182, 360-361.

Indian Relief Act (1914), 191.

Indian Councils' Act, 1861, 223-25.

Indian Councils' Act, 1893, 225-227.

Indian Councils' Act, 1909, 227-232.

Indian Independence Act, (1947), 258-9.

Indian Press Act, 1910, 344-6.

Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, 346-347.

Indian States (Protection) Act, 1934.

Indian States, 392-406.

Indian States and Ring Fence Policy, 392-393.

Indian States and Policy of Subordinate isolation, 393-5.

Indian States and policy of subordinate Union, 395-396.

Indian States and Paramountcy, 396-402.

Indian States and Baroda Case, 399.

Indian States and Manipur Case, 399-400.

Indian States and Integration of States, 406.

Indian States and Chamber of Princes, 401-2.

Indian States and Butler Committee, 402-4.

Indian States and Government of India Act, 1935, 404-5.

Interim Government (1946-7), 301.

Irwin (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1926-31), 193-194.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Social Reforms, 372-373.

Islam and religious development, 370.

J

Jagar, Mir, 22.

John II, 1.

Josiah Child (Sir) and Aurangzeb, 7.

Judiciary, Growth of, in India, 312, 326.

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 321-322.

Justices of Peace, 320-321.

K

Karikal, possession of, by French Co., 11.

Khan of Kalat, abdication of, 169.

Kuka movement and Northbrooke, 157.

L

Landsdowne (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1888-93), 169-70.

Landsdowne and problem of tribal areas, 169.

Landsdowne and Swat, Dir, Chitral and Bajaur, 169.

Landsdowne and Manipur 169.

Landsdowne and Khan of Kalat 169.

Landsdowne and Kashmir, 169-170.

Landsdowne and Factory Legislation, 170.

Landsdowne and reform of Coinage, 170.

Landsdowne and Imperial Service Troops, 170.

Lawrence, Sir John, Governor-General and Viceroy (1864-9), 154-6.

Lawrence and Policy of Masterly inactivity, 154-5, 381-6.

Lawrence and Bhutan War, 155.

Lawrence and Famine in Orissa, 155.

Lawrence and the peasantry, 155.

Lawrence, an estimate of, 155-156.

Legislatures, growth of, 267-78.

L

Linlithgow (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1936-44), 195.

London Company, 6, 10.

Local Self-Government, Ripon on, 161-163.

Local Self-Government, growth of, 327-338.

Local Self-Government and Regulating Act, 327.

Local Self-Government and Presidency towns, 328-9.

Local Self-Government and non Presidency Towns, 330.

Local Self-Government and Mayo's Resolution, 330.

Local Self-Government and Ripon's Resolution, 330-5.

Local Self-Government and Decentralisation Commission, 335-6.

Local Self-Government and Resolution of 1918, 336-337.

Local Self-Government and Dyarchy, 337.

Local Self-Government and Provincial autonomy, 337.

Local Self-Government and defects in present system, 337-8.

Lucknow Pact, 237, 294.

Lytton, (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1876-80), 157-60.

Lytton and Afghan War II, 158.

Lytton and Royal Titles Act, 158.

Lytton and Delhi Durbar, 158.

Lytton, Famine in the time of, 158-9.

Lytton and financial reforms, 159.

Lytton and Decentralisation of Finance, 159.

Lytton and foundation of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, 159.

Lytton and Statutory Civil Service, 159.

Lytton, Estimate of, 160.

M

Macaulay's minute on education, 354-6.
 Maclean, Editor of Bengal Kurkaru, 340.
 Manipur Case, 339-40.
 Martin, 11.
 Macpherson, John, Governor of Bengal (1785-6), 53.
 Masterly inactivity, Policy of, 154-5, 381-386.
 Mayo (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1869-72), 156-157.
 Mayo and Financial decentralisation, 156.
 Mayo College at Ajmer, 156.
 Mayo, Estimate of, 156-7.
 Maratha War I, 50-51.
 Maratha War II, 75-76.
 Maratha War III, 81-82.
 Marathas, causes of downfall of, 82-84.
 Mckenly, Editor of the Telegraph, 339.
 Meston Settlement, 308-9.
 Metcalfe, Sir, Charles, Governor-General, (1835-6), 97.
 Metcalfe, Sir Charles, "Liberator of Indian Press," 341.
 Mohammedan Defence Association, 290.
 Minto (Lord), (1807-1813) Governor-General, 78.
 Minto and the Sikhs, 78.
 Minto and Iran, 78.
 Minto and Afghanistan, 78.
 Minto II (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1905-10), 188-189.
 Minto, Character of, 188.
 Minto and Anglo-Russian Convention, 188-189.
 Minto and Trade with China, 189.
 Minto and the Reforms, 189.
 Mir Jafar, 22, 24-5, 28-30.
 Mir Jafar, Nawab of Bengal, 24-5.
 Mir Jafar, Deposition of, 25.
 Mir Jafar, his reinstatement, 28.
 Mir Kasim, 26-9.
 Mir Kasim as Nawab, 28-9.
 Mir Kasim, his character, 26-7.
 Mir Kasim, his achievements, 27.
 Mir Kasim and his relations with English Co., 27-9.
 Military reforms under Curzon, 180-181.

Minto-Morley Reforms, 227-232.
 Montagu, Chancellor of Exchequer, an English Co., 10.
 Montagu's visit to India, 192.
 Mountbatten (Lord), (1947-8), 196-7.
 Muslim Communalism, growth of, 289-93.
 Mutiny of 1857, 140-151.
 Mutiny, Character of, 140-41.
 Mutiny as "War of Indian Independence", 140.
 Mutiny, Lawrence on, 140.
 Mutiny, Outram on, 140.
 Mutiny, Asoka Mehta on, 140.
 Mutiny, Causes of, 141-5.
 Mutiny, Political cause of, 141-3.
 Mutiny, religious cause of, 143-4.
 Mutiny, military cause of, 144-5.
 Mutiny, immediate cause of, 145.
 Mutiny, spread and suppression of, 146-7.
 Mutiny, causes of failure of, 147-9.
 Mutiny, effects of, 149-151.
 Mysore War I, 51.
 Mysore War II, 51-2.
 Mysore War III, 54-55.
 Munro's recommendation on the Press, 341.

N

Nand Kumar, Trial of, 45-6.
 Nana Sahib and Mutiny, 146.
 Napier, Sir Charles, 101-3.
 Nehru Report (1928), 297-8.
 Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908, 343-4.
 Non-Co-operative Movement, 297-8.
 Northbrook (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1872-6), 157.
 Northbrook and Afghanistan, 157.
 Northbrook and Kuka Movement, 157.

O

O'Dwyer, Sir Michael, 295.
 Opium Commission, 171.
 Oudh Policy of Warren Hastings, 44.
 Oudh Policy of Clive, 36-7.
 Oudh and the English Co., Relations from, 1765-1856, 131-6.
 Outram and Sindh, 101.

P

- Panjdeh affair (1884) and Dufferin, 166-7.
- Panjdah Affair and Abdur Rehman of Afghanistan, 166-7.
- Partition of Bengal (1905), 185-6.
- Parsees and religious development, 271.
- Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 60-4.
- Permanent Settlement, Circumstances leading to, 60-1.
- Permanent Settlement and its provisions, 62.
- Permanent Settlement and two schools of thought, 61.
- Permanent Settlement, merits of, 62-63.
- Permanent Settlement, demerits of, 63-64.
- Persian Gulf and Curzon, 174-5.
- Pindaries and Lord Hastings, 80-1.
- Pitt's India Act, 53, 207-9.
- Plassey, Battle of, (1757), 23.
- Policy of Masterly inactivity and Lawrence, 154-5.
- Police reforms under Curzon, 179-80.
- Provincial Legislatures, growth of, 274-78.
- Portuguese in India, 1-5.
- Portuguese power in India, growth of, 1-3.
- Portuguese Empire, Causes of downfall of, 3-5.
- Portuguese, their conquest of Diu, Bassein and Daman, 3.
- Portugal, annexation of, by Spain, 3.
- Political consciousness, growth of, 279-302.
- Political Consciousness, causes of, 279-282.
- Prarthana Samaj, 367-8.
- Privy Council, Judicial Committee of, 321-2.
- Press, History of, in India, 339-351.
- Press and Kicky, 339.
- Press and Duane, 339.
- Press and Wallesley, 340.
- Press and Lord Hastings, 340.
- Press and Buckingham, 341.
- Press and Munro's recommendations, 341.
- Press and Regulations of 1823, 341.
- Press and Act 15 of 1857.
- Press and Act 11 of 1867.

- Press and Vernacular Press Act, 342-3.
- Press and Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908, 343-4.
- Press and the Indian Press Act, 1910.
- Press and the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931, 346-7.
- Press and the Foreign Relations Act, 1932, 347, 347-8.
- Press Trust of India Ltd., 348.
- Press Laws Inquiry Committee, 1948, 349.
- Press (Objectionable Matter) Act, 1951, 350-1.
- Punjab Politics from 1839 to 1845, 120-1.
- Punjab, annexation of, 125-6.

Q

- Queen's Proclamation of 1858, 220-3.

R

- Rai Durlab, 22.
- Railway and Curzon, 178-9.
- Ramsay Muir on Sindh Conquest, 103.
- Ranjit Singh (Maharaja), 104-120.
- Ranjit Singh and Sindh, 99-100.
- Ranjit Singh, rise of, 104-5.
- Ranjit Singh, Civil administration of, 108-114.
- Ranjit Singh, land-revenue system of, 110-112.
- Ranjit Singh, territorial divisions and local administration of, 112.
- Ranjit Singh, judicial administration of, 112-3.
- Ranjit Singh, nature of his government, 113-4.
- Ranjit Singh, army of, 114-119.
- Ranjit Singh, estimate of, 119-20.
- Rajgopalachariar, Governor-General (1948-50), 197.
- Ram Mohan Roy (Raja), 372.
- Raleigh Commission on education, 359.
- Radhakrishnan Commission, 363-5.
- Rama Krishna Mission, 368.
- Rajendra Prasad, President of India (1950-), 197-8.
- Reading (Lord), Governor-General & Viceroy (1921-6), 193.
- Regulating Act (1773), 201-6, 313-315.
- Regulating Act, circumstances leading to, 201.

- Regulating Act, provisions of, 201-3.
 Regulating Act, criticism of, 203-6.
 Recorders' Courts, 319-20.
 Religious and Social Development, 373.
 Religious Development and Arya Samaj, 369-70.
 Religious Development and Islam, 370.
 Religious Development and Sikhs, 370.
 Religious Development and Parsees, 371.
 Religious Development and Christianity, 371.
 Ripon (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1880-4), 161-6.
 Ripon's views on nature of Indian government, 161.
 Ripon and the Second Afghan War 161.
 Ripon and Repeal of Vernacular Press Act, 161.
 Ripon on Local Self Government, 161-3.
 Ripon and appointment of Hunter Commission on Education, 163-4.
 Ripon and Decentralisation of Finance, 164.
 Ripon and restoration of Raja of Mysore, 164.
 Ripon and policy of free trade, 164-5.
 Ripon and Tax on salt, 165.
 Ripon and Ilbert Bill controversy, 165-6.
 Ripon, estimate of, 166.
 Roe, Sir Thomas, 7.
 Rohilla War and Warren Hastings, 44-5.
 Round Table Conferences, 299.
- S**
- Sanderman, Sir Robert, 169.
 Sergeant Scheme, 363.
 Siraj-ud-Daula, 21-3.
 Sir John Shore, 66-7.
 Sir Johan Shore and Oudh, 66-7.
 Sir John Shore and Permanent Settlement, 61.
 Sir John Shore and Mutiny in Bengal, 67.
 Sir John Shore and Governor-General and Member of Executive Council, 66-7, 61.
 Sindh, annexation of, 99-103.
 Sikh War I (1845-6), 121-4.
 Sikh War II (1848-9), 124-126.
 Sikhs and religious growth, 370.
 Social Development in India, 371-3.
 Social Development and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, 372.
 Social development and Arya Samaj 372-3.
 Social Development and Ramakrishna Mission, 373.
 Social Development and Mahatma Gandhi, 373.
 Spice Islands, 6.
 Statutory Civil Service and Lytton, 159.
 Surman, John, in the Court of Farrukhsiyar, 7.
 Subsidiary System and Wellesley, 69-71.
 Subsidiary System, origin of, 69-70.
 Subsidiary System, merits of, 70-71.
 Subsidiary System, demerits of, 71.
 Supreme Court and Regulating Act, 313-5.
 Supreme Court and Amending Act, 315-7.
 Supreme Court of India, 324-6.
 Syed Ahmed Khan, 289-90.
- T**
- Tantia Tope and Mutiny, 146.
 Tenancy Legislation under Dufferin, 168.
 Thomas Roe, 7.
 Theosophical Society, 368.
 Tibet and Curzon, 175-77.
 Tipu, Sultan, 55.
 Tipu, character of, 72-3.
 Treaty of Bassa, 73.
 Treaty of Deogaon, 75-6.
 Treaty of Surji Arjangeon, 76.
 Treaty of Seringapatam, 55.
 Treaty of Yandboo, 88.
 Treaty of Lahore (1846), 103, 123.
 Tribal areas, Curzon's policy towards, 172-4.
- U**
- Universities Act, 1904, 183-4.
- V**
- Vasco Da Gama, 1-2.
 Vansittart, 26-7.
 Verelst, 27, 39.
 Vernacular Press Act (1878), 342-3.

W

- Walson, Admiral, 23.
- Well (Lord), Governor-General and Viceroy (1944-7), 195-6.
- Warren Hastings, 41-53.
- Warren Hastings, and administrative reforms, 41-2.
- Warren Hastings, and revenue reforms, 42.
- Warren Hastings and commercial reforms, 42.
- Warren Hastings and judicial reforms, 42-4.
- Warren Hastings and Oudh Policy, 44.
- Warren Hastings, Rohilla War, 44-5.
- Warren Hastings and trial of Nand Kumar, 45-6.
- Warren Hastings and Chet Singh, 46-7.
- Warren Hastings and Begums of Oudh, 47-8.
- Warren Hastings and his relations with Council, 48.
- Warren Hastings and his relations with Supreme Court, 49-50.
- Warren Hastings and his foreign policy, 50-2.
- Warren Hastings and estimate of his work, 52-3.
- Warren Hastings, impeachment of, 52-3.
- Warren Hastings and Cornwallis, 64-6.
- Wellesley, Governor General, (1798-1805), 68-78.
- Wellesley and political condition of India in, 1798, 68-9.
- Wellesley and subsidiary system, 69-71.
- Wellesley and Mysore War IV, 71-2.
- Wellesley, and Tanjore, Surat and Carnatic, 73-4.
- Wellesley and Oudh, 74.
- Wellesley and the French danger, 74-5.
- Wellesley and Second Maratha War, 75-6.
- Wellesley and war with Holkar, 76.
- Wellesley, estimate of, 76-7.
- Willingdon (Lord), Governor-General & Viceroy (1811-36), 194-5.
- Wood's Despatch, 375-8.